

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
EDITED BY E. S. RAMANUJALALU



VOL. XV No 1

AMMELADAD — SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1933

TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Speaker or Judge?

It is reported that the Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly has ruled that a newspaper commenting upon a matter which is pending before the Assembly is guilty of a breach of the privileges of the House, as such comments might influence the voting on that matter.

Evidently, the Speaker appears to make a confusion between the forum of the Assembly and that of a Court of Justice. It is the right and duty of the public (and of newspapers as authors and publishers of public opinion) to influence the members to come to a particular decision rather than to another in a matter pending before the Assembly House except where the comment carries with it an endorsement or a threat to the members personally in case they voted in a particular manner. Newspapers are within their rights to try to influence the voting by discussing the merits of the subject. The Speaker and his members do not constitute a Judge and his jurors in the matter pending before them. I hope by now the Speaker must have seen his mistake and withdrawn his ruling. Otherwise self-respecting papers would have either to ignore it, or to cut off publication of Assembly proceedings from their pages.

Wardha, 28-2-33

E. S. R.

Lord Samuel on Gandhi

[The following is a paragraph from a broadcast talk by Lord Samuel reported in The Listener of January 12, 1933.]

— Y. G. D. —
'In India, some years ago, I was the guest at one of the great annual assemblies of the Congress Party. It was attended by thousands of delegates and more than half-a-million supporters. Sitting at his side at his beautiful open-air services at sundown, the ritual drawn from the best in all the faiths, faced by an immense audience of thirty or forty thousand people — one had a sense of the reverence as well as the affection which surrounded him. Consider the vastness of the scale on which Gandhi worked — a country containing nearly a fifth of the human race, with millions suffering all Asia,

Consider the billions of his own — to raise the self-respect of the people, to establish their liberties, to lift them out of poverty and ignorance, to emancipate the women, to rescue the outcasts. Remember that he was resolved throughout on seeking his ends without violence — without armed revolution or war, his weapon self-sacrifice. Take account of the amazing measure of success that he achieved before he was cut off by a martyr's death at the hand of a treacherous fanatic. Sum this all up, and then search for another man of our age more worthy than he of the honour and reverence of future generations.'

'Each Day Fresh Houses are Going Up'

How Southern Rhodesia set about solving its housing problem is thus described by Peter Hanson in *Overton* of January 1933:

'What, Rhodesia has thousands for an at home? Primarily those of temporary and cottage. It was a struggle to decide that a land is sufficiently urgent to demand new methods. The authorities in Rhodesia are situated better and stronger. These preferential temporary houses, but in Rhodesia the temporary houses are not in our sense preferential. The use of using permanent ones instead of the usual brick has been shown in the construction for many centuries. It leads hard to adaptation in Rhodesia on a large scale to give the heavy and not down the requirements of a better house which was released for permanent buildings.

'The road to new old not alone give the provision, but by releasing building materials and labour for private building they secured a steady flow.

'At the 1931 census the European population at Rhodes was given as 2,500, the coloured figure as 100,000. This year it is well past the 3,000 mark, and each day fresh houses were going up.

'Southern Rhodesia, except no problem housing or otherwise is inevitable.'

What about India?

Y. G. D.

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"GUESS-WORK" PLANNING

In reply to a question about the Damodar Valley Corporation, the Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research told the Parliament on February 22 that the present estimate of the Damodar Valley project was Rs 110 crores and that the original estimate of Rs 30 crores was almost twice as low as "guess-work". Coming from the Minister of "Scientific Research", the reply sounds most ludicrous. We can understand a difference of 5 or 10 per cent between the original and revised estimates of a project. But to increase nearly a difference of 100 per cent involving an additional amount of 80 crores is, surely, a highly irresponsible administrative procedure. What guarantee is there that even these revised estimates have been prepared "scientifically"? If the nation had known earlier that the Project would cost such a huge amount of 110 crores, perhaps, the scheme might not have been sanctioned at all.

Shri B. B. Bhagat, a member of Parliament from Bihar, revealed that in spite of repeated demand by the Advisory Committee of the Corporation detailed estimates for the Project have not been submitted properly. The estimates submitted in May 1949 were found to be misboarded and after great pressure the Corporation had submitted estimates in November 1950. The Corporation had put the blame for the slow rate of progress on "shortage of hard currencies". But this excuse was found baseless. Moreover, the Corporation had not maintained any regular schedule of rates of contract. Shri Shiva Rao also drew the attention of the House to the remarks of the Auditor-General that "some of the Damodar Valley projects might prove uneconomical and that work should be taken on a project only if, in spite of additional costs, the project was economical." This is, undoubtedly, a very significant observation and must be taken into serious consideration before finalising any schemes of the D.V.C. The Minister informed the House that it had been decided to construct the Bhakra Dam "departmentally". But the honesty of the D.V.C. officials has also not been above reproach and every precaution must be taken by the Government to see that no "leakage" occurs there also.

On the same day in the Parliament, another Minister, in charge of the nation's Health, told the House that the Government (Pre-Peb) Housing Factory had stopped production of houses for sale, although the production for overtopping the technical difficulties was still carried on. The expenditure incurred so far on the factory included Rs 52 lakhs capital expenditure and Rs 44.84 lakhs working expenditure

amounting to Rs 96.84 lakhs. "The capital expenditure included Rs 17,733 as charges paid to consultants who had not given any guarantee regarding the strength and life of the wall panels to be produced in the factory."

In contrast with the above staggering figures of wasteful expenditure from the public exchequer, the Home Minister boldly announced in the Parliament the same day that a "majority" amount of 7½ lakhs had been saved owing to the reshuffling of portfolios of different Ministers. These reports of Ministers in Parliament during the Question Hour on the same day can, surely, be very useful to a teacher for illustrating the meaning of the well-known English saying: "Penny wise and Pound foolish."

Another scandal of the Food and Agriculture Ministry was announced on February 7. "A total quantity of 3,00,000 tons of fertilisers of the value of Rs 10,00,00,000 was imported during the 5½ years from July 1946 on against which the financial sanction was for 4,00,000 tons for five years. Nearly 1,00,000 tons were lying unused with State Governments and about 20,000 tons with the Central Government." Mr Menon, the Finance Secretary, drew attention to the fact that the agents entrusted with the work had sold about 1,000 tons of fertilisers and had collected Rs 4,01,000 without crediting this amount into a Government Treasury for nearly six months. It was also found that the contract for the work had remained unsigned for nearly a year. It was completely uncovered by the Minister that Shri C. D. Senary, the Director of Fertilisers in the Ministry, was dismissed. It is pointed that an official who has pocketed tons of money through his means earns a two-pence for such dismissal. However, I learn on good authority that the dismissed officer has now been employed by the Company which had been supplying fertilisers to the Government. If this is true, it is the height of administrative impudence. Not one but half a dozen officers connected with the scandal ought to have been immediately sent to jail to atone long terms of rigorous imprisonment.

If the economic planning of a poor country like India is going to be administered in the manner narrated above, perhaps, not even God would be able to save us! And the pity of it all is that such shocking facts of wasteful and dishonest expenditure which are more than sufficient grounds for the resignation of Ministers in other countries are only made convenient and interesting topics for question hours in the Parliament. Such "guess-work" planning undertaken by inefficient and corrupt officials would soon lead the unfortunate country into complete economic ruin.

HELL IN THE MIST OF HEAVEN

It was a quiet and cloudless morning of this early spring.

To soothe and refresh my weary body and nerves I did not go on my regular round of work but slipped away to the solitary spot where the little Naahua Masi passes into Uaheue's holy waters. I sat down on a big stone and watched and listened. Here on lake and crystal clear the Great River was flowing by on my left, and on my right Kila Naahua was rippling and dancing over the rocks, making a soft and sweet melody. All around were banks of various kinds, and every now and then a silvery fish would leap into the sunlight and splash again with a merry splash into the water. Looking across and up the Holy River the soft and rhythmic lines of wooded mountains met the eye and overhead was the vast and cloudless dome of Heaven filled with the radiance of the morning sun.

That is Nature's heavenly setting which never fails or fails.

How beautiful God made the world but man... what has he turned it into? And a shudder passed over me as I remembered Kila-kesh just three miles away up there round the next bend of the Sacred River.

Kila-kesh once the dwelling place of fishes and their droplets, was and mostly now who lived in communion with God and drew strength and purity from the glory of surrounding Nature who has become of this most holy place? Alas it is now the seat of unspeakable wickedness! Intrigue, avarice, lust, vice and crime—these dominate this biggest centre of evilness (we called it Kila-kesh today). I will but mention what has been seen during one year's residence in Kila-kesh, by the wife of one of the Puka-kesh workers. She is a quiet and sensible woman, and just by the way, when talking to me, she mentioned these things. They are of such common occurrence that people no longer think much about it. They just say to themselves "Oh, it is Kila-kesh." Here is what she saw—

1. The body of a man hanging from a tree in a thick jungle.

2. The stiff and stark, naked body of a dead woman with the legs swollen up to the ar and the head and shoulders buried in the sand and water.

3. Twice, the bodies of two babies (just born) buried in the sand, and half covered up again by dogs and crows.

If this much she saw with her own eyes the many more things she heard of from others can be imagined! Such is the Hell that man has created in the midst of these heavenly surroundings. The deeds that such sights tell of are bad enough in ordinary society, but when they appear in the very centre of the nation, would they shock into High Heaven?

Puka-kesh, 26-1-34

Mrs

NAWA NAWA HANU

Proceedings

A meeting of the All Kila Naawa Nawa Hanga was held at Waikiki on January 3 and 4. It passed resolutions in connection with the Hawaiian Conference on several questions. The resolutions were Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Resolution No. 1. By this the meeting decided to hold the next Hawaiian Conference at Honolulu, P. O. Honolulu, this September, on April 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Resolution No. 2. By this it was decided that the executive body of the Hanga be called an executive, advisory committee for each of its departments with a view to helping the constructive workers take closer interest with the Hanga. These committees will be made up of workers and leaders engaged or interested in the various constructive activities. The term of office of these committees will be a year only.

Resolution No. 3. By this the meeting on the suggestion of the first Vice-President, recommended to the Executive Hanga that the next springing wages be raised as much as possible.

Resolution No. 4. By this the budget for the next year ending 31 March, 1935, provided for the expenditure of \$10,000,000 was passed.

Resolution No. 5. That K. O. Mokuwhiroa letter of 21.12.33 was placed before the meeting. He had suggested that the Naawa Nawa Hanga should concentrate its law before the courts, a clear picture of what a society based on law would be like. It should also provide a committee to make evidence in the people's considered opinion on the question of the day specially recommended.

The meeting agreed with the suggestion. It was resolved that a permanent committee with the following members be constituted for the above purpose: 1. Hon. Kila-kesh, 2. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 3. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 4. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 5. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 6. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 7. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 8. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 9. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 10. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 11. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 12. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 13. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 14. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 15. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 16. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 17. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 18. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 19. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 20. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 21. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 22. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 23. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 24. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 25. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 26. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 27. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 28. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 29. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 30. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 31. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 32. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 33. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 34. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 35. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 36. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 37. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 38. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 39. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 40. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 41. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 42. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 43. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 44. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 45. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 46. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 47. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 48. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 49. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 50. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 51. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 52. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 53. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 54. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 55. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 56. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 57. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 58. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 59. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 60. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 61. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 62. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 63. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 64. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 65. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 66. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 67. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 68. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 69. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 70. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 71. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 72. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 73. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 74. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 75. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 76. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 77. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 78. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 79. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 80. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 81. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 82. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 83. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 84. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 85. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 86. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 87. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 88. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 89. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 90. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 91. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 92. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 93. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 94. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 95. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 96. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 97. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 98. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 99. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa, 100. Hon. K. O. Mokuwhiroa.

The committee was empowered to accept these members.

The functions of the committee will be as follows:

1. To present thereon are designed to give a picture of the society based on the principles of Naawa Nawa and point out the ways and means whereby it may be attained.

2. To make a survey of what already populated regions have different positions and to efforts to deal with present ones how it can be altered and the ways proved, money and time required for effecting the change.

Resolution No. 6. The practice of offering a kind of sacrifice has been started for the past two years in many of the Naawa Nawa Hanga on February 12. The year offering is a kind of the dignity of labor of the laborer from the knowledge of money to the extent that it produces out of decontrolled economy which is the very foundation of Naawa Nawa. The workers as well as the people have a common idea of offering labor. The time has now come when it should be more widely propagated and better organized. A committee of persons who make the year-offering should be kept and workers should approach them and wouldn't proceed without with their things should also be made to make their co-operation for furthering the constructive activities.

Resolution No. 7. In connection of Naawa Nawa, No. 12 passed in the meeting of the Hanga held on 10.12.33. It is decided that the following list of subjects for discussion in the next Naawa Nawa Hanga be sent to the members and other interested persons for consideration and the Naawa Nawa Hanga be presented with the work of drawing a detailed programme for the members and keeping the list of subjects after taking into account all the suggestions that may be received.

1. What is the most serious problem of economic equality amongst in the underdeveloped country? How can this economic equality be implemented through trade and non-violence under present conditions?

2. How can the Harijans really participate their best in the work of national reconstruction?

3. What are the Harijans going to do under present conditions to help make the character and moral standard of the nation?

4. The propaganda, organization and efficiency of various Harijan organisations?

5. What is to be done to help the Harijans every year at one place?

6. Should the date of the Harijans' week be changed from 19th February to 26th January?

7. In what manner can we run our institutions on the basis of physical labour and non-violence?

8. Would it be useful to devise a plan for a comprehensive tour with a view to propagating the importance of reconstructive activities and the Harijans' history?

9. A plan for regularisation of reports from various Harijanite organisations and associations.

10. Consideration and criticism of the work of different Harijanite organisations and guidance for improvement.

HARIJAN

March 3

1933

FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY: A BASIC POLICY?

Referring to my article "A Rift in Food Self-sufficiency" (Harijan, 23rd Dec. 1932) Shri R. K. Patel, one of the members of the Planning Commission, writes as follows:

I have read your article in the Harijan of the 23rd Dec. 1932 as well as in the Harijan issue of the Harijans. I feel that the article does not give full weight to certain considerations which have influenced Government in directing that those areas which can grow more cotton and jute should grow them even by diverting existing lands from food-grains to these crops. This decision was taken at the end of December, that when we were faced with the problem of importing all these three commodities after the snapping of trade relations with Pakistan on account of a dispute over the exchange rate. As Pakistan as a source of supply had to be ruled out, the alternative lay in either growing jute and cotton ourselves or importing them from outside. A careful read of my jute industry in proportion to the country could not even be considered, as that was the main industry which served as a large proportion of our foreign exchange and employed a large number of persons. Thus apart from the loss in foreign exchange, any restriction in the jute industry would have given rise to various problems like the stoppage of surplus labour labour unrest etc., which as far as possible, had to be avoided. The import of jute from any other country not being possible, the only alternative was the growing of as much jute in India as possible even at the risk of diverting land from food grains to jute.

"3. The same considerations apply to the case of cotton also, except that if we were to pay a still

dear price than our maximum foreign exchange in Egypt and America, but the prices were very high as compared with the price of our Indian cotton. The Egyptian cotton sold at Rs. 1,000 per 5 bales while the price of our cotton was Rs. 600, Rs. 700, or Rs. 800. The alternative, therefore, were either to give more cotton varieties, say 100 higher price for foreign cotton or restrict production in the Indian industry in proportion to the quantity of Indian grown cotton. Government adopted the first alternative, as we could not restrict the foreign exchange required for importing high-priced cotton and a restriction of production had to be avoided as far as possible.

3. The Ministry of Agriculture hoped to put up schemes to increase food production to cover the loss of food caused by the diversion of food areas to jute and cotton, but this idea was subsequently given up. It may be suggested that this decision involved a temporary decrease in the area under food crops and a 12% in the four-fold programme of food self-sufficiency. From the short-term point of view it is really proving more cotton and jute at the expense of food but the Ministry of Agriculture hopes to make up for the loss of food caused by the diversion in a year or two, and after the lapse of a few years, that programme is to be self-sufficiency in food as well as in jute and cotton.

"4. Such a decision was also necessitated by the consideration of feeding India in an emergency. Our food self-sufficiency plans were based on the assumption of normal harvests and did not provide for large-scale crop failures, which occasionally occur in our country on account of the frequent monsoons.

"5. A larger target under the Five Year Food scheme to cover such situations could not be proposed as even the existing target were considered by many to be too ambitious and unworkable in practice. The question then arose how much was to be set in the event of widespread calamities as actually happened this year. Under ordinary conditions the Foreign Exchange Budget would provide a certain amount for purchase of food from abroad. If cotton and jute had to be imported in addition, this would have had to be reduced or our industries curtailed, but in the case of an emergency, it would have been difficult to find more money for food purchases even and thus the normal provision in the Foreign Exchange Budget, and this contingency could only be avoided by providing for the raising of the maximum amount of foreign exchange by as large a production of jute that cotton as we were capable of.

"6. Your article provides an idea which that Government has adopted a policy of food self-sufficiency through means.

under the present circumstances there is no alternative to becoming a food self-sufficient. In fact as possible. But if circumstances allowed, as for instance a country like America were prepared to supply thereby a large amount of our food requirements and there was a chance of our obtaining good prices for our own agricultural products it cannot be considered that even the poor condition of food self-sufficiency will be improved.

"7. I do not think this is a correct representation of the present policy of the Government of India. It is not possible for me to say if the food self-sufficiency policy has relation to the present circumstances. In the difficulty of obtaining food from abroad the danger of over the high cost of foreign food etc., or is caused by a genuine desire for self-sufficiency itself. But the reference drawn by you that the growing of more jute and cotton at the expense of

food crops indicates the contrary attitude. Is "Self-sufficiency in food" still not for much belated about, in case imports of cheap foodgrains were possible with the help of some country, is not justified and I submit that it cannot be drawn from the policy already followed. It could have been drawn, if we had grown just and raised for export — not for our self-consumption as at present, but for export to earn dollars — while importing designates that is not the case at present.

"4. The policy had to be changed to provide for the continuance of our jobs and certain industries and the provision of foreign exchange to meet an emergent situation and it is intended to patch up the rift in the food self-sufficiency as stated as quickly as possible. So far as I know, there is no intention of continuing to remain debtless in food and trying to meet the deficit by importing food from abroad and sending more crops to pay for it."

I am grateful to Shri Patil for his clarification of the Government policy, but I regret to say that it has left me unconvinced. On the contrary, it has confirmed my suspicion which I had expressed in my article and which was its main theme namely, that the Government did not accept self-sufficiency in food as its basic policy. I do not find a reply to it in the above letter. I did not suggest that in no way were the temporary measures taken by the Government justifiable. But my main charge was that as a result of the exceptions specifically reserved by the Government for making a departure in the food self-sufficiency policy their will to become self-sufficient is weakened, almost to the extent of abandoning that policy.

I had observed "The policy was advanced not by way of a basic policy of the Government, but because under the present circumstances there is no alternative to becoming as much self-sufficient as is feasible in possible." Referring to Shri Patil writes

"It is not possible for me to say if the food self-sufficiency policy has relation to the present economic situation, in the difficulty of obtaining food from abroad, the danger of war as it attacked by possible crisis for self-sufficiency food."

War has the end of existence. If it is not possible for Shri Patil to give a clear and definite reply to the basic question raised by me, the proper authority that can do so should clarify it in a manner, which would leave no room for doubt.

PANZAR, 3-2/63

VINDRA

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HERALDING THE REVOLUTION

(The following is a free rendering of the speech delivered by Shri Khera before the mass gathering of the Harijans held at Panzar on 2-2-63) — G. G. (M.)

We have assembled here in this place at this odd hour under the hot mid-day sun. What is it that has prompted us to do so? I know that many of you have come from far off places. Some have even walked the whole distance. Shri Talraj Wanshiwar, whose burning passion for serving the people is well known, and the water-bearer Shri Panwarchand Ranka have come on foot from Nagpur accompanied by their friends and families. Among them I saw a lady with a suckling baby of seven months. Similarly, from the Chanda district too, some friends have come on foot covering a distance of more than a hundred miles. All this arouses me and leads me to conclude that your hearts are filled with a common powerful idea. It is that common idea that has brought us here at this uncomfortable hour.

But what is that powerful idea that has possessed us all in common? Three years ago Mahatma Gandhi shook off his tiny physical body and spread himself throughout the universe with the powers of his soul. We have all since then become instruments of his spirit. His strong spirit is at our back and gives us inspiration and initiative. It is that power which has prompted us all to stand down here regardless of discomfort. The common idea which has united us all is expressed by us all. But perhaps you do not know how to express it in words. And you want me to speak authoritatively what we all experience within ourselves.

Why have we assembled here? I have only one answer to that question. Namely, we want to change the face of the earth. What bold words you have made me speak! But today those words alone will please God. Lord Shri Krishna that master player on the human fate of divine music, is now voicing His dance through us. We all are His broken — literally broken — bones of music. We do not get enough talent, nor enough to put on. There is nothing that we get an sufficient quantities. But God has already started His work with such broken instruments. At our best he took work from monkeys and at another he raised shepherds and cowherds to eminence and glory. That Lord now desires to take some work from the suffering millions of India whose masses have a centuries old tale to narrate. Just see! four years ago nobody cared to hear us, none had the leisure to do so. Rather it would be more correct to say that our voice was not regarded as of men but of animals. But that voice of ours, the world has now to listen to. We should therefore understand the gravity of our responsibility. We are now no longer insignificant people. If we but reverence our age, we shall begin to experience that a great power is working within and through us. Like Tukaram each one of us

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Prevention of Public Loss

I am not a lover of penal laws, nor have faith left in the present administrative machinery for their honest execution. But above it is directly vested with considerable powers of taking persons into custody in view of the enormous amount of corruption, and grossly negligent and inefficient management of public affairs involving a loss of large amounts of public money and property, I am almost tempted to recommend a law whereby it would be compulsory to take into preventive detention any manager, Government officer, contractor, or producers of law, medicine etc., or trustees and managers of trusts, charitable associations, joint stock companies, firms, co-operative societies etc. against whom there is a reasonable doubt of being corrupt or authors of corruption, or who have not detected or prevented or have a gross irregularity, inefficiency, negligence, or mismanagement perpetrated in any department under their authority coming to the Government or the public or a trust and its beneficiaries a heavy loss, until such person clears his character by showing that the loss occurred in spite of his having done his best to prevent it, or that he was not responsible for it.

A loss should be considered heavy enough, if it exceeds the annual salary of the suspected person, or Rs 10,000/- whichever is less, or causes loss of or damage to life.

If the person is unable to clear his character, the detention may be converted into conviction with a sentence of imprisonment which may extend to seven years with or without fine.

Varsha, 29-2-51

Prompt Action Necessary

Rapid establishment of Coca-Cola factories in the various parts of India appears to have been contemplated. It is regarded to be an injurious staff, not at all necessary even for medicinal purposes like alcohol or opium. A protest was made as soon as the foundation ceremony of its first factory in Delhi was announced. It has not been heeded. Like many other the industry will be allowed to grow until acres of papers will be invested in it, and hundreds of agents with their several hundred

employees will be made to depend upon it. Then it will become very difficult to eradicate the evil. The advocates of control have been an open and beneficial field for action. It will be supported by all lovers of the well-being of the people. This is a matter in which any direct action of the public even of Gairazim type would be not free from danger. Government must stop this industry before one gets to start. It is a step which Government alone can take without any danger to public peace. Government must arouse emotions of healthy public opinion, and expect their co-operation in its policies.

Varsha, 14-2-51

Free Supply of "Harijan" Papers

A kind and appreciative reader writes in the course of a letter

"I would also like the theory of getting our more dignified, I think the Harijan should be more popularized. It is my first intention that once a person takes to reading this paper, he will continue to read it. If you can find a way to increase this paper in the various schools and college libraries, it would be immensely good to the nation. When I was studying in the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, this paper was introduced and the President, staff and students were very fond of reading this paper and as a later date, we had to get two copies of the paper. You can also send this paper to various other public institutions. If possible you might send this paper to various educational teaching houses even free of charge, and I shall be glad to send my humble donation, if any fund is required to do so.

"At the end I would be telling in my diary if I do not send you my hearty congratulations for making taking a high standard after the death of the Mahatma and Mahatma Gandhi."

These papers, as the reader knows, are not sustained by advertisements or public donations. They have therefore to be self-supporting. Hence only limited copies can be distributed free. If however, appreciative readers place, as the above one offers to do, a sum at the disposal of the Manager, Harijan Papers, to enable him to supply free copies to deserving institutions or even individuals unable to pay their subscriptions they are supplied by him accordingly. The donor is also at liberty to choose his own desires.

I am grateful to the correspondent for his compliments at the end of the letter.

Varsha, 21-2-51

K. C. M.

that the cabinet will be returned to the A.L.B. in the immediate future have been asked. We assert that the Government's refusal to return the cabinet system is mainly justified. It is the old traditional rule of Hindu Kings which we had in such a measure of order as British Rule. The Government are doing it right. The King can do no wrong."

Self-Censor for Unchecked Decisions

Press Note

"1. The Secretary has alluded in his statement that the Government appeared to have a self-censor for unchecked decisions, and that this perhaps the reason why they did not return the cabinet of the Madras Council (the statement) does not carry enough. The allegation is entirely incorrect. The main object of the CABET was to control officers there to hold up a system of forwarding with a view to ensure the predominance of the State's position and at the same time to allow private producers a certain right of public opinion to compare with the A.L.B. by Government to some extent where they were weak by their own weakness on individual basis. There is not yet a single ministerial decision in the whole of the Council. In the Andhra case, the A.L.B. itself agreed to the formation of a small committee of private producers and dealers and business have been issued accordingly. There is no question of Government's action on which action has not been taken. More than 20 propositions have been introduced and several decisions have been recorded and there are decisions have even been continued to B.L. for two months."

A.L.B.

"CABET We have enough material with us to prove that the Government had a self-censor for the un-checked decisions. The Press Note speaks of this taken during the latter half of this and therefore could be spoken about the period before that. The statement which CABET established a claim to continue the un-checked decisions was inaugurated on last Dec. 1954. Why did the Government not take steps in 1954? They should have explained the delay."

"CABET The Government bring in the question of business and say that the A.L.B. itself agreed to the formation of private producers and dealers in Andhra State. They say their number is small. We are prepared to go to the Andhra case. Can even a quarter of this number be said to be small? The number of A.L.B. is 100 members for the whole of India is not more than 100. We claim that our Andhra branch Secretary took part in the last meeting of the Government's strategy where he decided the issue of business. He said he was there as Regional Council Officer in response to a personal D.O. and not as the Secretary of the branch which had no more claim to the office concerned. We believe that the A.L.B. is an error on its part. As soon as we came to know of the matter we made it clear to the Government that their policy was wrong, and the question arose about this (see all above) declares the response of the Government to A. Under another circumstances our Theodor Thiruvai Secretary appeared with a map of the Government for Theodor and therefore no decision was based there."

"(CABET) But in this aspect we are inclined to believe the Congress Working Committee more than the Madras Government. The former has passed a resolution on looking the Provincial Congress Committees and the Provincial Government to study their decisions. It has, by this voluntarily let in the party of local and greatly damaged its cause. It is further fortunate that the P.C.C. has not issued any statement, nor has any Provincial Government except the Madras State, have done so. On the contrary the Congress, the Madras Branch, the Punjab and the Assam Governments are doing their best work under the A.L.B. certificate."

"Self-censorship that such a committee does not safeguard the policy of CABET and thereby, in CABET. We persons should not agree to Working Committee's law also played its part. CABET's success under CABET's leadership. CABET's success, which the living efforts to its resolution is more in fact in CABET."

Government's Decision Withdrawn

Press Note

"1. The Government have also introduced a cabinet system to give the institutions engaged in commerce, work including their work in the village."

"The Government appear to encourage itself in all possible ways to apply itself also in the decision that CABET is not a self-censor. CABET should be used for all its, and the Government of the State. The Police will be a self-censor. The Government have encouraged CABET in all ways. The Government have encouraged to hold CABET, at the same time of CABET in preference to CABET, CABET is possible and they are aware that a good number of local bodies are following the CABET in the Government in the matter."

"In conclusion the Government will in simple and clear to CABET of the A.L.B. a decision to be made with them. They propose to work their CABET before in CABET in CABET."

A.L.B.

"CABET The Government declare CABET for their decision of CABET to be CABET only for all the decisions of the State. The public will be interested to know the extent of CABET to the decision. One may however require whether it has not in anything with the intention of the CABET of the Government CABET. We are glad the Madras Government have decided to CABET in the CABET of the CABET. We are glad that to meet the CABET of the CABET. CABET will be CABET in the A.L.B. if the Government accept. All CABET will work with the CABET of the CABET. We wish them success."

THEODOR THIRUVAI
Secretary A.L.B. Congress

Thanks

Albert Heineckel, Heidelberg, Switzerland (Germany), sends his kind regards to all his correspondents. Every one will be answered within the next few weeks and requests not to send any more dictionaries.

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up a parallel machinery. It will be of a different type from the Government machinery. The people themselves will have begun to run it. It will not wait the Government machinery to disappear while it serves some purpose, but the strength of the popular machinery must be such as to make the Government literally its agent, and never able to work against the interests of the masses. The Government machinery must feel itself immensely powerful to resist forces against the nation, but as against the nation itself and its popular machinery, it must feel quite subordinate to it. The Government machinery to weak enough even today. But in the absence of the parallel constructive machinery of the people, it yields to bullies, and itself bullies the people. Let constructive organisations therefore make themselves strong by actual work and make it impossible for bullies to stay.

Secondly, the popular machinery must be capable of supplying good, honest, capable and trained servants of high and pure personal character to the Government machinery. This does not necessarily mean that it will train officers and servants in every department. But it will mould the moral character of the people sufficiently high to ensure that dishonest and corrupt people cannot flourish in the Government. As Shri Arunachalam likes to put it, through every step of the constructive programme the one great object to be achieved is the *Mal Toke* of the entire nation in general, and of the rising generation in particular.

Wardha, 26-3-51

K. C. MANIYAPALA

ANTI-PROHIBITIONISTS' FAILURES

[The following letter was written to the editor of the *Times of India* but has not been published by him.]

Sir,—The anti-prohibitionists in your columns have made statements which must not pass unchallenged. For instance, the doctors say that 'persons need a drink . . . to work well the next day.' But the official book on 'Health Education' issued by the Ministry of Education for the use of teachers in England states, 'the habitual drinking of beer, wine and spirits may tend to weaken the muscles of the heart and of the body generally, and to diminish the power and capacity to work.' The Royal Commission 1929/31 declared in its report in so many words: 'The use of alcohol as an aid to work is physiologically unsound.' During the first world war Sir Lloyd George set up a Liquor Control Board which made an inquiry through scientific examinations and came to the conclusion that 'a moderate use of alcohol lowers the efficiency of the workman by about 15 per cent.'

M says that alcohol has no direct effect upon sexual activity. But Dr Sanger found that among 1,100 Italian women, 52.5 per cent were addicted to drink, 65.8 per cent had drinking mothers and 61.5 per cent had drinking fathers.

And Dr David Starr Jordan says: 'Thousands of thousands of boys step from the nation to the brothel—not a long step—to be poisoned for life with the most heathenish of diseases, the red plague, of which no one was ever certainly cured.'

Further on he says, 'Alcohol does not harm even a nursing mother or an unborn child.' But Prof D. F. Fraser Harris, M.D. D.Sc., wrote: 'When pathology speaks with no uncertain voice as to the harmful influence of alcohol in the reproductive process. Possibly one of the most fruitful sources of the birth of infants who will later become imbecile is the alcoholic spouse of the father. The spouses are either dead or so seriously debilitated that as fertilising agents for the ovum they are biologically imperfect. It needs very little physiological knowledge to realise how disastrous for the foetus is an alcoholized state of the maternal blood, seeing that the period of this influence is relatively so prolonged.'

Again he says: 'The excessive use of alcohol does not cause heart or other organ damage.' But as a result of the study of two million policy-holders in American insurance companies it was found that the death rate from Bright's disease and pneumonia was above the normal in drinking groups and among 'moderate' drinkers the death rate from cirrhosis of the liver was five times the normal. And Prof Bollinger found in his investigation of 5,700 bodies that 'every twentieth male in Munich died of "Munch's bar heart" and that one rarely finds in Munich a drunken heart and a normal history in an adult man.'

Certainly the anti-prohibitionists do not wish that India should be afflicted like England where seven hundred million pounds a year are wasted then wasted on drink and 25,000 people a year are convicted of drunkenness.

F. C. D.

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GANDHI'S CHOICE OF AN INSPIRING NAME

My contact with Thakkarbapa was through P. C. Harjan Industrial School (name named T. T. Chakrapan Vidyapeeth Madras). It was started in 1933-34 on the personal initiative of Shri S. Ganeshan and with the blessing of Mahatma Gandhi. In February 1946, the Central Indian Sewak Sangh took it over as Gandhi's -project. The administration was entrusted to a local nominated committee with Shri V. Shasthyan Iyengar as its president. I was pushed in as its Secretary in May 1946, when Gandhiji was at Madras for a few hours on his way to Ahmed. From then, I came under the free discipline of Thakkarbapa regarding the finances and administration of the institution. The school was a residential one for imparting industrial education to urban crafts to about 50 Harjan boys at the time. It provided free boarding and instruction. We had to beguile and run the classes and had a substantial portion of the finances locally. We also received grants from the Central Indian Sewak Sangh. It was a job to satisfy the restlessly detailed scrutiny of Thakkarbapa. My contact with him at the time was mostly through correspondence. I must confess to a sense of discomfort, in the beginning, at having to submit monthly reports and statements and explanations arising therefrom. I had a feeling that Bapu looked appreciation of and sympathy for the difficulties of a part time housewife worker like me — wanted to a jealous professor like that of law. It was only later when I came into direct personal contact with him during his occasional visits to Madras that I realised the soft and appreciative heart that lay under his stiffness. As I look back, I feel that my correspondence with him must have been a source of additional worry and trouble for him. But he must have been bravely bearing similar worries from all over. He would in his later days when I used to plead with him about some matter or other on behalf of the school remark in good humour "Oh! You are a lawyer! I cannot argue with you. I can only bargain." It was under him that I learnt the first principle of public service. It consists in continuous care and integrity in handling finances and intelligent and meticulous attention to the details of the work without getting overwhelmed by it.

He was on a visit to Madras for a few days. I think it was in 1941. I was anxious to avail of his presence for the purpose of making collections for the school — a perennial problem. I took him round to some prospective donors. It was not altogether encouraging. He points to show he has energy and perseverance. I was feeling worried at having to put him to trouble and strain. To weed further strain and to ease me, I fixed up with his amanuensis, a small gathering of enthusiasts and friends to meet him before he left so that they might be inspired and authorized to make and raise contributions. I

provided light refreshments — without any previous thought. He wrote to me from the train back in his own personal confidential letter. He enquired what the refreshments cost and who bore the expense. I hastened to reply that the expense was very moderate and that I bore it. If I remember right, I enclosed with my letter the vouchers therefore standing in my personal name. By that time he had formed a liking for me and had full confidence. There was therefore no question of any suspicion. But it is indicative of the very high standard of rectitude that he was scrupulous about, as regards himself and his workers. It might also have hurt him to feel that any expense at all should have been incurred to release him from the strain of going round for collection.

The school was located in an old hachaka building. It was proposed that the school should have its own buildings. We secured a site after a good deal of effort. We were fortunate in getting Gandhiji to agree to lay the foundation stone. The function was fixed up. Thakkarbapa was also good enough to come all the way. It was the morning of Friday, 1st February 1948. The site was a short distance from the quarters fixed up for Gandhiji. He preferred to walk. I was escorting him and was alone by his side. I took the opportunity to convey to him the desire of my co-workers and myself that when laying the foundation he might give an inspiring name to the institution. The function was performed. Gandhiji was in a very happy mood when laying the foundation and as part of it he insisted on having with him even hand, a portion of the wall to the height of two or three feet laying brick over brick and spreading cement as between. He was remarking at the time with hilarious laughter that he wanted to make good his claim to be an expert mason. Two have preserved in the school a snap-shot of this scene. On his return to the class he made a short speech. He mentioned that he was asked to give the institution an inspiring name and that he was thinking of it for the last few minutes. He wound up by saying "What more inspiring name can I give than to call it 'Thakkarbapa Vidyapeeth'?" (amidst great applause). Bapu was on the date by his side. He blushed heavily like a young maiden and looked at us with reproaching eyes. After the function, he came to me and raised me as the muckiestmaker. He said he would not have come all the way if he had any thing of the conspiracy. I could only protest my innocence.

In Thakkarbapa we had an infinitely human generosity mixing with us and caring with us as we did and guiding us in our faltering steps and making us by his firm, yet appreciative discipline.

His co-workers have been orphaned. May he continue to inspire us from his shining place, seated in the Eternal Divinity, which he had reached in his lifetime, by his identification with down-trodden humanity.

THE SHAME OF ENGLISH

Recently there was a news item in the papers telling us that a committee of the Government of India had passed resolutions on high Government officers with English education. The Committee deemed it necessary to criticize them for the language and style of the remarks passed by these officials in papers and documents of Governmental business. The committee says: "The officials seem to think that by their corrections and alterations they improve the drafts and notes from the point of view of language and style. But by doing so they make the drafts and notes ununderstandable, lengthy. The lengthy phrases, literary passages and dramatical quotations and extracts that are put in are easily to be dispensed with."

It is only the people who have been all along fighting for Swamy that are wont to pass such resolutions because they are not well-versed in English. Otherwise the old enemies of these officers would surely have comprehended them for their drafts and notes that would have proved their own English literature. They were blamed for their old mistakes and as such should they not be appreciated and complimented rather than criticized? Instead of doing any such thing the Committee lays it down that they should write in a direct and clear style. But were they ever taught to do so? The one clear and straight thing there was to win Swamy for the country. But these officers were expected to forget all their drafts and notes without allowing the factor to creep in. How then was it possible for them to adopt a clear and direct style? Had they time to spare from these duties they would have straightforwardly protested literary phrase and served the English language directly. But knowing that something is better than nothing, they tried to bring in as much literary grace as possible into whatever they happened to write. This only shows their practical wisdom.

The members of the committee should know that these officers are past any improvement, having been used to the habit of indulging in literary flourish in English. It is impossible to get out of the present condition without beginning to carry on the country's administration in the language of the people forthwith. Instead of doing this the Government of India have shown the weakness of giving English a further lease of fifteen years and hindered the newly growing strength of Swamy. Under these circumstances how can the officers be expected to pay heed to our complaints? English has been taught as an all sides, and as long as we do not dislodge it from wherever we are controlled by it, there will be no scope for the strength of the native to develop. English is no doubt a valuable thing, but we cannot afford to give it such undue importance, nor can we allow its use on such a scale as to allow it to tell the very life out of us. Education alone is the proper agency to begin this work. It alone can change the struc-

ture and bring about a revolution. But if education itself becomes helpless who will give strength to the people? Will Ministers of Education please consider this?

(Translated from Gujarati)

R. P. DADIA

HISTORY OF VANASPATHI PRICE CONTROL

The people in their efforts and entreaties to get a law imposed on vanaspathi as to get a relevant, have secured an important fact regarding it.

There has been a multiplication rise in the rates of vanaspathi for some years past. No section of the people has used a word against it. This increase affects not only vanaspathi alone but also groundnut oil which is consumed by the people of India to the tune of about 1,000 millions in per year. It thus helps the exploitation of the poor, who do not consume vanaspathi at all to the extent of Rs. 25 crores per annum.

Time and again Government have granted the demands of the vanaspathi producers for raising its price and gave further help to the latter category firms. People have usually acquiesced in it.

The ground generally advanced for raising the price is that the prices of groundnut oil have gone on increasing. Strictly speaking, there is no justification to demand higher prices for vanaspathi even on this plea. But the real facts are just the reverse. It has been the rise in vanaspathi prices that have led to higher prices of groundnut oil.

Tabular Statement of Comparative rise in Prices of Vanaspathi and Groundnut Oil

Index base rate of vanaspathi prices were raised	Increased rates per lb.	Per cent. rise in rates of groundnut oil per cent.	Year	Rate
18-6-25	18-6-25	25-5-40	25-5-40	25-5-40
1-1-30	2-14-0	22-0-0	14-12-28	26-0-0
1-3-30	2-14-0	22-0-0	21-3-28	27-0-0
5-7-28	2-15-5	22-0-0	2-5-28	28-0-0
			15-6-28	29-0-0
			15-10-28	30-0-0
1-3-28	1-0-0	22-4-0	27-5-28	32-11-0
3-6-28	1-0-0	24-0-0	23-5-28	32-0-0

It will be noticed from the above table that the rise in the rates of vanaspathi was necessarily followed by a rise in those of groundnut oil. And on the plea of the rise in oil prices the vanaspathi producers have made a demand for further increase in the rates of vanaspathi and Government have gone on granting their demands.

Unassailable Profile

At times either on account of an abundant supply of groundnut during its season or for other reasons, the high prices of groundnut oil that followed in the wake of rise in vanaspathi prices have come down rather disproportionately. It should then have been the duty of vanaspathi producers to lower the rates of vanaspathi proportionately. But vanaspathi producers have

at no time in the history of the industry shown any sense of moral responsibility by reducing their rates. Nor have the Government asked them to do so. Consequently, when the prices of groundnut oil fell, they got a splendid opportunity to pocket huge supplementary profits, and thus profiteering gets an open field to thrive. Thus, varanasi producers sometimes hoard stocks of groundnut oil refineries to last for four months. This creates a scarcity of oil in the market resulting once again in the rise of the rates of groundnut oil.

Comparative Statement of Increase in Rates of Groundnut Oil and Varanasi During the Last Three Years

Date	Rates of groundnut oil per maund in rupees	Quoting rate of varanasi per lb
18-3-47	21-3-0	0-11-3
18-7-47	20-3-0	0-12-6
18-11-47	18-11-0	0-13-6
18-3-48	17-1-0	0-13-6
18-7-48	18-3-0	0-13-6
18-11-48	20-3-0	0-13-6
18-3-49	22-0-0	0-14-6
18-7-49	21-3-0	0-15-3
18-11-49	20-12-0	0-15-3
18-3-50	22-0-0	0-16-3
18-11-50	22-0-0	1-0-0

Let us make a close study of this table. On 18-3-1947, groundnut oil was sold at Rs 21-3-0 per maund, and varanasi at 0-11-3 per lb. On 18-11-1949 groundnut oil was sold at Rs 20-12-0 per maund but varanasi sold at 0-15-3 per lb. Again on 18-11-1949 the rate for groundnut oil was 20-12-0 per maund and varanasi was sold at 0-15-3 per lb. It is thus clear that though groundnut oil has decreased by 12 annas per maund, the people have to pay 4-0-0 more per lb of varanasi. Not only that, but it affects the crude-oil market also in the same proportion (48 annas per lb.)

Thus the people are drained to the extent of Rs 26 annas per year. The idea of reducing prices is not achieved and inflationary tendencies are encouraged. The rise in prices of groundnut oil prevents its export and thus creates a loss of foreign exchange to the nation.

Since the last increase in rates of varanasi, the prices of groundnut oil have gone up and it was rumored that varanasi producers had put in a fresh demand for further increase in their rates. But the prices of groundnut having gone down on account of the commencement of the season, they gave up their demand. But people must not sit passively. Along with the efforts for getting varanasi banned or reduced, they should also agitate for reducing the rates of varanasi, as long as that product is allowed to be made.

Rates of oil and oilseeds depend upon prices of varanasi. In the interest of foreign exchange, and in the general interest of the country, a

strong agitation should be carried on for the reduction in the rate of varanasi. It is hoped that the people and the Government will take up the question.

Bombay

(Transmit from Colaba)

"HARIJAN"

Editor: Supposing that varanasi manufacture has to be allowed, the question whether its price should be reduced per gram groundnut oil, or also whether the price of the oil should be allowed to rise in proportion to that of varanasi must be considered from a different standpoint. The price of a commodity would have to follow to a certain extent the policy of the nation with regard to its manufacture. If the manufacture is to be encouraged the policy would be to sell the product cheap, even if the cost is high. If the policy is to discourage it, the product must be sold at a premium, even if the cost is less. But the surplus profit must not enrich the producer, but should go to the Government for the benefit of the nation. Thus, groundnut oil should always be available as cheaply as possible, because it is the food of the poor. If the price is insufficient to provide adequate returns to the oil-growing industry it should be paid a subsidy to be recovered from the high price of varanasi, but groundnut oil must not be allowed to become costly. In the same way, since the ghee industry must be encouraged in the interest of the cattle and health of the nation, it is necessary that ghee must not become prohibitively costly. Varanasi must not therefore be allowed to so compete with ghee as to drive the latter out. For the reason, too, it must be sold at a premium, but the entire price must go to the Treasury for subsidizing the ghee industry.

The defect of the present system is that it enables varanasi to thrive at the cost of staple oil, ghee and milk-products, without any benefit even to the consumers of varanasi. All the demands of an exploiting industry run for private profit are present here.

14-3-55

—E. G. M.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHABHA CENTRE)

Editor: K. D. HARTWELL



VOL. IV No. 3

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1934

TWO ANNAS

AGAINST COLLECTIVE FARMING

V. G. D. writes

"What a pity you have fallen a victim to the prevailing rage for 'collective farming'! You will perhaps change your views if you read *Peasant's Progress* by George Montagu, published by Faber about which a review in the *Quarterly* says as follows:

"In these days of the frenzied search for the efficient farming unit, which it is barely advocated by agricultural economists, can only be found when formed in the manner of the people and the earth. It is a joy to find someone who is ready to meet his own practice and experience in support of his small estate here, created by the family labour or the owner as he for the most protection of all kinds of farms. The lands that have function or have function, but which, unlike an honest farmer, suffer and persist in the limited order that he kept on every hand."

Man's mode of life and work have to change and adapt themselves to the conditions surrounding him. The traditional desire to possess one's own land and cattle and work for personal gain is strong in man everywhere, and we are no exception to it. The so-called *master* or *capitalist* is not the only *master* and *exploiter*; the landless peasant and the clerk and *workman* of the *capitalist* are also the same in embryo. We have come to believe that there can be no incentive to work, hard work through private ownership and gain. But then arises the question, how much land and wealth can a man possess? When the answer is that there need be no limit to it, the system is capitalism, absolutism, absolute monarchy, capitalism etc. It can be managed only through slaves and serfdom. If it is urged that a man may possess no more land and no more capital and means of production than he can personally labour on, it is not a practical economic proposition. In thickly populated countries like India China etc. the land is not enough for individual holding and economically working upon. The same is true of other forms of wealth and means of production. If the prevailing capitalist and master-slave order have led to subhuman conditions of life for a large majority of men, the other order of extreme division would lead to subhuman conditions for a still greater number. It would break down under its own barbarism giving rise again to a new system of absolutism and capitalism. The reason is that the funda-

mental faith underlying it, namely, some sort of personal ownership as an incentive to work, is kept intact, and this principle is spiritually defective at birth and has become morally defective because of the conditions of life, namely, insufficiency of land and wealth for making economically sound individual units.

Both spiritually and morally it is disastrous upon us to learn to look at work from a higher plane than personal profit and craving for ownership in specific plots. The Hindu joint-family system and the clan system created a broader outlook within a particular sphere of blood relationship. The principle must be extended to institutions based on relations other than the one of blood.

The method of farming suggested by me is not what is generally known as collective farming. I have called it *co-operative farming*. It might be called *extended joint-family farming* with individual sharing to a certain degree. It does not insist on too large farms, not even on enclosing the whole village as a single farm. The extent of the area would depend upon the nature of the soil, but it should be sufficient generally to provide work to 50 to 25 families.

Gandhi came to the conclusion, and I for one entirely agree, that the competition of agriculture alone is never good by man. Agriculture, cattle farming, and small industries should all be worked together in every unit, and for the all-round development of the peasant, it is necessary that he should possess also a handicraft. The co-operative form is not advocated for the purpose of mechanizing processes but for taking the best advantage of the human and animal agencies.

As to agriculture, as in cattle-keeping, most people advocate that there should be a cow or a buffalo in every house. Some have even urged that every cultivator must be compelled to keep a cow or a buffalo. The question was once discussed before Gandhi. Contrary to the expectations of many of his listeners Gandhi gave the opinion that he did not favour aggregated rearing of cattle in every village or farm, even if there was an individual owner of every cow, all the cows in a village should be housed together and managed in common. He definitely



forward the dairy system, utilising even in cowsheds. The same considerations apply to co-operatives in farming. Only then may we reach the ideal of *ah utt word*—All land belongs to God.

Wardha, 25-3-51

K. O. MATHURALA

A SCHEME FOR INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION

The problem of food shortage in India is getting increasingly complicated. Instead of becoming self-sufficient in foodgrains by the end of this year the Indian people have to put up with a rationing of ration by 25 per cent. And stretch the tugging hand to foreign countries. Unfortunately correct figures as to the actual percentage of food shortage in the country are not available so much so that some economists are inclined to believe that there is no food shortage at all and that the present difficulties are chiefly due to artificial scarcity created by artificial elements. Even those who do not accept this view generally concede that the real deficit is not more than about 15 per cent. This shortage is surely, not so extraordinary and should not cause so much headache to the Government and the people. With better storage techniques, irrigation facilities, reclamation of waste lands, prevention of wastage of food, and tapping of edible but inferior and generally neglected foods, it should have been possible by now to meet the annual food deficit. Failure to achieve this objective is, indeed, a real commentary on the basic policy that is being pursued by the Government of India despite public opposition.

I earnestly feel that the existing system of procurement and levy is fundamentally erroneous. In most of the States in India, the farmer has to part with a substantial portion of his produce under a system of compulsory procurement at Government rates which are considerably lower than the 'open market' or 'black-market' rates. He, naturally, resents such procurement and does not feel enthusiastic enough to step up the production of foodgrains to the maximum. He tries to divert his land from food-crops to money-crops which paid higher income because of better prices. Moreover he begins to learn the art of dodging Government procurement and selling his foodgrains to the black-marketeers. In Madhya Pradesh the Government procures foodgrains indirectly through merchants. But the net result is ultimately almost similar. The level of production shows the tendency to go down because the producers, both agricultural and industrial, do not feel the glow of economic incentives in a system hedged with controls on all sides. This has happened even in an enlightened and progressive country like Britain. In a poor country like India, therefore, the unshackled agriculturist is not expected to respond only to patriotism

and appeals for sacrifice. Adequate economic incentives ought to be regarded as pre-requisites for making the "Open Mass Food Campaign" a practicable proposition and a success.

How could this be achieved? I have a very definite and concrete suggestion to make. The Government should abandon the existing policy of procurement and introduce a system of open markets and limited sale of ration at controlled rates. The State should undertake to provide cheap ration only to those who cannot really afford to pay the 'open-market' price. For instance, persons earning less than Rs. 250 per month might be regarded as falling within this category. This figure will, of course, vary from region to region. The Government could also publish scheduled rates of foodgrains available in the ration shops from month to month, the rates could vary with the different levels of income and the quantities purchased. Moreover, only coarse, though clean, foodgrains (i.e. sorted or third quality, but not rotten or mixed with grit, earth etc.) may be made available in these Government shops. In order to discharge this responsibility the Government instead of procuring foodgrains at lower rates, should purchase them from the free or open market and sell them at cheaper prices in the ration shops. The loss incurred by the State in the process would be in the nature of a subsidy. Even at present, such subsidies are being paid by the Government on foodgrains imported from foreign countries. The money goes out of the country and the poor Indian farmer is not able to derive any benefit out of this additional expenditure from the public exchequer. Instead, the Government ought to schedule foodgrains purchased from our own agriculturists and allow the sellers of the mill to feel that they can reap the full fruits of their hard work on the land. The State will be obliged to make suitable arrangements for cheap ration shops in the cities, specially in the deficit areas, in the rural regions only the landless labour will be allowed to enjoy such facilities. The rest of the people in cities and villages will be free to make their purchases of foodgrains in the open market. Such a scheme will have several distinct advantages. First, the agony of the 'black market' and the consequent chain of rural degradation would automatically disappear. Secondly, the State will be able to recover a substantial portion of money spent on subsidy through a suitable system of subsidies and graded income-tax, realised from merchants who will be entitled to conduct their business in the open or free market. Thirdly, the farmers will be really encouraged to increase their food production in response to better prices in the market. Fourthly, the poorer sections of the population will continue to receive ration at controlled rates and the well-to-do people will get the satisfaction of making their purchases in the "white" market in place of the existing "black market."

In suggesting this scheme, I do not claim any originality. During my European tour last year, I found such a scheme working successfully in Czechoslovakia. The existence of a free market side by side with some cheap and subsidized ration shops for the poor people had eliminated black-marketing from the country and the State was able to augment its public exchequer by substantial means through taxation and income tax on the business transactions in the open market. I see no reason why a similar experiment could not be tried in India as well.

The first objection that may be advanced against this scheme is that higher prices of foodgrains would open up the inflationary spiral in motion. There need be no fear in this respect because the Government will be able to arrest the inflationary tendency by selling foodgrains to the poorer sections of the community and any rise in the level of wages would be quite unnecessary. Moreover, high prices of foodgrains prevail even today. The significant difference that the new scheme would bring into effect is that in place of the black-market prices we will have open market business transactions yielding additional taxable income. The Government can check any probable inflation by two other methods as well. First, the farmers need not be paid the whole value of their produce in cash. The State could offer an additional incentive to the villagers by giving them gold and silver also in making payments. The farmers can now convert their money into ornaments but the middlemen reap high profits by exploiting the needs of the villagers. The poor farmer of the soil will, surely, be grateful to the Government if he is able to procure gold and silver at comparatively cheap rates. Secondly, the State, instead of paying the full value of foodgrains to the farmers in cash or precious metals, could divert part of the money due to them into collective welfare schemes like better housing, co-operative farming and marketing. Shares of such co-operative societies could be supplied to the agriculturists, of course, with their consent. This will also, incidentally, meet the objection that the additional purchasing power placed in the hands of the villagers might be sub-spent on luxuries and wasteful non-essential expenditures.

Another argument advanced against this scheme by some economists is that the under-cultivated farmer is not yet trained in economic incentives. If he is able to earn higher income on his agricultural produce he may not care even to cultivate the whole of his land. The impression is that such a scheme of paying higher prices to the agriculturist, instead of motivating him to produce more may ultimately result in reducing his production. To my mind, such an impression is fantastic and betrays gross ignorance of the present psychology of the masses. The average villager today is an intelli-

gent person who easily responds to the economic incentives that exist in modern society.

There is one more point. In place of procurement, the Government could also think of rationing food and land revenue in kind, i.e. in the form of foodgrains of controlled rates. But the present level of storage efficiency and honesty among State officials may not be conducive to the success of such a system. This may be resorted to only in times of national emergency when stockpiling of foodgrains for ration shops may become imperative.

Lastly, I do not mean to suggest that only by changing the existing system of levy and procurement the food problem in India would be automatically solved and the deficit made good by additional productive effort on the part of the farmers. All other schemes of supplying better seeds, irrigation facilities, manure, cattle and implements will still be necessary. But I have no manner of doubt that by abolishing the present system of procurement a very great hurdle in the way of greater food production would surely be removed.

I place the scheme before the Union and State Governments and the National Planning Commission for their serious consideration. I hope they will find it well worth a fair trial.

Mumbai, 29-3-61

G. N. AGARWAL

Produce Tree-Cuttings at Schools

The article, "Self-Sufficiency in Cotton," published in the *Harper's* of 23rd September, 1960, describes how useful the tree-cuttings as for those who want to spin for their own wear. Spinning has now been introduced in a number of primary schools in some States, especially in the Bombay State. At many places where the schools are located cotton is not available locally. It has got to be imported from outside. Many a time it is not available at time or it is not of the required quality. A *Wadever* suggests that here cotton should be grown in the compounds at every school where spinning has been introduced. It is a suggestion worth being given effect to. Care should, however, be taken to select the right type of seed having regard to the local weather and soil conditions. The rates of cotton have gone very high. Growing of cotton in school compounds will be very helpful in reducing the expenses on the cloth.

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HARIJAN

March 17

1951

CO-ORDINATION OF HANDCRAFTS AND
MECHANIZED INDUSTRIES

I

"Harris Tweed" and Khadi

A British weaver/exporter has forwarded to me a sample of "Harris Tweed" in native woollen fabric similar to the pattern of Khaddar, except for the colour and design, and presented the following problem for my consideration:

"I wonder whether the readers would be of interest to dispute you know? I notice it is said to say so. It is a pattern of Harris Tweed from the outer Hebrides—Islands of the N.W. of Scotland. It was handspun just woven by a woman of George's small remote island in the Atlantic. From land wind and water on the main island of Harris on the inner Hebrides Loche. The dye used is now a chemical dye except for the natural colour. The only finishing on these islands is felting and the weaving of their own hand wool. Only a very few of the older women still weave handspun the wool the hand process now is to send the wool to land mills to be carded and spun. It is then returned to the villages for the women on Hebrides Loche by the men in their own homes. All attempts to persuade the women to resume the practice of handspinning were doomed to failure on N.W. Hebrides. Although it must have meant a moral and welcome occupation for the long hours of darkness during their miserable winter which has a very depressing effect and leads to a high rate of melancholia.

The spinners give it, changes to hand-reeling problem. I usually find of interest in connection with the Hebrides that I have read your answer to the fact that handspinning is unnecessary would apply to these islands too if suitably altered to meet the different mode of thought. How I wish the right person could improve the situation before the tradition spins. How sad!

The problem of the spinners of Hebrides is similar to the problem of the spinners and handloom weavers of India. The former is on a miniature scale, that of India on a mass and country-wide scale, and extends to several industries and occupations.

We know that cotton-spinning is now almost entirely done in power mills. At the time Gandhiji started the spinning movement, hand-spinning had entirely died out in a large part of India so much so that even a man of Gandhiji's age in Bombay did not know what a spinning wheel had been like. After considerable hawing Gandhiji was able to discover from Chagani one or two samples, and some old women, who had plied the charkha during their younger days.

Not so handloom weaving. It is still a going trade though not so flourishing. The difficulty of getting sufficient yarn for the looms has been always present and the number of looms operating has diminished every year.

Goodrich came to the definite conclusion that if hand-spinning was abandoned, hand-weaving was bound to die in a matter of time, for the same economic arguments about cheapness etc. applied both to spinning and weaving. As long as mill-weavers found it more profitable to weave the yarn in their own mills, and the consumers looked only to cheapness, hand loom weavers would not be able to get yarn in sufficient quantity and they could not compete with mill-fabrics in price. So if the hand-looms were to be maintained, hand-spinning must be revived.

Moreover, spinning is city mills and weaving on village looms is a top-to-bottom process. Cotton produced in villages has to be ginned, pressed and transported to cities. There the bales have to be baled once again, the pressed cotton has to be 'opened' (made loose), carded, silvered and spun. And the yarn has again to be baled into bales and sent to villages for distribution among weavers. After the hand-looms have woven it, a great part of the cloth is again taken to towns and cities for sale. All this is a wasteful process, which can go on only as long as there are not sufficient weaving mills. Hand-weaving can go only with hand-spinning, and the latter dies, the former cannot survive long, and even both of them together cannot be made to live, if they are put to the necessity of competing in the market with similar mill-fabrics.

The competition can be avoided only in one of the following ways:

(a) hand-spinning and hand-weaving is confined to only such artistic fabrics and designs as cannot be produced in mills, and are demanded by patrons of art. This pre-empted the perpetuation of a social and economic order of gross inequalities. Moreover, this can give employment only to a handful of artisans. Hand-spinning cannot become a domestic occupation of every village home, it cannot solve the problems of village unemployment and depletion, and the congestion of towns and cities.

(b) it is patronised by the people on sentimental considerations, and produced by people on philosophical, spiritual and self-sufficiency considerations irrespective of cost, and maintained by Government for the purpose of and to the extent necessary for fighting unemployment and pursuing a metric of popularity, whether they themselves believe in its usefulness or not.

(c) the Government regard hand-spinning, hand-weaving and similar village industries and modes of non-mechanized production, transport etc. as sacred and alternative lines of preservation of the nation.

I consider this last as the only effective way of solving the problems of competition between different modes of production, transport, large-scale unemployment, created by rapid mechanization.

and rationalization of industries, as also by mass migrations etc., and the revitalization and prosperity of village life and agriculture. In India there are life and death problems for the whole nation, but incidentally the principles might be of use to other countries as well as solving small problems, similar to the case of "Harris Tweed." Hence I shall discuss it at length in a separate article.

Wardha, 1-3-51.

K. G. RADHAKRISHNA

"EXCISE REVENUE (PROHIBITION) COMMITTEE" ?

The Central and State Governments of India are all prepared to forgo the income from the sale of spirituous liquors and narcotics. Under the prevailing financial straits they find this large revenue quite handy, to be easily had by trading on the beaten track. Grown of rupees can, no doubt, be had by such a course, and one might therefore look at it with a watering mouth. It would save the Government from the desperate consequent upon the imposition of fresh taxes particularly when the so-called intelligentsia are ready to ally themselves with the Government in this measure.

This mental inertia which is not willing to leave the beaten path is very dangerous for building up our newly won Swaraj. A noteworthy instance of the form this inertia sometimes takes is given below.

Dr F. K. R. V. Rao (Director of the Field School of Economics speaking on "Republican India's Second Budget" said

Several State Governments have rightly followed a policy of Prohibition thereby being freed of rupees from their revenues. (Did they have a deficit? None. They can make it good by sale of income of liquor.—M.) This loss of revenue is a matter for concern not only to the State Governments but also to the Centre in view of the large loans and grants that the Centre is making to the States.

Dr Rao goes on to suggest

The Centre should immediately undertake an inquiry into the whole question of the revenues of Prohibition in India in the context of economic development. The Centre alone can undertake such an inquiry. I am confident that if such an inquiry is undertaken and conclusions arrived at on an objective and rational basis, there would follow a revision of the policy of Prohibition which is sure would save the financial strain. (Applause)

(The Times of India, 3-3-51)

With some such idea and purpose the Madhya Pradesh Government has appointed a Committee, which has already been the subject of discussion in this paper a few days back. Dr Rao now goes further and says that an inquiry by the Centre instead of by the provinces should be undertaken. This passes comprehension. The subject of Prohibition comes within the scope of the provinces; all the revenue derived from liquor belongs to them. Disregarding of this plea that Dr Rao puts forward the lame argument that if the revenues of the provinces

are depleted they would affect adversely the Central Government also and then he mentions the case of the excise revenue with the Centre. May it not be that he does so in order to please the Central Government and Pandit Jawaharlal, who do not consider prohibition as of supreme importance? Otherwise the Centre should have nothing to do with this question. The director of the Constitution in this regard has to be consulted with by it also. It is, therefore, bound to help those provinces who make an honest effort to introduce prohibition. Instead of doing any such thing, Dr Rao here advocates the appointment of a Central Committee to find out how the excise revenue can be restored. The Constitution prohibits the Centre as well as the Provincial Governments from appointing any such Committee.

There is another point also to be considered here. Dr Rao seems to be speaking as an economic expert. Such experts generally do the common mistake of treading into fields not their own, and Dr Rao has committed such a mistake here. Prohibition is a delicate policy of the Indian Government; it is a duty imposed upon it by the Constitution. That policy no more depends on the so-called objective or rational basis of any economic expert. It is a fundamental principle of the basic policy of the Government of this country. Therefore one should look at the excise revenue problem with a cautious eye. The economist as an expert of a particular branch of knowledge can and should proceed with his work on this presumption; and if he knows his art well he should show the Government new ways and means of how they can properly find the necessary funds to make good the deficit caused by the loss of the excise revenue. Thus far two such sources have been found out and have yielded good results: the Income tax and the Sales tax. It is upon the economist to show us some other effective and harmless way. More light-hearted proposals would not do. Maybe, he may not be able to show any other way. If he has none to show he should humbly say so and it will be no discredit to his learning. But instead of that if he talks in a way so as to disorganize the definite policy of the State it won't be economics worth the name. But if he does so in spite of this it would be tampering with the deliberate policy of the State. It is not proper for experts to do so in the name of their special branch of knowledge. The legal behind prohibition is quite objective and rational. As a matter of fact the legal of the excise revenue is shaky and misleading. It is a sad thing if experts like Dr. Rao do not understand this. If such views and opinions are set about to please the Central Government to such trend they are likely to be abused by an opportunist irresponsibility. The ship of State cannot be allowed to be wrecked thus.

(Translated from English)

M. P. SHARMA

NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE

In the course of a village fair we happened to pass by the outskirts of a certain village fighting its way a distance the village people ran towards us. After a brief conversation with them we continued our journey. Some of them accompanied us to a little distance. We came by a Lachla wall which had been heavily damaged on account of a land-slide. Among the company, I noticed a villager with fingers cut off. Greeting him from my horse, and I was curious to know how he had lost them, he narrated his story. By itself, it is not of great importance; but in its present context it conveys a lesson of great value and meaning. It illustrates the superiority of the means "Do what others may live" to the selfish one "Love and let live".

In the international field we witness countries prancing then, flash at atom bombs and still sharper weapons, at the same time speaking in high platitudes about democracy and humanity. They declare India taking the side of justice and maintaining impartial neutrality. Thus in the surrounding gloom and dark despair, this small modest in a secluded corner of the country is really wonderful and like one with hope.

This is about the story. A hunter loaded his gun and aimed at a charming peacock. As he was about to fire at it, a pathetic cry was heard—"Stop! Stop! Why do you kill that beautiful creature for your fun and pleasure?" The hunter was taken aback for a while. But the shock did not stay long. He again held the gun fast in his hands and aimed. By the time the man who had shouted reached him and said "So long as there is breath in me I will not allow it to be killed." These words came from a simple and unassuming villager of the "backward class" of Thekkadai. He was not a member of the molayars (Council of Elders); nor was he on the register of any non-violent organisation. But his soul was disturbed at seeing an innocent peacock on the point of being killed. On the other hand the hunter was not an ordinary man. He was a man of position. His ego was hurt. He felt his self-respect being injured at the hands of a simple villager. In a stern voice, therefore, he threw out a challenge "Get away you fool! or you will be killed." The climax was reached, when the brave villager came forward and stood facing the gun and protecting the peacock said: "Face your shot."

The peacock was saved and the man was shot. The hunter was complacent. He was unserved. A feeling of repentance overcame him. But what could he do now? The shot had been already fired. Had he been a coward he would have shown his back to save himself. But

he too was a brave man. In a spontaneous mood, he sat down by the side of his victim and began to treat his wounds and comfort him. The village people rushed to the spot. They were united against the assassin. But the wounded villager pleaded with them and cautioned them. Why should not the heart of a hunter melt before such nobility? How greatly the brave villager must have risen to his esteem! The wounded hero bade him good-bye and the hunter departed. But before going he begged him to accept money for his treatment and left an amount there.

The valiant hero, though heavily wounded, was saved. But there were marks left on his fingers and hands as the visible symbol of his non-violent victory.

It made me reflect: How mysterious are the ways of Nature! Had such an incident taken place in a city, it would have hit the head lines in the dailies and eloquent tributes might have been paid to the hero. But nothing of the sort happened in this case. How many gems like him must be lying hidden in the dust of far away villages!

CENTRAL

(Translated from the Original Telugu-English)

A FANTASTIC SCHEME

The papers have advertised a scheme of building at Delhi a large museum about 116 ft. in height and 12,000 sq. ft. in area, and equipped with all modern conveniences. The outside of the museum will look, as nearly as such huge constructions in stone and cement can be made to the Gandhis with his children. To justify this reshaping of Gandhi into a building, or the building into Gandhi, it is suggested that the museum should be dedicated as a memorial to Gandhi and become a repository of his talks, records and literature. It is estimated to cost Rs 40 to 50 lakhs. If the reports are to be believed the authorities have approved the plan and selected a site for it.

I regret I am unable to appreciate this idea. It is out of tune with what Gandhi stood for. It is a wasteful expenditure, and particularly at a period like this must not be made from any public fund whatever, far less from a fund dedicated in memory of Gandhi. The Gandhi Fund can be usefully spent for several constructive activities which are in great need of money and they can be conducted without requiring so fantastic and expensive schemes.

This does not mean that it is suggested that no building is needed for preserving Gandhi's records etc., and for a good Gandhi Library and Research Institute. But a Gandhi Memorial Building should be an example of the beauty of simple perfection and usefulness and not of fantastic art and expensiveness. I hope the idea will be abandoned.

Wardha, 5-3-61.

K. G. MANSURWALA

so that the number of workers employed is very small. Thus Coca-Cola in Belgium employs only 250 workers in all to manufacture and distribute the product throughout the country.

Evil Effects on Health

It is surprising that so little attention has been paid to the effects that a drink like Coca-Cola might have on the consumer. Its composition is roughly water, sugar, extract, phosphoric acid, vanilla, caffeine and extract of Coca leaves and Cola nuts. A six ounce bottle of Coca-Cola is said to provide more 34 mgms. of caffeine.

Some amount of caffeine has a stimulating effect but excessive consumption has a depressing action and produces other bad effects upon the system. Various authorities have stressed the harmful effects of an excessive use of caffeine. Several cases are on record to show that excessive use of caffeinated beverages caused cardiac depression and affected the central circulatory system. Night terrors, insomnia, nervousness, excitability, indigestion, disturbed brain and weakness of the muscles are other effects of caffeine consumption.

Dr H. H. Rusby, Dean of the College of New York, Columbia University, stated: "It is nevertheless true that caffeine is a genuine poison both acute and chronic. Taken in the form of a beverage, it leads to the formation of a drug habit, quite as characteristic, though not as effective as nicotine. While not addictive as substances it is as its effects, prominent disorders of the cardiac function and of cerebral circulation resulting from its continued use. When the caffeine is taken in more concentrated and seductive forms as in confections and the like, the danger of habit formation becomes correspondingly greater." According to Dr W. M. Loomsky of New York, caffeine is particularly poisonous to children, over-stimulates the brain and produces functional disturbances. It attributes arrest of physical development to the excessive use of caffeine.

During the debate on the Bill for banning Coca-Cola in the French Assembly a deputy said: "But I draw the attention of the Assembly to a major point — a danger, as you all know it well, serious public health." Another deputy said "You tell us that you cannot forbid a drink which is consumed by millions of people all over the world. Is that an argument?" The enormous hundreds of millions of Chinese have smoked opium. Is that a reason why you should not be very strict in regulating the consumption of opium in our country?"

In the next article we shall examine its effects on Indian industry.

(Abridged)

OCTOBER

VINODA'S PILGRIMAGE

Vinoda will start from Ponnur tomorrow morning (28th March) on foot as he is to reach Shivarampalli, near Hyderabad Deccan, before the commencement of the Sarvodaya Conference scheduled to meet there during the National Week. This decision was taken yesterday at a meeting of the Serva Serva Sangh, where it was pointed upon him that if the Conference was not to become a mere exhibition of speeches and unnecessary expenditure, it was essential that he should guide its deliberations. He realised the force of this argument, and since he wished to avoid the use of a vehicle, he decided to go on foot. This decision was welcomed, as it would enable hundreds of villagers to receive the Sarvodaya message directly from his mouth. He will have to travel about 300 miles and cross several districts of Madhya Pradesh and the Hyderabad State.

I cannot say what exactly will emerge out of the deliberations of the Conference. But there is one message, which Vinoda is very keen on propagating and which has met the approval of constructive workers at Worli. It is that every one who believes in the Sarvodaya ideal should contribute a hour of selfless yarn on the occasion of the annual Sarvodaya mela, which takes place in every part of the country on 12th February. One person (irrespective of age or sex) one hour — will be the motto of negotiating what may be called, the vote for the Sarvodaya ideal. This is one of the tasks to which all who sleep or work for Sarvodaya should apply themselves during the year. The message must reach every hamlet and every house in every village, town or city, and workers should try to see it acted upon.

We shall all hopefully await the details of his itinerary and pray to God to guide and lighten his path.

Wardha, 7-3-62 E. G. MADHUSWALI

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TWO ANNAS

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Under the provisions of Mahatma Gandhi's last Will, duly granted by the Court of the District Judge, Ahmedabad, in Probate Proceedings No 69 of 1949 the Copyright in Mahatma's writings including books, articles, extracts, letters, replies, etc. including rights of translation, broadcasting, etc., throughout the world is actually vested in the Navajivan Trust.

Attention of the Trust has been drawn, to attempts on the part of some persons and publications to produce, reproduce, print, publish, sell or distribute either whole matter, or extracts or condensations or re-arrangements or translations of Gandhi's writings or letters or replies addressed to others without obtaining previous permission of the Trust. This is a gross infringement of the rights of the Trust and is an actionable wrong.

It is the current desire of the Trust to have the widest circulation of Gandhi's writings. It has been the policy of the Trust to generously give permission to Publishers on easy terms often quite minimal. But the Trust would be failing in its duty if it did not vigilantly safeguard the true manner and method of publication, and allowed Gandhi's name to be exploited in any way one pleased.

It is therefore desired that all interested in publishing such matter should secure previous permission of the Trust in writing in order to avoid any future trouble.

The Trust requests all those who come across such cases of infringement to bring them to its notice without delay.

STANLEY WELSH
 Managing Trustee

(Note: There appears to be a deliberate attempt on the part of some publishers to ignore Gandhi's Will. I have heard some of these wrongdoers that Gandhi and his writings etc. could not belong to a particular institution. He belonged to the whole world, and his writings might be published by any one desirous of doing so. This is a wrong argument. For very valid reasons, Gandhi took deliberate steps to guard his writings against mutilation, and bequeathed their copyrights to the Navajivan Trust. This act has apparently not pleased all those who were

close to him and who are anxious to propagate his writings whether for their own benefit, or of the world or both. But their displeasure or anxiety cannot give them the desired right. If they wish to publish his writings, as they allege, out of love and regard for Gandhi and his ideas, they should respect the wishes expressed by him in his Will and go through the formalities prescribed by law to do so. To obtain the permission of the Navajivan Trust.

— K. V. M.

PROHIBITION EVER SUCCESSFUL

Some classes of people, a few individuals and newspapers in our country have, it seems, taken upon themselves the gratuitous task of proving that the policy of prohibition has been a failure. Fortunately for us, the number of such people is very small and not in a position to shake the firm will of the people nor play upon their credulity.

Some people have stuck to the plea that as people cannot be made moral by recourse to law, prohibition by law is useless; and having uttered this argument they believe that they have proved their proposition.—G. H. D. To such people we would only say this much. The Prohibition Act only says that the Government will not heedlessly interest itself in the sale of liquor, because it leads to the ruin of the people, especially of the poor, the women and the children. A people's government, therefore, cannot carry on such an anti-social activity. Just as the law prohibiting theft makes the universal act of theft punishable, but does not seek directly to eradicate the non-contentious evil by the State Operated (to go further we cannot say what belongs to another) in the minds of the people, so also in the case with the law of prohibition. Therefore, if the Government ceases to deal in liquor as a public trade, the issue and of prohibition is passed and this is considered to be the chief test of its success.

Some people have begun to indulge in such loose talk as to say that distilling liquor has now become a home industry! Some irreverently say that all our is now diverted to 'liquor-making'. All this loose talk is reprehensible. It does not represent the true facts. Do the people who indulge in such talk then want to curtail that those who did not drink formerly have

taken to effect prohibition? Can we even say that all the old addicts have taken to such a course? This can never be balanced on. A large percentage of these automatically cease drinking for fear of being caught. And supposing all the addicts have taken to illicit distillings, what percentage of the population in the country were they? Supposing that small number has recourse to distillation, still how can we talk of it in terms of a home or cottage industry?

It can be definitely said that prohibition has done a lot of good to the country, and the harm that was being done by liquor will become less and less. There is no doubt about this.

The well-known maxim of the Gita is literally true here: *manasa chet mat sat satam*. (Given a little practice of this dharma stress was from great danger.) Prohibition is the duty of the State, not only a moral duty, but a political and social obligation imposed upon it by the Constitution. And even a slight performance of this duty saves both the ruler and the ruled. Gambling used to apply the above Gita maxim to khash. So far as prohibition is concerned, its truth is patent to all. Therefore, those who use such loose talk as is cited above want to throw the people back into the maelstrom from whence they are being extricated. They show down the tempo of the people's progress. And the consequence even they would not like. A new class of people playing this black trade and committing black deeds has already begun its work like thieves and burglars in order to reach liquor to those who are addicted to it. They are a fierce lot and much must be suppressed. But to do away with prohibition is not the way to do it. It would be as silly as repealing the law regarding theft and burglary if these become rampant in the country. Government and society should combat it with strictness and patience. It would not at all be proper to get frustrated and regard prohibition a failure. Such people might succeed and thrive in the cities. But there as well as elsewhere we have to direct our attention to the poor people who are being ruined by drink. Numerous instances like the following can be found here and there. As a matter of fact, no proof is needed for the success of prohibition; it is self-evident. Below is given an incident as described by Shri Chamaraj Moha, a Khadi worker of the Yashoda Ashram, who has to visit different villages in the course of his duties.

Incident (Tribute West):

Two Nampuraj carpenters are working at the house of . . . One of them while relating some of the incidents of his life said as follows: "I am going to be imprisoned again, in a few days." "I asked him, 'Why did you say that?'"

"Christhood said the carpenter: 'I have been playing this trade of a carpenter for the last 30 many years. But all that I earned by it went in the tavern. Now I am now starting with you. But if liquor were available I should have been in the tavern long ago. I was working after the evening meal. I now work on the farm in the morning and I give me

motivation for the poor and job house-building work in winter and summer. I have been working thus for the last 30 many years but only last year 1959 I earned a sum of Rs 5000. Then it occurred to me, did I spend this sum of Rs 500 to Rs 600 monthly all these years after drink? Hence I think we should be happy now if liquor is not introduced again."

The above needs no comment. Prohibition is ever successful. It is not dependent upon anything else but its sponsors. It is an to try to shake the mind of the people from it.

20-3-61

W. P. DODGE

(Translated from Gujarati)

A DANISH DAUGHTER IN INDIA

Christhood occasionally referred to Miss Anni Marie Petersen in his talks. I have a faint recollection that I once met her at Dehliwall more than 25 years ago. The people of Dehliwall were as proud of her as we should feel grateful to her. I understood that they held a special thanksgiving service for her on 22d January, the day of Gandhi's birthday.

—R. G. W.

The passing of 'Parvati' ('Grandmother'), as she was affectionately called, Miss Anni Marie Petersen, on 22d January last, at the age of 73, drew the curtain on a lifetime of single-minded devotion to India and her children, unique in its utter wholeheartedness and in its relation to rational purpose and rational culture. To the last, she remained a devoted student and follower of Mahatma Gandhi and the beliefs, the Deeds-and-Truths Andrews to the blessed group of foreign friends, who served India in complete harmony with her genius and her aspirations.

Miss Petersen had been a resident of India for over forty years. The job that she created when I asked her as to when she came over to India, fills me with pleasure and gratefulness whenever I remember it. She said, 'I came to India before you came. She was born in 1878 in a village in Denmark, that land which is famed for People's Colleges, and People's progress. From her early years she showed a love of nature and a great admiration for the personality and message of Jesus, two fundamental truths which grew with the years and shaped her life and destiny. In 1903, she joined the Danish Mission and came over to India as one of its members. For over ten years from then, she put in a substantial record of work in evangelical service and in the service of women.

But the national movements started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 and later, shook many of her notions and left a deep impression on her mind and on her career. It was natural that she was touched by the spiritual greatness of Gandhi and the brave and noble fight that he began against British Imperialism. She changed over from Mission activities with all its schemes, aggressiveness and alliance with Imperialism, to the current of Indian Nationalism. She left the Danish Mission and decided to organize welfare work on her own, under the joint inspiration of Jesus and Gandhi. She went

to Denmark, toured the country, explained her purpose and secured good support from a circle of friends. She decided to start a children's and women's centre at Porto Novo, near Chudamharn and, on her way back, met Gandhi at Allahabad and obtained his blessings. The building that she has constructed is a completely Syrian atmosphere, a little away from rail and road, is a standing monument of her love of nature, love of Indian culture and architecture, and her sense of cleanliness and tidiness. It is called 'Sewa Mandir' in a pure Indian style, suited to Indian climate and Indian tradition. Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundation for it during his 1921 tour.

For nearly 39 years, the Sewa Mandir has brought up poor girls, from the age of childhood in an atmosphere of comfort and plenty. Love of children and happiness in seeing them happy, were the basic qualities of Parvati and, to the last, in times of ease and in times of distress, she maintained the tradition of a happy home. She herself reduced many of her wants, loved to dress herself in Indian style, in loose-open kurtis.

Freedom was her life-breath and she would never reconcile herself to the suffocating regulations of Governmental recognition and aid, and, almost to the last, she conducted her institution without such aid and recognition. In 1944, after the Madras State had accepted the Basic Education Scheme organised by Gandhi, she allowed an aided teachers' training school to be started at the Sewa Mandir. Even so, she was rubbing the itching regulations and her last request to Government was a measure of freedom to conduct Basic Education in a wholesome and unhampered atmosphere.

The collection of books and pictures in the Sewa Mandir reminds us of her love of Indian literature and the Indian arts, particularly Indian music. She loved to send her children to Santalban in art studies. There was a peculiar spiritual understanding between herself and Gandhi who used to call her, 'My Aunt Marie'. She was one of the few to come forward to conduct the Wardha Scheme of Education when it was propagated by her in 1931, when, owing to technical difficulties, the Kasturba Memorial fund was unable to help her work, but undertook to aid it to a limited extent.

In August 1947, when India attained freedom, no foreigner could have been happier than Mrs Peterson who was then in Denmark; but it must have been reduced somewhat when she saw the old bureaucratic machinery functioning as gaily as ever, under the Republic. Her love of India and the Indian children, however, continued unabated till the last and her wish, that she should die in India and that her remains should become part of the Indian soil, was fulfilled on the 9th and 10th of January last respectively.

For the writer and many others like him, Mrs Peterson's life was an inspiration, her example enthused them and strengthened their desire for a life of dedication. For Indians in general, it should be an object lesson in the kinship of mankind which transcends all barriers of race and time, in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. What nobler lesson than this can anybody give or desire in these war-torn and nerve-racking times?

R. VISAYANAR

SARVODAYA CONFERENCE, SHIVARAMPALLI

Important Matter Regarding Railway Certificate to Indians

Invited to the Sarvodaya Conference, Shivarampalli, Hyderabad, have been furnished with certificates signed by Shri Gopalbhadra Chaudhari, Secretary, enabling them to get Railway tickets at concession rates. An important condition enabling the holder of the certificate to make reservation is that he must not be travelling at the expense of the Central or a State Government, a local body or a statutory authority. That rule has been recently added. The certificate forms issued to the travellers have not that provision printed on it. This has created some difficulty. The Deputy Director, Railway Board, Ministry of Railways, New Delhi, has been pleased to direct that a statement as follows signed by the giver himself on his certificate would be accepted by the Railway authorities as sufficient for reserving the concession.

"I hereby declare that my travelling expenses will not be borne by the Central or a State Government or local body or a statutory authority."

Every traveller who has obtained a certificate from the Secretary is requested to take note of this and add the required declaration to his certificate under his own signature.

Wardha, 20-3-51.

VALLABHRAO

Instructions Regarding Food Arrangements

The reader is aware that Shri Varaha is walking down to Hyderabad from Wardha in connection with the Sarvodaya Samasthan at Shivarampalli. He has started from Wardha on the 8th instant. His presence at the Samasthan will attract a larger number of devotees from all over the country. Moreover, his fast march through the provinces of Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad will also attract a larger number of villagers from the surrounding areas. The Executive Committee of the Samasthan is making all possible arrangements and has been able to collect some food grains which are controlled in that State. But if the number of devotees reaches there might be difficulty in obtaining additional food-grains. Hence all devotees will do well to bring with them their own ration of grains. The other visitors also are warned that they will have to make their own arrangements for food.

SITARAM
GOVERNMENT CHAURAHAT

HARIJAN

March 24

1951

CO-ORDINATION OF HANDCRAFTS AND MECHANIZED INDUSTRIES

II

Introduction

I assume the discussion initiated in "Hijras Tweed" and Khadi."

Since large-scale and mechanized production is the order of the day, and most countries are increasingly attached to this form of civilization, it should be realized that the dangers of war destruction and artificial and natural calamities to which they will be always open will also be irremediably on a tremendous scale. Yet that older civilizations were always superior morally and spiritually and more peace-minded than the present one, but the very pattern of life and the non-development of modern techniques kept these civilizations confined within small dimensions. The recuperation after a devastation could take place more rapidly and in a more manageable and self-reliant manner than now.

It is difficult to persuade modernized man to re-assume the modern way of life, and re-arrange his so a decentralized and simpler pattern. Even when decentralized small-scale production is planned, it is complicated with the help of technical sciences and power-driven machinery. The power to also the implements and small machinery needed for this type of decentralization, will be generated or manufactured in a few centralized large plants. They will depend upon raw materials, if not anything else, not available to every nation. Hence there will always be a danger of these central institutions breaking down now and again.

It is therefore in the interest of every nation and every country that it should always consult and maintain the old non-mechanized system of production, transport etc. well. It should look upon this pattern as its second line of defence. A second line of defence is not the less important, because it is second and not the main. It should also be kept fully efficient, so that it can be developed and spread rapidly whenever necessary arises.

This is possible only if Governments and the thinking public look upon people engaged in these pursuits in the same way as they look upon reserve forces in an army. They must be concentrated and kept efficient in the same way as these sent to the front. The remuneration of these producers should not depend upon the quantity and quality of their goods, but upon the time they work. A factory spindle may be able to spin 4 lb. per day, and a single worker

might be able to manage several such spindles working continuously. Hence he might appear to produce several lb. of yarn per day as against half a lb. or so of the hand-spinner. But the production of the former is not attributable to any greater skill or harder labour of the worker. It is due to the different kind of means of production given to him. Since, as much as the interest of the State itself as for the proper living of this worker in the difficult environments surrounding him, it is necessary to preserve him and her form of production. Her half a lb. of yarn is as valuable as the several lb. of the spinner in the factory. Per equal hours of good work, the remuneration of both must, therefore, be the same.

The production in this manner will be, after all, very small. It may be less than 1 lb. against the 200 or more lb. of the factory. Hence if the high cost of manual production is distributed on the latter, it will hardly raise the price of the latter by even two paise per lb. Similarly with regard to weaving. The total run would be small and may be made without being felt by the consumer. It would enable the hand-spun hand-woven khadi, the muligan and hand-woven potturi to be sold for the same price as similar cloth prepared in the factory.

The result is —

(a) since mechanized means are always liable to sudden and colossal breakdowns under natural and man-made calamities, these natural and simple means of production must always be maintained in good working order and polished. This must be the permanently accepted policy of the nation, whether the form of Government is Capitalist, Socialist, Communist or any other, because it is in conformity with Sarvodaya (the well-being of all).

(b) every man every in whom should be encouraged to pursue one or other of these vocations, and in villages, they should always be allowed to thrive and people pursuing them must be remunerated as fully as any worker in a factory. Diligence and hard work being equal, the amount of production should be the proper criterion for ascertaining the wages, since the quantity of production depends upon the instruments of production given to the worker. An electric loom will necessarily weave more than a hand-loom with a fly shuttle; and the latter will weave more than an ordinary village hand-loom. The quantity will depend also upon the quality of the yarn, and so on. But if the worker on every one of these has put in honest work of eight hours, there is no reason why their remunerations should vary.

(c) the mechanically calculated cost of production is not a perfect basis for determining the selling price of an article. Even if the method of production is the same, a large factory can always defeat in competition a number of small factories, because it can always make a saving

in the cost of production in various ways: the machine, by saving its own sources of raw materials, making its own machinery, developing its own sales-department, savings on overhead or indirect costs such as of packing transport etc. The cost of an article produced at the apparently cheapest rate cannot be made the basis of fixing its selling price. For, while a large factory saves on costs, it gives rise to unemployment congestion and various moral, social, economical and political problems, every one of which costs a good deal to the nation. I shall next consider this problem in the context of certain death which is the largest sin for the application of this principle.

R. S. HANSEN-OWEN

A FUTILE CONTROVERSY

A futile controversy is going on about the medium of instruction. Every Tom, Dick and Harry indulges in a eulogy of the English language. Though the English is others have left us, attempts are being made to impress the importance of their language on our mind. But how can this be successful? None may deny the importance of the English language, but how is it relevant to the subject of the medium of instruction? It is alleged that our languages are not yet sufficiently developed to become media of instruction. But there is a great defect in thinking thus. In fact the real medium of instruction is work, not language. In spite of the barrier of language a thing may not express its want to another, and make himself understood. What after all are the subjects for which our languages are regarded to be undeveloped? Science? Surely, experiments in science are performed by doing and not by talking about them. Then where is the hitch? But they have coined a score of technical terms. In any branch of learning or science created after first fixing the technical terms to it? Experience (discovery) comes first, terminology afterwards. Discovery is made and its knowledge imparted to others by direct observation, experiment and experience. Words are brought into use in the course of experiments and observations. Hence there is no harm if English technical terms are employed for some time. So long as it is not decided whether 'hydrogen' should be called *adogen* or *adapogen*, we may carry on with the word *Adogen*. But it does not mean that because we carry on with the word *Adogen*, we must continue to use English as the medium of instruction. Hydrogen may well be used in our own languages with propriety. If a Mountbatten can continue for a few days even after Swami, why not the word *hydrogen* in our languages? It will disappear when a proper successor comes to take its place.

But what really matters in our mental history. It is on account of this that we have considered a simple thing intricate. It is used if some of our children learn English as a language. But

why should we allow it to continue as a medium? It will be dropped soon sooner even if every boy and girl takes up English as a language. Its inevitable disappearance will be that we shall not be able to look at the world with an independent approach. The English language will act as a screen between our eyes and the world-at-large. Whether we wish it or not, our country will be dragged into the Anglo-American bloc. Hence we must study other world languages also such as Russian, German, French, Chinese, Japanese, Persian, Arabic etc. Then only we would acquire an impartial outlook; otherwise, we are bound to become one-sided and will be dependent upon others for our judgment.

We have given the English language a lease of 15 years for the sake of administrative convenience. In a way we have gifted a part of our own life to it. Apparently it is a concession to those people who feel too old to learn Hindi, but at the same time, it is also a concession to the English and the American people. It means that for those years an American and an Englishman will be able to follow the shades and trends of our politics and administration more easily than our own countrymen. Whatever advantage might have been seen in this it is not free from danger.

Yet some people assert that English may well be confined to the medium of instruction as long as the language of the administration remains English. If that argument were to prevail, the period of 15 years might well get extended to 30. It is the function of education to show the way, it should, if possible, reduce the period of 15 years to 5. But if education itself were to lag behind, the entire structure of the nation's life will receive a set-back. Educators must not, therefore, engage themselves in idle and useless discussions but begin to work and carry out what we have got to do. Then will our thoughts get a respite, and doubts and difficulties will begin to clear.

We must begin to think in our own language, otherwise we cannot give full expression to our personality. Look for instance, at the Constitution of free India which we have prepared after months of discussion. But what is this Constitution? Let apart the untransliterated, a large number of the educated class too, knows nothing about it. Had the original thinking been done in our own language the Constitution would have taken a different shape and its thrust would have gone down the spine of one and all. But today it is confined to a book and its translations are even more difficult and intricate to understand than the original. I have given the name 'mnemonic method' (*मनन*) to the system of imparting education by means of handicrafts. Some experts say that the word *mnemonic* does not fully denote the sense implied by 'mnemonics'. I told them that my word was not a synonym for *mnemonics*; but the

name of our system in which craft and knowledge are neither independent of, nor dependent on each other but are mutually interrelated (on the threads of a woven fabric) integration of this type is known as *samasyoga* in our language. Then they asked me for the English equivalent of *samasyoga*. I replied, "It is none of my business to give an English synonym for *samasyoga* or to give a Hindi synonym for 'correlation.' Mine is to give a name to the system of education evolved as a result of our experiments — and that I have done." So also, had we thought, from the start, about our Constitution in our own language, its words would have been current ones in the word *samasyoga* in among the teachers and scholars of *Veda Vidya*. In a, these words would have been live and vital. Only what is vital can give life.

Such a revolution cannot be brought about by *adama-karam*. It is for the educationists, teachers, and thinkers to do so. On them rests the responsibility not of following an even of walking hand in hand but of leading and marching ahead of others.

(Translated from Hindi *Jyotsna*)

VINOBA

EFFECTS OF COCO-COLA ON INDIAN INDUSTRY

Economic Consequences

Equally unfortunate are the economic consequences of the introduction of Coca-Cola in India. Indian manufacturers have a large capital invested in the aerated-water industry, and employ thousands of workers. In Bombay, almost a crisis of rupees has been created, and about 2,000 persons are employed. In Delhi there are about 125 licensed aerated-water factories producing about 12,000 dozen bottles a week, or about 1,800 dozen bottles a day. The number of persons employed is correspondingly large. Similarly, other parts of the country also have their aerated-water factories, employing large numbers of workers.

With the introduction of Coca-Cola, the enormous capital stands to lose heavily, thus intensifying the economic crisis in the country. Even more sinister are the problems that will arise when thousands of workers at the aerated-water factories are thrown out of work. Some figures are available from which one can form a rough estimate of what this country will have to face since the Coca-Cola industry has begun flourishing in India: a prospect that does not seem too distant under present conditions.

The maximum production capacity of the Coca-Cola plant set up in Delhi is about 6,000 dozen bottles in 8 hours. At first the drink did not catch on in Delhi, but very soon it began to get a hold on the market. A few months after its first introduction in the city, consumption amounted to 500 dozen bottles a day, increased by the successful beginning the company has made in Delhi, it is now spreading throughout

East Punjab, and has set up a new plant at Amritsar. The obvious implication is that the industry intends to infiltrate into every nook and corner of the country. In Bombay, of course, the factory is on the way to completion at Worli, and is expected to start operations, in full blast, shortly.

Heavy Loss

Serious economic consequences have already ensued as a result of the opening of the Coca-Cola plant in Delhi. It is claimed that 80 per cent of the consumption of other aerated waters in the city has fallen with resultant heavy loss to aerated-water manufacturers and workers. The prospect before them is little short of utter ruin, which, in the final analysis, is bound to have an untoward reaction upon the economy of the country as a whole. On the other hand, Coca-Cola is being distributed in a manner that is going to hit the rural trade in general very hard. Apart from the fact that the trade will suffer from fall in consumption of liquid goods, the Coca-Cola company makes it a policy, as far as possible, not to use bottles for distribution of their product. Coca-Cola is very largely sold in tin-brown tins, and distributors at village centers. Retail owners and employees are therefore, another set of victims of Coca-Cola. Other allied trades, like tea and coffee, will also be hard hit by the introduction of this foreign beverage in India.

Favoritism

The exigencies of post-war economy have created severe restrictions upon all Indian exporters, who have, in the recent past, suffered untold hardships in the matter of import licenses. The Coca-Cola company however, has been given license for the export of 45 machines costing Rs 50,000 each. While no aerated-water manufacturer, for instance, is permitted a license for the specific export of bottles, the Coca-Cola company has been allowed to import bottles worth Rs 5,00,000. Apart from the obvious distinctions that have been made, it is difficult to understand on what grounds the company has been allowed dollar currency for an article that is clearly not a necessity, when dollars are so urgently needed for far more important items.

Perhaps the most unjust part of the whole transaction is the favoritism that has been shown to this foreign enterprise in regard to indigenous industry. The latter has been experiencing the greatest difficulty in getting licenses for plant, glass bottles, machines and of course, sugar, while Coca-Cola has had them all for the mere asking. Licensed factories in the whole of India, for instance receive only about 150 bags of sugar per month, whereas the Coca-Cola enterprise in Delhi has been already given 175 bags within a month and a half. In Bombay, the licenses are given only 100 bags of sugar per month all told.

continued

ON WHAT TO SHIVARAMPALLI (A STORY OF VINDHIA'S ITINERARY)

1

Reason for the Programme

Forwar March 7

Vindhia started from Forwar on the 7th. On the evening of the 7th, he gave a parting message to the Ashrama inmates and residents of the village. In the course of his speech, he said he had not desired to stir them Forwar as long as the experiment, which he had started, needed his guidance and took proper shape. But he had to yield to the pressure of friends, and undertake that tour.

It was good to go to the Sarvodaya Samadhi on foot, because that mode of travelling was open to every one. Those who could not do so might go by train. Foot travel enabled the visitor to see the country, come into contact with the people, and carry the message of Sarvodaya to villages. People were eager to hear the gospel of Sarvodaya and received a message of hope and comfort. They were in a state of despair and looked eagerly for someone to show them the way to get out of their difficulties. The blame for their present condition could not be thrown on any one factor, and it was no good discussing the causes. The more important thing was to know the method of surmounting the difficulties. They had started to create it at Forwar, and though it was too early to see the results, even the little that had been achieved, gave them a measure of peace and satisfaction.

He did not start, Vindhia said, with any definite programme of propaganda. He would talk in the villages, understand their difficulties, and try to give them such guidance as their peculiar problems needed. As he had to reach Shivarampalli by a definite date, he would have to follow a fixed itinerary, but on his return journey he might shoot off hither and thither as necessary. He hoped that the young men staying behind would work in the Ashrama with unabated zeal, building upon it as their God-appointed mission.

Vindhia (First talk, 12 miles from Forwar, March 8)

To the people who had gathered together to hear Vindhia in the evening, he related how they worked at Forwar, both educated and uneducated members, all doing physical labour in the fields and on the wall, the stables, the loom and carpentry.

They lived in an age, when even going by train was getting to be regarded as too slow a mode of travelling in the face of the aeroplane. To go on foot might therefore be regarded as madness. But he had shown that made, so that he might be able to see villages in their own places, and acquaint himself with their conditions, and know their comforts and miseries.

Wages in Mind

The principal labourers had told him that they apprehended that landless conditions might soon prevail in their village, and they might be unable to get any labour during the coming months. He advised them to become self-reliant and not look to the Deputy Commissioner or the Food Minister to supply them with food. God had given every man two hands and a head so that he might be self-dependent. Every village must stand on its own legs. It was foolish to think that the men who governed them from Delhi, however wise they might be, could liberate five lakh villages of India from their hardships.

If the labourers relied upon getting increased wages to meet their deficits, they must understand that the wages could never overtake the deficits. For prices of commodities always increased more rapidly than wages. Hence they must receive their wages in kind. It was well known that the cultivators in the Warfha District, paid their sabbat (year-round labourers) at the rate of 6 baskets² of paddy per month plus some money in cash. He had noticed in the course of nearly thirty years that the misdeeds of our leaders had not undergone any change. It was only the cash payment that had undergone changes, and even defused from man to man. He advised them to follow the same practice for the daily wage-workers. The cultivators must give them half a paddy (16 lobes) of paddy per day—whatever be the season—along with some cash. The cash payment might vary according to season or according to the worker in a child, a woman or a man, and in accordance with the village customs. A discussion followed this and ultimately, the people accepted Vindhia's advice. Vindhia congratulated the villagers for their wise decision, and entrusted them to observe it faithfully and set an example to other villages.

The Analogy of Fingers

Another counsel which Vindhia said, he desired to give the villagers, was to work together in unison. He gave them the illustration of the hand. It had a thumb and four fingers. All were not equal in size or strength. But if a glass was to be lifted, every finger and thumb united together to lift it. It could not be lifted if the thumbs were to refuse to work, nor could it be done without difficulty if some of the fingers did not co-operate. Even the smallest finger would have to contribute its share of energy. So also a man in action. People should take their lessons from the five fingers and each should contribute his share and work with the rest.

Congregational Prayer

Vindhia learnt that the villagers observed a daily programme of congregational prayer, but that it was attended by only one or two elders.

² A basket is a measure of 100 lobes in Warfha, i.e. 20 pounds weight. 1 basket will be 40 lbs.

and was a fitting tribute. He exhorted the people that they should all take part in it. It would do them good.

(Continued)

O D

THE SEVENTH ALL INDIA BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE

(Continued, March 22, 1951)

The Conference recently held at Sevagram looks now forward in two directions. For the first time the present conference was preceded by a three-day conference of Mr. Talwar teachers, who met to pool their resources and find solutions for their day-to-day practical difficulties. Nearly all these teachers then stayed on for the general conference where their individual purposes and their background of actual experience contributed much to the harmonious atmosphere of the meetings.

The second new feature was the planning of the programme so as to give time for group discussions of specific aspects of Mr. Talwar. One whole morning session and several shorter periods were devoted to meetings of seven "national conferences" which surveyed needs in the following fields:

1. Post-basic Education
2. Basic Education
3. Post-basic Education
4. Social and Adult Education
5. Teachers' Training
6. Media and their presence in Mr. Talwar
7. Administration of Mr. Talwar

The findings of these national conferences and of the preceding Teachers' Conference were received and recorded by the full conference. These findings form an important part of the work accomplished. General satisfaction was expressed with the experiment and a request made that national discussions should have an increased allocation of time in future conferences.

The full conference met formally on the morning of March 2nd and after welcome and introductions heard the inaugural address delivered by the Hon'ble Pundit Sarvabharat Shukla (Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh), and the Presidential address by Acharya Bedanath Varma, Education Minister, Bihar. In the afternoon Shri Vinoba Bhave opened the conference exhibition with an inspiring speech. On the second day a full conference session was devoted to the new and important topic of Rural Universities on which a general discussion was initiated by Shri T. S. Aravamudanagar (Chettiar). On the third day also a short time was allocated to this subject and the remainder of the full conference session was given to reports from Government and non-Government Agencies of Mr. Talwar in the various States, and to the findings of the national conferences already described.

The presence of Shri Vinoba Bhave throughout the conference, and his participation in the discussions, were much appreciated by the delegates.

On Sunday March 4, the children, students, and workers of the Talwar Singh, under the direction of Shrimati Ashadevi Arjunsaykham, produced a pageant of Indian history, *Shree-in-Talwar*, which was greatly enjoyed, and furnished a stimulating example of the possibilities of cultural education in Mr. Talwar. Many old students, delegates and visitors themselves shared in the production of the various scenes.

Some statistics may be of interest. Every part of India was represented except Himachal Pradesh, whose one delegate was obliged to withdraw his name at the last moment. Out of a total of 404 attendees from outside Sevagram, 324 were accredited delegates of Government or non-Government agencies, 60 were individual visitors and 204 were student workers from 46 Talwar Training Institutions. Distribution by States was as follows:

Assam	6	Madhya	71
Bengal	43	Mysore	24
Bihar	144	Nepal	2
Bombay	142	Orissa	14
Cable	1	Punjab	20
Delhi	73	Rajasthan	1
Hyderabad	15	Saurashtra	6
Jammu-Kashmir	1	Tamilnadu-Canton	7
Madhya Pradesh	7*	Uttar Pradesh	21
Madhya Pradesh	72*		

At a meeting of the delegates held on the 5th March 1951, an Akhil Bharat Mr. Talwar Shiksha Sangh was constituted with Shri Arjunsaykham as President, Shri Deshrupendra Khatu as Vice-President and Shri Jagatprasad Narayan Sharma as Secretary. It was also decided to form a Working Committee to which in the first instance, the President was requested to nominate members from the different States. A sub-committee was also appointed to draft the Constitution of the Sangh.

MARCH 23, 1951

* Includes constructive work institutions in Varanasi.

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HARIJAN

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THIRD YEAR

SARVODAYA SUBJECTS

The Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, announced that the problems listed below are some of the subjects which have been prepared for discussion at the coming Sarvodaya Conference at Shrirangpalli (Hyderabad). As I shall not be able to attend the Conference, I give my views on a few of them.

Subjects

1. What is the meaning of economic equality contemplated in Sarvodaya? How can the economic equality be implemented through truth and non-violence under present conditions?

2. How may the Sarvodaya work make his contribution to the work of national reconstruction?

3. What can the Sarvodaya work do under the present condition to help raise the character and moral standard of the nation?

4. The propagation, organization and utilization of strength (from suffering).

5. Will it be more useful to hold the conference every year at the same place?

6. Should the date of the Sarvodaya be changed from 25th February to 30th January?

7. In what manner can we run our institutions on the principles of bread-labour and non-possession?

8. Would it be useful to devise a plan for a country-wide tour for propagating the Sarvodaya ideology and the importance of constructive activities?

9. A plan for the regularization of reports from various constructive agencies, firms and associations.

10. Review of the work of the various constructive organizations and directions for their improvement.

1. Economic Equality

Whatever step we take for advancing that we shall have to take it in the context of the present realities. I cannot, therefore, dream of the attainment of absolute economic equality by non-violent means in the near future.

Again, the application of non-violent principles has also to be in terms of the existing con-

ditions. In other words, there will be a combination of legislative action, intelligent self interest and altruistic mission. Of those, who will have to give up their wealth and income, some will make such sacrifices as they can under the inspiration of a high ideal. There can be no limit to the maximum of such voluntary sacrifice. Some will be prepared to make sacrifices as being a call of the taxes, which cannot be resisted and as the only alternative to losing all. Further, all legislative measures for bringing about economic equality will be passed by the sanction of two forces namely, the consent of many intelligent and far-sighted rich men, and the various workers working in society. This procedure does not imply the willing consent of every individual required to make the sacrifice. Quite a lot of them will be doing so on account of legal pressure. And legal pressure is not a purely non-violent means. But it is the way recognized by modern society to less violent than physical force. It may be compared to truth, which is not a purely vegetarian diet, and is yet accepted by vegetarians, as if it were so.

In the light of these circumstances, economic equality is to be interpreted as the continued process of narrowing the gulf between the maximum property and income and the minimum property and income of a people.

As a first step, I shall recommend myself to the limitation of the maximum income to five thousand rupees per month for men in business and two thousand rupees per month for public men and employees (whether in Government service or in non-official public institutions), and of maximum private property to ten lakh rupees for all.

As regards the minimum income I suggest the following schedule for all permanent employees and workers in Government services or official or non-official public bodies.

Below 25 years of age, monthly Rs 40

Between 25 and 34 years, monthly Rs 50

Above 34 years of age, monthly Rs 100.

For non permanent labour, the maximum which we should reach as a first step paid on a daily wage scale must be two square meals a day for himself and those dependent upon him and incapable of work, and six annas in cash.

HARIJAN

March 21

1931

CO-ORDINATION OF HANDICRAFTS AND MECHANIZED INDUSTRIES

III

Integration of Khadi, Handloom and Mill

Under the present system of marketing, mill-cloth, loom-cloth and khadi are each treated as an independent article and the sale-price of each is determined by calculating its cost of production. Thus if the mill-cloth of a particular type sells at 8 As per yard, loom- and khadi-cloth of the same type have to be sold at 10 As and 14 As respectively. If it is in the interest of the people that both hand-loom and khadi should be encouraged, this is an antinomial system. Indeed, it is not a system at all, but a haphazard, unco-ordinated procedure. Let us call the sale-price based on the cost of production the crude price of the article. Then the principle should be that all cloth of the same quality, by whatever method produced, must be sold at the same price and not at its several crude prices.

I believe the following is a rough but not quite inaccurate estimate of the total cloth-production of the country:

	Yards in crores	Percentage of Total
Mill-cloth	438	78.7
Loom-cloth	128	23
Khadi	2	0.3
Total	568	100

A I S A khadi, even with unskilled wages to the various types of workers engaged in it and particularly to the spinner, sells at present at nearly twice the price of the mill-cloth of the same quality. If a full living wage were paid it could not be sold for less than 2.75 times. Loom-cloth sells in a very irregular manner. If the supply of mill-yarn were adequate it should sell at 1.25 times. But owing to yarn famine, the weaver has often to sell it cheaper than mill-cloth. But 1.25 times the mill-cloth might be taken as its fair crude sale-price. At these rates, the market value of the three cloths would stand as follows:

	Yards in crores	Crude rate per yard	Value in crores of rupees
Mill-cloth	438	0-80	350
Loom-cloth	128	0.20-4	25
Khadi	2	1-54-8	3.75
Total	568		378.75

This works out at less than 84 as per yd.

Now, if it is realized that it is in the interest of the nation to make the people charkha-minded and look to the interests of villagers, it would be clear that in order to give the greatest

stimulus to the hand-loom and the charkha, loom-cloth must sell at a little less than similar mill-cloth, and khadi must sell cheaper than loom-cloth. Consequently, since the average price of cloth comes to 84 as per yd. in the above table, if khadi is allowed to be sold at 8 as per yd. and the loom cloth at 84 as per yd., it would involve a loss of Rs 1-8 as and 1½ annas per yd. on the two respectively. The total loss would be as follows:

	Yards in crores	Loss per yard	Total in crores of rupees
Loom-cloth	128	0-1-4	13.32
Khadi	2	1-4-4	2.75
Total loss			14.9

If this loss is distributed on 438 crore yds of mill-cloth it would work out at less than 6 ps per yd. Even on making an allowance for inaccuracies of estimates of mill-cloth and loom-cloth production and for the possible necessity of not endangering export trade of mill-cloth, if the price of the mill-cloth consumed in India were alone to be raised, it would have to be sold at the most at 9 as per yd., that is, one anna more than the crude price. Some of us are of opinion that in order to retain the moral sentiment for khadi, khadi need not be sold cheaper than mill-cloth. Indeed, it might be always priced just a little more than similar mill-cloth. If so, the loss to be distributed on mill-cloth would become still less. If all cloth is sold at the flat rate of 84 as per yd., the value of 568 crore yds. would be Rs 318.75 crores, i.e. a rise of over half an anna per yd. in the price of mill-cloth would more than cover the loss on both loom-cloth and khadi.

From the point of view of national economy, in opposition to personal economies of the producer, since all the several modes of producing cloth have to be maintained, the sale of mill-cloth at 8 as per yd. is being done at a loss. It is quite unnecessarily so done since the loss can be easily borne by it. The consumer, who wants to save even this small waste imposed for the benefit of the village-producers can do so by purchasing sheet or hand-loom cloth, and can even make a saving by becoming a spinner and/or a weaver in his leisure hours.

Let it be remembered that in the above calculations the quantity and prices of loom-cloth and khadi are put at their maximum present estimates. As a matter of fact the production and prices of both are perhaps less than 60 per cent of these. But khadi could be pushed up to these figures within a year or two, if the policy advocated here was adopted. As for hand-loom cloth, it would depend upon the supply of yarn by the mills and so it is difficult to make any estimate. But the push given to khadi would give employment to weavers as well, and that would give relief to them too. For, the charkha is the breadwinner of the weaver too, as the ac-

operation of the hand-loom is indispensable for its progress. Not so to the mill. The greater the production of the shawl, the less will be the pressure on the mill to supply yarn to the hand-loom weaver.

Such a policy would certainly give a flip to the shawl and khadi. But even with considerable improvements in the implements of production the most optimistic calculation would not, I believe, put the figure of expenses at more than 15 crores within the next five years after the inauguration of the policy. Without improvements, this would increase the loss as khadi by Rs 11 crores, and would work out at less than 1 p per yd. With improvements in tools and techniques and production also on the increase in the mill-cloth sale by side with khadi, the sentence of loss per yard would be reduced. Thus in any case, the loss would be covered by the above mentioned raise of one anna per yard in the price of mill-cloth. That is other factors being normal, there will be no necessity of revising the price for at least five years.*

The present position is more favourable than the one assumed above. The present crude sale-price of khadi is hardly more than twice that of the mill-cloth, and its production is less than 3 crore yards. Also improvements in the technique of khadi production are being introduced at a rapid pace, and are bound to be further accelerated if khadi is looked upon as a reserve fibre of the nation, (as it really is). Moreover, khadi of special artistic patterns would be sold at fancy prices as before, and a good deal of khadi will not enter the market, being produced for home consumption, or made of yarn, on which no spinning charges are paid. Hence taken as a whole, the raise in the price of the mill-cloth may not have to be as great as estimated above, and if that much is made, it will enable the nation to meet the cost of research work for cotton, khadi etc.

Of course, this must mean go to the Government and not to the mills, and must be adjusted by the former for subsidizing both and khadi.

I shall conclude this subject in the next article, in which I shall try to examine the consequences and implications of this policy.

E. G. MANGRUKALA

* Given if these figures are revised as follows in my paper by a factor in a multiplication, the ultimate result remains the same.

	Rs	Rs	Value
	in crores		in crores of Rs
Mill-cloth	400	Rs 1.00 per yard	400
Land-cloth	100	Rs 1.40 " "	140
Khadi	5	Rs 9.00 " "	45
Total	505		585

i.e., less than Rs 1.10 per yard

Even if the production of khadi drops up to 10 crore yards in the next 5 years without any improvement in the means of its production, the extra cloth remaining stationary, the average price will be less than Rs 1.10 per yard. Thus a raise of one anna per yard on mill-cloth will support both khadi and hand-cloth (the latter reduces to 200 crore yards per annum).

SHREDDHA VYAVAHARA ANULAN (SHEDD LIFE MOVEMENT)

Honesty has entered into every walk of our life and public institutions. Profiteering, black-marketing, adulteration, corruption, misappropriation of public and trust funds, extravagance etc. have become rampant. Presumably with the purpose of preventing extreme hardships to people of very limited means Government has introduced a policy of controlling the prices and ensuring distribution of some important articles of constant use. But the general opinion is that the reasoning behind the policy and the manner of its imposition and administration have not been less disastrous in their economic and demoralising effects than the consequences of the absence of controls and rationing. Degeneration has reached perhaps an unprecedented level.

Nevertheless, in every part of the country there are to be found people who are honest and want to lead an honest life, but find it very difficult to do so in the present economic fabric and environment. They are to be found in all sections of the society—cultivators, producers of goods, dealers, consumers, Government servants and others. They find themselves in a dilemma. If they do not control their crops, goods etc., do not give bribes to railway and other officers for services which they are bound to render but do not render until they are paid their bribes, do not on selling or purchasing at controlled rates etc., do not try to get more than their quota of ration, do not conserve at irregularities and dishonesties perpetrated by their superiors or subordinates they find it impossible to sustain. There are several people who have, during the last few years, given up one trade after another, because the control policy of the Government has made it impossible for them to carry it on honestly or profitably, profitably in the sense of giving them even a reasonable margin of profit.

They want to be honest, but they want success to help them in their effort, and give them the strength of co-operation and mutual support.

Some way should be found so that such people could come together and get to know one another. Thereafter they might enter into relations of mutual dealings, so they might sell their commodities to and purchase their wants from one another, and assist one another in getting right things done by officers without recourse to corrupt methods and without dishonesty tactics. In controlled commodities they should, in the first instance, try their utmost to conform to the Government control rates. When they find that it is impossible to do so, they must meet together to investigate the causes and consider the means of remedying the defects and removing corruption. They must realize that in order to bring about pressure on Government as well as society to reform their measures, methods and conduct, it is necessary in the first instance to

build up their own prestige by setting an example of a high standard of business morals and honesty. It is impossible for any authority or society to enlist the demands of men of high character, particularly when they are also acting together.

Ideas of starting some sort of Satyagraha are in the air. Satyagraha, in the true sense of the word, is the continuous practice of truthful and non-violent behavior. Any movement of breaking laws does not constitute Satyagraha simply because the breakers do not resort to injuring life and property and are prepared to go to jail. As a weapon of resistance, Satyagraha against dishonesty and corruption can be employed only by and through persons pledged to *Shuddha Vyavahara* (honest life). Hence a movement for *Shuddha Vyavahara* must precede any contemplation of Satyagraha.

The excessive importance given in life to money is one of the greatest causes of the present degeneration and corruption. If a will for honest life is created, it may be possible to devise methods which will eliminate or reduce the use of money from most of the ordinary buying and selling transactions. (For instance, by barter through suitable articles or labor) and thus get over the difficulties of blackmarketing, profiteering, corruption etc., so far as these are due to the over-importance given to money.

Shri Kadambari in Bombay has been already working for *Shuddha Vyavahara*. The present suggestion is made to further the same cause. It should be worked upon with greater zeal consistently with proper precautions for preventing its own exploitation from alienist motives.

How may people act about the work? It is clear from the nature of the movement that to a considerable extent it can be carried on locally and with local resources only. A person or body or organization inspired with zeal for this type of work, and having sufficient contact with the local people should at once begin to work with out waiting for any outside leader to help the movement. They should, however, select and induce only such persons to take the pledge about whom they might feel a reasonable certainty that they would be able to keep it. In the absence of a suitable local organization, a new organization will have to be set up when ten or more persons ready to work for this movement come forward. Before the organization is actually formed an interested participant would do well to declare his intention in writing in something like the following form so that it might be possible to know who are willing to join the movement. Where there is no local organization already in existence, which is willing to undertake the work, or where a participant is unable to ascertain whether there is a sufficient number of interested participants, it is suggested that he should forward his declaration to the address given in the postscript. When it is found that

there are sufficient workers ready to join the movement in any compact small area, that office will introduce them to one another.

The Initial Declaration

"I wish to become a *Shuddha Vyavahari* (honest citizen). I do not wish to resort to cheating, lying, swindling, profiteering, bribery, corruption etc. in my sales, purchases and other acts of life. But often find myself in such an embarrassing situation that I cannot avoid doing so. I seek company and companionship of similar people from all walks of life and if I can find others interested, commercial and other companies of the same type, I shall pledge myself to deal with them in all these circumstances and transactions with which they are concerned.

When two such *shuddha vyavaharas* are available and a new organization is found to be necessary they should organize themselves into a local council. This council will have the power to frame rules, regulations and principles to guide their conduct and to enable them to stand together with one another for resolving mutual difficulties, raising the moral level of society, restoring dishonest and corrupt practices and generally for helping one another in life.

After a council is formed, each member will sign a pledge appropriate to his calling and category, in the form determined by the council.

The Pledge

A general specimen of such a pledge is given below for guidance.

I pledge that—

(1) As a dealer (a) I shall not buy back my stock so that a merely inflated value be assigned. (b) I shall not raise my price simply because there is an artificial high demand for it. (c) I shall not demand a high or profiteering price or purchase back my stock or take advantage of the purchaser's ignorance or need nor shall I purchase deception by swindling. (d) I shall not refuse to sell a commodity possessed by me in order to get a higher price. But in order that honest people may not deprive me of my stock for reasons at a higher price, I shall be as liberal to sell it only in a particular quantity in retail customers.

(2) Whether I am a producer or a middleman or trader, I shall openly declare the ingredients I seek to get me to—whether the article concerned is a copyrighted or non-copyrighted one. (a) I shall not cheat, trade my articles with any inferior or inferior stuff or waste material and shall not keep for sale any thing which is to my knowledge as adulterated.

(3) As a purchaser (a) I shall not purchase more than I absolutely need out of apprehended scarcity or rise of prices in the future and shall not lend a helping hand to those creating artificial scarcity. (b) I shall not purchase things which are not available at controlled rates but shall try my best to go without them as long as possible. (c) I shall not purchase things secretly and in violation of laws for leading a life of comfort and luxury or for building "stock fortresses". (d) I shall not bribe or get price of influence to get my demands as applications preferred to others.

(4) As a public servant or worker, I shall not accept a bribe or gift or allow myself to be influenced by sales of immaterial work or efforts in the discharge of my duties.

I shall try to induce as many people as I can to become *Shuddha Vyavaharas* (honest citizens).

In token of my sincerity for the above and as a physical symbol of my desire for a clean society I have signed this pledge presented by them. I

small daily class at least a part of my presence, notwithstanding my studies or domestic etc. and content myself with doing so that from the corner should come I have to attend to the social and spiritual education of life.

Wardha, 20-3-64

K. G. MANDREKAR.

PG In accordance with the suggestion made above, the Sarva Seva Samiti, Wardha, has, in an immediate manner, decided to commence that activity at once, so far as it can organize it within its own area under the guidance of Shri. Shrikrishna Das. People elsewhere also wishing to work in this direction and desiring any guidance, information, or further clarification in the matter, will please correspond with the above body at the address given below. All such letters should be marked "Shuddha Vyavastha" on the top and should be confined to that subject only to enable quick disposal.

Sarvaya, Sarva Seva Samiti, Gita Gita Sarv Krishna Das, Rajawade, Wardha, M P.

K. G. M.

ON WAY TO SHIVANIPALLI (A DIARY OF VINODAS PINGHARI)

II

Rajapur (District Ra), 17 miles from Wardha, March 2

Vinoda recalled a Marathi puzzle, which he had heard from his mother in his childhood. It asked, who are the two brothers who have always lived close to each other and yet have never met? The answer was, the eyes. But it was regrettable that this was also true of himself in relation to the residents of Rajapur, who was only 25 miles from Penar.

Message of the Sarvodaya Samaj

Vinoda explained to short the reason for his journey to Shivanipalli, and what the Sarvodaya Samaj meant. It was a society, in which some were high, some low, and all lived in peace and unity with love for one another. As a part of the movement, there was the preparation of the annual work at various places, where as many people as could, gathered together for joint prayer and working, and all were expected to contribute a hank of self-given yarn. The last work for this part had taken place at Penar on 12th February last. He would like that as many people of the village as possible should attend the work next year and send their hanks.

Working through Service

The next which happened to be sung at the prayer time was

मम नमो भूत, नमो भूत नमो भूत,
मम नमो भूत नमो भूत नमो भूत.

(Kanyasulkik God provides the world; serve him, for this purpose do something which will cause happiness to some other being.)

Explaining that Vinoda told Swami Ramadas had indicated in this verse a rule of life for every man. It was man's duty to worship God every day. But God is all-pervading. How may a man worship him? Ramadas taught us that this could be done by rendering some service to a life in affliction. Before retiring to bed at night,

every one should think whether he had rendered an act of service to any person, other than his own self and his family. Had he done anything, say, the neighbour, or for the village? Had he attended any person or animal, whom he knew to be sick? Had he rendered any assistance to any needy being? Had he done any place which he saw filled with dirt? If he was unable to get anything like this in his daily account, he had failed to worship God that day.

The Joy of Service

The joy which an act of loving service gave was greater than the joy of pleasures and comforts. In the village in which he passed his childhood, Vinoda said, his family owned a jack-fruit (palash) tree. People in Madhya Pradesh might not have seen a jack-fruit tree. It was a huge tree, and its fruit was very heavy and big, much larger than the coconut. Inside it, it contained a few hundred seeds, each larger than a date. They were very sweet and nourishing, and were much appreciated by the people. When the first fruit of the year was ripe and brought home, his mother, would cut it, separate the seeds, and ask him to go to every house in the village and present 2 or 4 seeds to each family on her behalf. Not until this was done, was a seed tasted by any member of the family. He remembered what joy he felt in carrying out that command. It was a greater pleasure than enjoying a thing oneself, and sweeter than vapor stuff.

It was usual to offer service to God by presenting flowers, incense and burnt incense. But Ramadas has given us another form of worship, namely, through service of a being. It was doubtful, Vinoda said, if he would ever go to that village again. Let them remember that a travelling labor who had once been to their village, told them that service in life did not consist in multiplying possessions and pleasures for oneself, but in giving happiness to others.

Wages in Hand

Vinoda had discussed with the cultivators and laborers of the village the subject of paying wages in kind, and was able to induce three cultivators to do so at the rate of 50 talas of paddy per day along with some cash. Vinoda was satisfied with the result. The third he said, would in course of time multiply indefinitely.

A village wanted Vinoda not to place too much reliance on such promises. People had got habituated to sign pledges and break them immediately afterwards. Vinoda said that he always liked to trust people. Trust breeds trust. There was nothing to be gained by a false pledge before him. He was a laborer, who could give them nothing in return. And if the people still made a pledge before him, he would take it as an act of sincerity. The pledges should, however, take the village's criticism as a warning, and remember that a vow was a serious thing. It was not to be broken even at the cost of life.

(Continued)

D D

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

There are two main things which have been the bane of English or University Education in India.

1. A foreign language as the medium of instruction and examination.

2. The untidy building up of educational degrees and corridors with Government administrative services.

The resultant effect of these two has been to blunt away real education and kill the growth of an independent outlook and successful originality to grapple with the real problems of our national life and progress. Objectively speaking, success in examinations has been the hall mark of absorption and learning. As a result, the scale of learning had to preclude themselves in the steps of more examining bodies, who rate their efficiency and achievement on the percentage of their examination results.

The situation calls for urgent treatment and a drastic remedy. The Government of Bombay went into the idea of regional universities, but untidiness it seems to be a still born remedy. The new universities cannot have the beaten track. They do not show the creative urge born of a new idea or any tendency for inevitable reconstruction. It is feared, as was apprehended by some, this new step has only added one more bone of provocationist contention among the local groups. It has created avoidable frictional burden on the Government and is a futile strategy from the point of view of reform. Thus the question of grappling with the problem of university reform remains almost as it was. What to do now?

The People's Bel, the official organ of the Government of Bombay, in its issue of 15-3-51 writes as follows under the caption, "Place of University Degrees in Recruitment to Government Service."

"The method of recruitment to the Government Administrative Services should be so formulated as not to give undue advantage to the persons with university education. This is the opinion expressed by the informed committee appointed by the Government of Bombay in January, 1950.

"The Committee was to examine the problem of recruitment to the administrative services through the university degrees.

"The Government, while appointing the Committee had stated that a 'comprehensive complete' against our educational system is that the passing of University examinations is held open world? as a stepping stone to Government employment and the Committee was expected to consider the problem against this background.

"After carefully examining the problem in all its aspects, the Committee holds the view that in order to secure the best material available recruitment to the public service should be made through open competition, should be intelligible to character. Candidates appearing at these tests should possess a certain prescribed minimum academic qualification in

in eligible to appear for any particular test. With a view to making these examinations as valid and reliable as possible the Committee suggests that the tests should be functional, in the group or groups of subjects to be presented for a particular test, should have a decided relation to the duties of the post which the candidate will be expected to fill in addition, intelligence and education tests, as also the interview, should be used in conjunction with written tests. In the case of technical posts a technical degree or diploma will have to be a condition for the eligibility for test.

"To provide the general minimum qualification for a large number of administrative posts, the Committee holds the view that it will be a desirable condition. A university degree need not be insisted upon either in cases where it may be absolutely necessary."

Thus is a very hopeful line of approach. It will take away the harmful incentive to government workers leaving the colleges and will thus give a reasonable scope for real work of education to begin. The Government of Bombay must publish the report of this Committee, if they have not done it till now, and educational reformers should carefully examine it.

25-3-51

M. P. BHAI

Is This Not Money Waste?

The papers wherein it is that a tree-planting programme is going to be staged upon this year. Is this going to be an annual function, one is inclined to ask. Is it necessary? Should Government undertake it? Is it proper to spend so much money after such propaganda of "Growing More Food" and "Planting Trees"?

Along with this news we are told that over three crore trees were planted last year in response to the appeal of the Food Minister. Reports from States say that about 68 lakhs, i.e. 80 per cent out of these have died. Surely, 80 per cent is too high a death-rate for these saplings.

And what a huge amount was spent after the planting of these trees? How much money did the Government spend after this programme and propaganda? Can not governments save themselves from such expenses? The Ministers would do well to bear in mind that the people in general look upon such programmes as mere stunts and advertising.

25-3-51

M.

(Forwarded from Gujarat)

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HARIJAN

April 1

1950

COORDINATION OF HANDICRAFTS AND MECHANIZED INDUSTRIES

IV

Consequences and Implications

The consequences of such a policy might be summed up as follows:

(1) it will give an unprecedented impetus to khadi production, and spread of basic education;

(2) it will remove the obstacle to the consumption of khadi and the irruption to avoid the observance of the rule of limited khadi dress;

(3) it will give employment to every one who needs it, and where the spinning wheel will be 3 paces, slightly lower than that of labour in other occupations in the vicinity it will not create dearth of labour for other purposes. It will be a secondary and leisure-time employment in the true sense of the word;

(4) it will enable the export of mill cloth to be carried on without creating scarcity of cloth at home;

(5) by the time India begins to lose her export trade of cloth—a not unlikely position as her present customers begin to industrialize themselves as better equipped nations begin to compete with her—the large scale and concentrated factories of India will themselves have entered upon the process of decentralization, and develop into small-scale industries. The cloth she also is likely to take a different shape in the village home. So on both a short and a long-range view the policy will be advantageous to the nation.

The principle illustrated by Khadi would be applicable also to several other village industries which involve a competition between great quantities of mechanized production with a small number of workers on the one side and small quantities of manual production with a large number of workers on the other—e.g. oil-mills and ghani (cottonseed and oil) and other mill-paper and handicraft paper, sugar and use of cane and palms etc. The problem of central transport would also have to be dealt with on the same considerations but perhaps in a different mode of implementation. In most cases a small rise in the price of factory products would enable the sale of manual products at above rates absorbing thereby millions of workers who are otherwise displaced. Besides it will always be an insurance against any breakdown of the factory system. Further wherever there is field for the export trade of Indian goods in the same way as for mill-cloth—it would be possible to carry it on without creating a scarcity at home.

Of course, no policy involves the under-standing and possible withdrawal of the following lower principles by the State:

(1) that villages must provide centres of industrial activity also, and not be reduced merely to satellites of agricultural and agricultural labourers or gatherers of forest-produce;

(2) that, hence, basic education is education based on a productive handicraft, in the national system of education for India;

(3) that the State looks upon khadi and village industries and occupations as of vital importance for the growth and prosperity of the villages;

(4) that it is necessary to maintain them also as moral and alternative basis of defence and preservation of the nation;

(5) that hence it is desirable that villages should make use of khadi and village-made products to the utmost extent and it is not in their interest to look to mill-cloth for their normal clothing requirements; similarly, with regard to some of the basic necessities of life, such as oil, defatted rice, etc.

(6) that, hence, it is the duty of the State to spread as rapidly and extensively as possible the knowledge of spinning, weaving and other auxiliary processes of khadi manufacture among the villagers and of improved methods of manual village industries and house, lastly,

(7) that the State must endeavour to remove the competition between mechanized products and hand-made products, by subsidizing the latter so that they could be sold at less than or at the same price as the former.

Let economists consider these suggestions. They are applicable whether made in other countries as well, including the most mechanized U.S.A. and Europe.

WEDNES 1-3-50 K. G. BHATTACHARYA ASSAM EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUND

(From 31-1-50 to 31-3-50)

Name and Place	Rs	as	ps
Shri S. M. Bhattacharya, Shalga	10	0	0
Shri A. B. Das, Agart	5	0	0

Sum already acknowledged 1917 14 3

Grand Total Rs 1515 14 3

Note: Out of the above sum, Rs 24153-5-6, received upto 31-11-50 were sent to the Governor of Assam by cheque through the late Border Telegraphical Petal on 31-11-50. The remaining balance of Rs 5000 11-8 received since then has now been sent to the Governor of Assam. With this number we are closing the columns of the Harijan for this fund. Any moneys received hereafter for this fund will of course be forwarded to the Governor of Assam as before, but without acknowledgment in the Harijan.

27.3.50 J. B. Bhatia

MISGIVINGS CONFIRMED

I

Dr. G. S. Mantruger having seen my note in *Harijan* of December 18, 1950, entitled "Misapprehension", has written to me stating the following note in reply, for publication and a brochure for my personal use on the subject of the Central Food Technological Research Institute at Mysore:

"The activities of the functions of the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, by Mahatma Jinnah is based on an incorrect apprehension of the functions of the Institute and does not do it justice. Calling it 'Misapprehension' has added largely to injury.

"Increasing production of food and the better procurement are the responsibility of the Minister of Agriculture and Food and I have no doubt they are doing all they can to meet the needs of the nation. The activities of the Central of Scientific and Industrial Research are confined to industrial research and creating industry to improve its production technique. India imported every 900,000 metric tons of food grains last year and looking after food material for transportation is time and stored by the Civil Service in central warehouse of the 150 to 160 cranes. It is to meet to the needs of this industry that the Central Food Technological Institute Mysore has been brought into being with a view to receiving imports from abroad and improving the Indian industry thereby increasing exportable surplus value of such material in which there is a surplus. (All India editor)

"Considerable emphasis has been laid in the collection on the reference to industries in industries for manufacture of finished goods etc., this is really based on a misapprehension. The fact is that appreciable quantities of these food materials are imported and consumed by a nation at the point the necessary to this industry equipped in with a view to marketing these imports and establishing indigenous industries to meet the requirements rather than to attempt to popularize their use by the general public. The main function of the Institute is to improve methods of storage of food material with a view to saving large quantities of produce damaged by pests and rodents, preservation of agricultural production and utilization of partially affected material, improvement in food engineering to obtain better yields in processing like milling, parboiling and processing of rice with a view to improve their keeping qualities and conservation of food material from decay and destruction by deterioration and other methods of preservation, treatment of coffee beans to improve their digestibility and general food value and elimination of harmful and undesirable ingredients, study of new and indigenous unfamiliar sources of food materials and their processing to render them more wholesome and acceptable.

"Investigation into some of these aspects are of considerable help in making more food available and by thereby encouraging attention to some of them, the Institute at Mysore will be playing an important part in the solution of the food problem in production and procurement of increased quantities by the Minister of Food and Agriculture. The nutritional aspects of food and making good the deficiency in similar activity that will be a direct service in the past where did it primarily looking to make essential contributions. In fact, it is the poor who will ultimately reap a greater benefit from the activities of the Institute than the rich, for there will be instrumental in making available food in larger quantities, better in every respect, more easily

digested and more nutritious than what the poor have had a long time being accustomed to. The result will be that the poor will be able to lead a longer and healthier life and will be able to resist disease in a greater extent than at present.

Certainly I would not have called words of this opinion too having known Mahatma Jinnah for a number of years. I feel that I should explain the correct position to him so that she should have no misgivings about the importance of the Institute and its functions in strengthening the conditions of the poor, a subject which she has so much at heart.

I appreciate his response, and I have looked through the brochure reading all the printed passages and many others as well.

The Doctor hopes my "misgivings" will be removed but I am very sorry to say they are not, on the contrary they are partially confirmed. I shall explain this briefly next week.

MIRA

NOTES

Dish for the Country

'Dish for the country', 'Dish for the country' used hitherto to be the appeal of leaders to their people in times of national calamity. Gandhiji's last transaction had been 'Dish for Dish', and when the adversity to the nation was thickest he encapsulated it by doing and dying for it.

There is no doubt that we are at extremely straitened circumstances at present. But in a frantic attempt to get revenue the new slogan seems to have changed into 'Dish for the Country'. M P has been followed by U P in the appointment of a Prohibition Enquiry Committee. Ganes's Chief Minister has apologized for not proceeding with Prohibition. Bihar follows it, and the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee has obliged its State by issuing a directive that no Congressman should take part in Prohibition propaganda, except with the permission of the Provincial Congress Committee! A Congressman must be a troublemaker under the Congress Constitution, but he would become liable to disciplinary action if he tried to make others also troublemakers, without the permission of his superiors! Can there be a greater self-condemnation of the Congress and Congress Government and clearer hint to the prohibitionists of Bihar to leave the Congress? It now remains for a big industrialist to found a 'Best Wine Factory' in India and have it opened by a Minister! The event may take place at any time.

Wardha 28-3-51

Police Shootings

Two Akshara corpus petitions brought to light that two detainees P. Rangachari and Vidura Rameshreddy alleged to be Communists were shot down by the Police of Hyderabad — the first in October 1949 and the second it is not yet known when. No information of the shootings seems to have been disseminated even to the relations of the deceased and if no proceedings under the Akshara corpus had been initiated on their behalf, the fact and manner of their death would never have been known. Even now

do not deny it, wrong, and the esteemed High Court is expected not to find them only the second victims.

It is a fact that since the slave-traders have been almost arrested with strings of detention and before the use of force for more rigour of law and order and all that, the officers "in-possible" for suppressing the facts in the slave case, might also be taken as a detraction, until they prove that they wanted understanding and in case of their failure to do so be awarded a proper sentence. If Home Ministers do not do it or are themselves responsible for it, the High Court should have the power to do so, as the nation has come to its notice in the course of proceedings before it. The law of evidence regarding burden of proof might be suitably changed for this purpose.

Wardha 22-3-53

Free 'Harjan'

I have received two or three small donations for the free supply of Harjan to deserving readers and they will be acted upon. There is a suggestion that these donations should be generously offered for sending free Harjan to approved institutions in the U. S. A. and Europe. While a donation earmarked for such purpose would be so used, surviving on a propaganda abroad by this method does not make a great appeal to me. The only proper method to propagate Harjan is to work out the principles and programmes advocated by it. If Harjan can become the organ of an activity rather than a mere preacher of principles it would be demanded by the people themselves. When Gandhiji was at work Harjan came to several thousand copies but dwindled when the work slackened. It is my own limitations that prevent it from being in high demand.

Even these small donations are almost welcome. But they should help those who are eager to read it but cannot afford to purchase it. Whether such readers are in or outside India is not of great consequence but since the condition and necessities of our workers here are better known to us than of those working abroad, the former should not be overlooked. When a donor definitely knows a foreign reader who takes great interest in Gandhism but cannot pay for Harjan, he may certainly recommend him.

It should be remembered that the annual subscription for foreign countries is Rs. 8, or 14s. or 5/-

Wardha 22-3-53

S. G. M.

Gandhian-Jain Learning

Prohibition is beyond doubt a great blessing to the poor masses. Both in Bombay and Madras the State Governments have taken enormous strides in that direction. But some of our top-leaders caught in the meshes of money and with their vision blurred with its glare and adoration, they advocate a go-slow policy. Some of our learned intelligentsia also are in Prohibition some harm to the country.

Once a Hindu, once a Jain, once a Sikh that he should have understanding. Again he went to the Mother Kali and prayed: "Why do you keep this child of yours so idiot? Grant me some learning."

The Mother appeared to him in a dream and said: "Look, yonder, do you see that heap of garbage?" There is plenty of learning there. Sit there and have as much of it as you wish."

Bhartrihari said: "I have no more any longing for learning. I shall have nothing to do with the learning on the garbage-heap. I am content to be an idiot."

Pagear, 22-3-53

Wardha

(Translated from Hindi)

Ahimsa Week (27th Year)

The Ahimsa Movement, organized by me on a small scale in 1925 has made gradual progress during the last 28 years.

The prime object of this humanitarian movement is to alleviate the suffering not only of human beings but also of lower animals and to bring utmost happiness to all beings. If we wish to see World Peace we should all join hands in observing the Ahimsa Week which will make us feel that we are all brothers in whatever country we may belong.

At the request of Miss Margaret E. Ford, Vice Secretary World League Against War, London, we celebrated the World Animal Day during the last three years and at our request semi-stalls were closed at 5.15 and 12 places in Calcutta respectively.

As this movement is universal and is neither political nor sectarian we request all to co-operate with us in observing the Ahimsa Week which falls in the first week of May every year. The following three concepts have to be observed during the week:

1. To abstain from killing
2. To take only vegetarian diet
3. To give rest to animals from 11-30

a.m. to 1 p.m. and to abstain from travelling in vehicles driven by animals during that time.

W. S. PURNANAND
President
National Office
Bombay (India)

"Balmukund"—An Experiment in "All Things Common"

It is recorded in the New Testament that among the disciples of Jesus, who shared the experience of a new life of inner peace and joy in his spirit, "no man considered anything that he had to be his own, but they had all things common." The impulse to share material possessions was a natural outcome of a new insight into the meaning of human brotherhood and brotherhood.

The book All Things Common by Clare Huchet Bishop, published last year in the United States describes how groups of men and women in several countries of Western Europe have begun to experiment, chiefly since 1945, in the

search for a new "Indian" literature through this knowledge. A literary change in the common expression of that work. Farmers, workers, industrial workers, hold their land, buildings, tools and equipment in common, abolishing the distinction between employer and employed not for the sake of an abstract economic theory, but as a means to, and an expression of, a better and fuller human life.

The whole book is of very great interest to all workers, the knowledge and all who are concerned with the welfare of the Indian people. It is however not readily available in India, and is expensive.

The Hindustani Talim Sangh has obtained permission to reprint two chapters from this book for sale in India. This reprint is now available under the title of *Knowledge - A French Community of Work at the price of Rs 1-0-0* a copy. Orders may be placed with the Hindustani Talim Sangh, Benares.

M. A.

THAKKAR HATA'S CARE OF PUBLIC FUNDS

Eligical tributes have been paid to the life and work of Thakkar Hata by all those who have had the good fortune of coming into contact with him. I had the privilege of being the audience of some of his instructions. During the whole of the period, he never asked me, even indirectly, to make a favourable report or to pronounce any defect or mistake. On the contrary, he always welcomed fear and honest criticism to set matters right, wherever things appeared to go wrong. Whenever necessary he would allow special time to me to discuss my report point by point, or rather sentence by sentence, and would invite the staff concerned to explain every objection and to consider each suggestion. He would not feel at risk till he satisfied me and his own conscience, which was, of course, more exacting than any outside agency.

His sincerity, complete dedication to the cause, strict sense of discipline, anxiety to look into every possible detail relating to the management and finance was an object lesson to all those who had the privilege of working with and under him. Going to the premises of the Marjani Sewak Sangh meant more than a visit to any temple to remain in his presence was like sitting at the feet of a practical saint and to have any discussion with him was like drinking the nectar of his wisdom. I have yet to find a person with greater zeal, integrity and complete identity with his 'neglected' children, a person, who would see that every part of the institution was well concerned and spent and every interest duly safeguarded. In several institutions and bodies, the conduct of office-bearers is not found to be as transparently clear and honest as the public is entitled to expect. In several instances, unfortunately the workers are criminally negligent towards their sacred trust, explain their positions and even abuse their powers and privileges for selfish ends. And so the office-bearers, as these representatives, because corruption permeates from the top. If officers are dishonest, the staff cannot be otherwise.

"The high & noble that any one can offer and the deepest content that we can provide to his earthly soul is to follow him in our words and deeds and to continue his life's mission in ever increasing measure and with such transparent sincerity as was fully exemplified in his life and activities."

Datta

Dr. K. K. GHOSH

COCA-COLA IN INDIA

The Mayor of Bombay is reported to have declared that "the whole of America has virtually gone Coca-Cola mad" and that any talk about this beverage being injurious to health was either interested propaganda or idle talk. He has also asserted that the industry is in the best economic interests of the country.

In consideration of this valuable service of the Mayor, or, to put it euphemistically, "in commemoration of this happy event", the Management of the Pure Drinks Limited (the manufacturers of Coca-Cola) have decided to make the invaluable award of "five scholarships to deserving students for their higher education. These scholarships would be associated with the name of the Mayor." *Free Press Bulletin*, 22nd March, '34.

I do not know the nature of the basic education suggested above. It might as well be ordered round the Coca-Cola industry itself.

So the appearances are that this has been the performance of a contract. The Mayor promised to execute a publicising job, and the Company paid for it in the shape of five scholarships associated with his name. The amount of the scholarships has not been published. But, what does it matter, even if each scholarship is worth Rs 200 per month? The factory would be able to produce 75,000 bottles per day or machines which will fill 250 bottles a minute. Even if the net profit after debiting all taxes was only a rupee per 200 bottles, it would amount to Rs 200 per day, or Rs 6,000 for a month of 24 working days. Rs 1,050 a month (the value of five scholarships at the supposed figure) is only about 11 per cent contribution. Even if this transaction was executed by the Mayor as a piece of business, and if there are the only advantages secured, I think, he should have insisted on better terms.

It is fortunate that the Mayor does not claim to have given the high certificate to the drink on his own authority. He has given his opinion as a piece of biased information. If it had been impartial, he argued, U.S.A. would not have allowed it there. But it has, so it could not be injurious there. No reason had been advanced to show that the same should not hold good for India. So it could not be injurious to India. No real argument. If you say that France has banned it on grounds of health, it is an idle talk, or an interested propaganda. You are out of sight.

We are in a miserable condition indeed, as it is, and for bringing about a complete moral and economic destruction of the people.

Wardha, 27-3-34.

K. C. MATHURWALA

THE INCOME FROM DRINK

Section 47 of the Constitution of India lays down that

"The State shall regard the raising of the level of morality and the standard of living of its people as one of its paramount duties and as among its primary duties not to prohibit, the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption of intoxicating liquors, of intoxicating materials and of drugs which are injurious to health."

Still we find that crooping Bombay and several all the other States are cautious, hesitant and dilatory in the matter of the execution of the directive. The reason is quite clear. It is the greed for the income of crimes of rapine from drink. It was due to that very reason that the British, during their reign were unwilling to prohibit the use of liquor, even assuming popular disapproval. The Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji fought for and kept this issue to the forefront. But now when one sees the same greed persisting even after the advent of Swaraj one is filled with sorrow.

Instantly on taking office the Congress Ministers in the provinces began to tackle this problem. The question of forgoing the drink revenue did not present an insurmountable difficulty then, because the Governments were ready to keep their promises in the matter of prohibition to the people. The main thing was how to divert the educational budget from the drink revenue, a possibility that was brought about by the British Government at those days. Under the dynamic leadership by the Most-Pure Rulers of 1918-28 the portfolios of education and crime were entrusted to ministers responsible to the people and the education minister was authorised by the astute British statesmen to spend whatever he could get out of drink on the education of the people, thus safeguarding from their point of view, a necessary and economic check on that activity and on the popular movement along with it.

Gandhiji cut the Gordian knot of this entanglement and made education and prohibition independent of each other and placed them before the country as two separate social activities. Out of this was born the revolutionary scheme of State Education with its well-known, "even as you learn", and the Governments loved the income and State taxes to make good the deficit due to prohibition. Thus education and prohibition were separated for good. This radical change in the British policy was the first great victory for prohibition.

The Congress again came to power in 1946, bringing independence in its wake within a year. The new Constitution of India was framed and began to function. There was no difficulty now in undertaking the work of prohibition. Of course the new situation had its new difficulties and problems to solve. But that should not make

us hesitate to take up the constructive work of prohibition. But we are hesitant, and the greed for the income is the cause for it. The Government think that they have to undertake and carry out many big works of national reconstruction. They were twenty in number, why not wait a little before we forgo such an important source of revenue? This is the main thing—and many sophistical and specious arguments are preferred to hide the real issue. But the main cause behind all this is, as we have said above, greed for the income from drink. That means, our Governments also, like their foreign predecessors, have been caught in the meshes of greed, with this difference, if at all there be any, that we do not now seek the drink revenue to meet our educational budget, but want it as a source of income by itself. But this is unnatural. We are clearly trying to secure money for a similar constructive activity by administering poison to the people. That does not behave us. This reminds me of what Pandit Jawaharlal said a year or two ago in connection with making an income out of salt. He said the very idea does not become us. It is a question of our national sentiment. It should be so with drink also. Liquor cannot be an article for sale and income, it is so undesirable that it is fit only to be prohibited. If at all it has any medicinal use it may be allowed to be used without clearly specified limits by those who want to use it.

Paradoxically for us, the Bombay Government has very rightly adopted the policy of and vigorously introduced prohibition in the State. The above criticism does not therefore apply to it. But some of the subjects in that State now and again condemn that policy. That again is due to the lure of keeping the drink revenue. The greed and self-interest of these people like those of the Government are clearly responsible for it.

We will discuss these in a subsequent issue.

Translated from English

M. P. DEBATE

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HARIJAN

SPONSORED BY BHARATIYA BHARATI

Editor: K. K. BHATTACHARYA



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AMERINDIAH—SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1934

TWO ANNAS

MANILAL GANDHI'S FATE AND OUR DUTY

Shri Manilal Gandhi is reported to have decided to go on a fastness day fast at his home in Phoenix (South Africa) to seek light to rectify that State's anti-Indian policy. As it well known, the policy has become a political problem of first-class magnitude. It is a serious question of life and death to Indians living abroad, and the Indian Government has been doing its utmost in the matter and is alive to it. The UFD is also tackling it in its own way. We, the people, must also consider how we can contribute to the cause.

The outcasts of Pre-India are scattered in various continents. As long as our joint country was under foreign suzerainty, we all believed that our countrymen had to suffer indignities in foreign lands, because we did not command respect even in our own. That dependence has gone. The whole country has become free though subject to the serious drawback of a people divided in a rough and artificial manner. Nevertheless, in race and population each of the two parts can be classed among first-class States of the world. But politically they have yet to attain a status, which will enable them to enjoy the respect and treatment to which they should be rightfully entitled. Their position has not yet improved for the better. Why is it so?

Let us realize that the problem of South Africa is not and was not simply one of our political status and military strength. Ultimately in the spiritual government of the universe, spiritual is not to be distinguished from the moral and communal attitude of our own. What we see in South Africa, is but in almost every country in which our outcasts are spread, is a reflection of our own ideas, prejudices and discriminatory conduct. At its root it is the extreme of our own delinquencies of culture and social structure. And, I regret to say, that though Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians are not without their own share of blame, it is principally the Hindu social structure and culture that are more responsible than the rest for these consequences.

We Hindus have never been tired of accusing the Muslims of having put both the two-nation theory, or the Whites of South Africa

of a policy based on differences of colour and culture. But throughout several centuries, our own social structure and practice has been of segregation among ourselves on grounds of caste (colour?), occupation?, caste, culture etc. Our persecution, exploitation and general treatment of Harijans, Adhwans, artisan classes, non-verts in other religions or diversities from an orthodox sect have been branded so deeply on the same ideology which is sponsored by the South African Government. The South African ideology is not different from the one which brought about the partition of our great country.

We can proudly say that, so far as India is concerned, we have through a formal Constitution, given up that policy. Indeed, as legal theory, we are now a nation in which Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians are have all the same status and recognition in the eye of law. Differences of caste, religion, language etc. are not to stand in the way of any person's career. But this outlook is yet confined to the Law-book. It has not yet entered our hearts and been translated into our daily life. A majority of our people—own leaders and intellectuals of the first order—by the social order, traditional training and habits and prejudices governing our lives are nearly as unchangeable with one another as oil and water. The utmost that we are prepared for is "unity in diversity". Practically it comes to a self-deprecating creed that, though we cannot live, act and work together and treat one another as equals, yet we shall not confuse our want of unity. We are aware of, bracing about a more factual unity. When it is a question of actual practice in life, a Harijan is a Harijan, an outcast, an untouchable, a Muslem, a Muslim; a Bengali, a Bengali; and a Gujarati, a Gujarati; and every one is expected to know his station in life, society or profession, and would be made to know it, if he does not and presumes to aspire to a higher plane. Intellectually the moral advances of the framers of our Constitution is, perhaps, higher than that of other nations and also a great part of our own people. But our practice is far behind our proclamation. Indeed, behind the unperformed but actual promise of other peoples.

Perhaps I shall be told that this is quite an irrelevant issue in the context of South Africa.

and Shri Manohar Gandhi's fast. But as I have said above, in the spiritual government of the universe, there are no such compartments, and I wish our people both in India, Pakistan and elsewhere to realise that it is extremely important to realise this, if we want to succeed in our stand against South Africa, or to solve similar problems in Ceylon, Burma etc. Our traditional Indian culture has raised our countrymen to live as foreign countries also in distinct groups. We carry with us, and maintain wherever we migrate, every distinction which divides us here. Thus an Indian in South Africa is not just an Indian there. If he is a Muslim, he is not so in religious faith only, but also in his practical and caste faith. He is a Pakistani, pro-Pakistani, or noncommittal, a Gujarati or something else, according to his birth here. So also if a Hindu, he is a Congress Hindu, a Mahasabha Hindu, a Congress Hindu, a Madras Hindu, etc. etc. Except that they have accepted some kind of inter-dining in every other respect, our nationals abroad create mutually inaccessible groups as jealous of one another's rise as the agents of the English and the French East India Companies used to be in India. They cannot function as one body, cannot work as a team. It is easy to create factions among them, to win over one group by bestowing a little favour, in order to suppress another, fully conscious that his suppression will not provoke any movement from the others. The reason is that the suppressed group is in the eyes of the other a harmful group.

It would be a marvellous accident if the moral and spiritual roots of the universal if a people with these drawbacks of character and conduct, and traditions of culture can succeed in obtaining a full recognition of their claims, however just they might be in pure reason and absolute ethics. If we wish to succeed in South Africa, or for that matter in our several problems with Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, or any other country, we must first be just and pure at home. Hindus must break their caste and become thoroughly united. Moslems, Muslims, Mohammedans must not stand in the way of our unity, and must be thoroughly penetrated and conditioned to bring it about in our everyday life.

We can help the cause for which Shri Manohar Gandhi has exposed upon himself a fast and strengthen the hands of our nationals engaged in resisting the apartheid policy, only if Indians and Pakistanis bring here or abroad reason and renounce all these factors, which make us a house divided among ourselves. If Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others of India become thoroughly united, India and Pakistan are bound to become friends. The problem of Kashmir will be settled without the intervention of any outsider, or without creating further artificial partitions. Our nationals living abroad will copy us in their respective places. They will

stand there as a united body. That will create a new strength, more powerful than the strength of mere combination of fronts. It will be a moral revolution, which will infect even Dr Mahan and his followers.

May Heaven grant us the wisdom to see the true cause of our degradation and weakness.

Varanasi, 2-4-51

K. C. BHASKARWALA

SHRI MANOHAR GANDHI'S STATEMENT ON THE EVE OF HIS FORTY-NINTH BIRTH

The way the present Government is moving, the hopes of the non-Europeans in South Africa of their conditions ever improving are shattered in gloom. Up to now they have been sustained by hope and faith. They have patiently suffered all the indignities man has chosen to impose on man, in the hope of brighter days to come. Since the present Government has come into power, however, they are able to see nothing but darkness. The apartheid policy of the Government is sweeping life a head in every walk of life. What with the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and now the Representation of Non-Europeans Bill which is before the Parliament — to quote just a few of the very worst features — it is like a hydra-headed dragon which, if not destroyed, would destroy all mankind including those responsible for having brought it into being.

There was when one thought of one's own individual interests. Up till yesterday we, as Indians, were thinking about and trying to safeguard our own rights and interests. It will not do to do so any longer. We have all now to think and act as human beings, irrespective of what colour or race we may be.

The present Government has made life intolerable for any self-respecting person. There is not a place where I can go with my head raised. The colour of my skin and the race to which I belong have become a curse. The only course I have to choose, if I want to live as a self-respecting person, is to fight against this state of affairs or to run away from it. The latter would mean cowardice. I must therefore fight. The question is how to do so. There are two ways in which one can fight. The common way is by physical force. The other is by soul-force. We have been privileged to witness in our lifetime that the latter is life-giving while the former is life-destroying. I must, therefore, choose the latter course and I have not the least bit of doubt in my mind that it is the only practical and efficacious course for all. It is folly to believe that an unarmed person is helpless. He has more strength than one who is armed to the teeth, provided he has an unshakable faith in the power of God and surrounds himself to His aid. He must have faith in prayer and must be pure in body, mind and soul. That alone can sustain him. One who fears God and loves Him fears no man and hates no man. Man is full of

human weaknesses. He cannot conquer evilbody unless he conquers those weaknesses in order to do so he has to be constantly awake and alert.

What then is my duty in the circumstances in which I find myself placed? This thought has been haunting me for days, weeks and months. My conscience tells me "The time has come when you must throw off your sluggishness, you must not run away out of fear from the danger, but face it, you must purify yourself of all the evils within you, you must not hate the evil-door, for he is one like yourself, you must hate the evil and refuse to surrender to it even at the risk of your life. The strength to do so can come to you through prayer." It is that alone, I most humbly submit, that will bring salvation to all the oppressed people in this land.

I have, therefore, decided that the time has come for me to act, and as a first step I must undergo a fourteen days' fast to purify my body, mind and soul, and having survived that I shall, in the name of God, defy the Government's aperturbed policy by committing a breach of it, and shall submit without the slightest protest to the penalty. The proposed fast will commence on the morning of Friday April 6, and end on the morning of Friday, April 20.

It is not my desire that the present rulers should surrender their rule. I do not desire to see chaos in the country. I desire to see that all individuals enjoy peace, happiness and security; that all equal opportunities in life are provided for their advancement by the State so that they are able to make their fullest contribution in all walks of life; that there are no legal barriers raised on the grounds of race or colour to impede their progress or to offend their human dignity; that each individual is judged not by his colour or race but by his merit.

I do not expect that this transformation would take place overnight. But the present tendency is to put the clock back by a century. The Government must be progressive, not retrogressive. Nothing more or less is desired by the non-Europeans. If that path is followed there is no need to fear Communism or any one. May God guide us all in the right direction.

MAHEPAL M. DAVDO

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PROHIBITION AND SECRET MARKETS OF LIQUOR

Shri Ramkrishna Jaju writes from Bhopal

I read your article 'Prohibition Over Nationalised country'. I have just returned from a tour of Calcutta and Ranchi. People have strongly criticised morally and economically from prohibition. The poor will be getting billions as they are if Government also have stamping and stop the use of tax income, tobacco, cigarettes etc."

Shri Jaju is right no doubt when he says that if the excise tax and tobacco are banned, it will lead to the good of the people who have been using these. But it would not be proper to put all these things by the side of liquor. Moreover, it would not be possible for the Government to stop the use of these things like liquor. The people should give them up of their own accord with understanding.

Another gentleman from Gujarat writes to me after reading the article:

What can you be quite right. But I must tell you with great regret that liquor can be had in any quantity in the cities. How can we say that prohibition is a success under these circumstances? Social workers should be alert and exert themselves in their utmost and lay the greatest emphasis on this question.

This is quite right. I have already said in my article that secret markets of liquor do exist in the cities and they ought to be done away with. But when people cite this as a reason and say that prohibition should go, they are wrong. That was what I wanted to query in that article. And when some people having these secret markets in mind say that prohibition has failed they also are wrong. For thus I had cited the instances of theft, robbery etc. and said, "prohibition is over successful." That the Government created a law in this behalf is a great thing. Many a drunkard will automatically cease drinking and his fraternity will cease to grow by this single measure and the new generation will be free from this vice. It is the duty not only of social workers but of all citizens to help the Government to reach this dry state. We do help and co-operate with the Government in getting thieves and burglars, etc. arrested. We should similarly help them in suppressing the secret markets of liquor and narcotic drugs. But the essence of these should, on no account, we should bear in mind, lead us to ask for the repeal of the prohibition law. It would be just like asking to stop catching the thieves if theft and burglary become rampant. Prohibition is a great experiment we have launched upon—unique in the whole world. The whole world is looking at it. If successful, it will be our valuable gift to the world.

Ahmedabad, 22-3-61

M. P. JIJU

(Printed from Bhopal)

HARIJAN

April 14

1933

DOLE GETS A START

Giving of 'dole' to the unemployed under certain conditions has become an established practice in Europe and America and a part of the State policy for many years past. This helps, considerably with their living standards is fairly high. All the same, to live on dole is regarded as derogatory to self-respect by all people, though the sensibility has diminished by habit. It has also been viewed in the status of a function of a 'Welfare State'. The Indian National Congress at its Ninth session has also announced that its aim is to set up a 'Welfare State' in India. This suggests that here too, sooner or later this institution is bound to make its appearance. The question may be raised if this institution is really good. But the present article has a different purpose and so I shall not discuss that point in this context.

Lately, the weavers of several States have been in a great difficulty for want of yarn. In our own State Madhya Pradesh about two thousand weavers of Hugar have undergone arrests because of unruly demonstrations to get yarn. The trouble has not yet ceased. The Madras Government, confronted with a similar situation, has commenced to give a temporary dole to every afflicted family at the rate of Rs 1.25 per week per family. A normal family of five members, with two workers and three dependents, would get an equivalent of less than a wage of 3 annas per day per worker and the total dole would come to about 15 pice per day per head. The present wages offered by the Charitable Society for eight hours' efficient hand-spinning are eight annas. Even a moderate spinner may earn six annas at least if he undertakes to work for eight hours. The question naturally arises, whether it is better to pay a wage of six annas for hand-spinning or a dole of three annas per worker. The answer is clear. If there are given wages or payment for the hand-spinning, they not only get monetary relief, but also learn to carry on their trade and the joy of doing their job with self-respect while they escape the feeling of looking small as recipients of a dole. But this is not to be.

The movement for khadi has been in existence for the last 30 years in the country. The country was under foreign domination then and therefore there was not much hope for its sustenance. It was hoped that once freedom was achieved khadi would prosper rapidly with the help of the national Government. But this too is not to be. Government might assert that they do encourage khadi and give it a financial support also. But the aid proceeds from a source of

charity towards khadi. How can khadi prosper or even live respectfully under the feeling of being a grace-receiver? The important question is whether there is an independent and permanent place for khadi in the economic order of the country. It cannot thrive on the philanthropy of patrons, or on grants such as are given to temples and mosques. Has the Government done anything to enable it to hold its own in the competition? Has it provided a market for its sale? If some such thing had been done, we may safely assert that no such misfortune would have befallen the weavers.

No less than about a crore of people depend for their living on hand-weaving. Every Government declares rather glibly that this useful industry has got to be continued and further expanded. Well, is that case let us ascertain what is the chief obstacle to the growth of this industry. Undoubtedly, it is the weaving in the mills. Does the Government do anything to save hand-looms from the destructive competition of the weaving mills? They will surely give a long list of their efforts in this behalf. But what is the net result?

The policy of the Government would seem to be to do for the weavers whatever is possible without in any way prejudicing the interests of the mills. But have they discovered the wisdom of making the mill and the hand out at the same table without the former destroying the latter? Good! If more than once declared that the hand-weaving industry was bound to die if it depended on mill-yarn.

Let us however concede for the sake of argument, to Government, weavers and the economists that hand-weaving can survive on mill-yarn. The question then is, how is it that the weavers do not get it in sufficient quantity? Certainly, the mills do produce enough yarn to fulfil all the needs of the weavers and yet more a good deal for their own use. Why do they not then supply enough yarn to the weavers to meet their requirements fully? Why is not the first place given to hand-weaving permitting the mills to weave only the balance of the yarn? There may be two reasons. First, if mills are not allowed to do a major part of the weaving their profits will be reduced. If so the question is, should the Government safeguard the interests of a crore of poor artisans or the profits of a handful of rich mill-owners? The second reason might be that the export of mill-cloth and yarn brings in valuable foreign exchange. But then the hand-woven cloth too can be exported. The conclusion is inevitable that unless the Government adopt the position that hand-weaving must go on despite the competition of the mills and make it a cardinal principle of their policy, there is no hope of a permanent solution of the weaver's problem. The present policy of the Government does not appear to have any such intention.

The weavers also owe a duty to themselves. They weavers as also the members of their family, use wool cloth. Why do they do so when they know the art of weaving? If they ceased the thing they have manufactured as fit for the use of others only and not for themselves, how can they expect others to appreciate their product? If those one crore people who depend on weaving for their livelihood take to using hand-woven cloth only, it will be a tremendous achievement! Besides, it will have a very powerful moral effect on others. The weavers will gain economic strength by insisting on the use of hand-woven cloth in the country.

Moreover, why should they not use their time in spinning when they have no other work to do? This will at least give them a part of the yarn they need for their industry.

During famine periods Governments provide relief work such as stone-breaking, road-making etc. Now that the weavers are in distress it has taken recourse to the granting of doles. Would it not have been much better to give them tight work, and give help by way of return for the work? And as to the type of work, what other work excepting hand-spinning is there which could be easily provided to many? No other work could be more suitable for the weavers. It is true that hand-spinning cannot be introduced at a moment's notice unless there is sufficient preparation and planning beforehand. Many things should be pre-arranged before we can make that use of hand-spinning at a critical time. A favourable background has got to be created; people have to learn the art and the wherewithal should be made easily available. Once the proper atmosphere is created, there should be no difficulty about it provided Governments are sincere in their intentions. Otherwise the problem of the sale of Pileli that has emerged in the programme will remain unsolved. Akshai has behind it thirty years' long labour and sacrifice and it can very well take us to this consummation concerning away difficulty. The Government have got to lay down a firm and definite policy and provide a suitable economic framework.

Varanasi, 20-3-61. **CHANDRABENKAS JAIN**
(Translated from Hindi)

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FLIGHT OF WEAVERS IN MADRAS

Next to agriculture the handloom industry is the largest economic aggregate in the State of Madras. The number of handloom workers there is above two millions. But for some time past the handloom weavers are in a wretched condition. In February last the condition reached a stage when starvation deaths among weavers were reported from several districts. The State Government was unable to provide any part to the worker for earning his wage and started payment of cash doles as a measure of relief. It was largely a futile attempt.

For example, take the Madhavaram district. The normal monthly requirement of yarn for its handlooms is about 1,945 bales. As against this, the quantity of yarn received every month from April 1959 to December 1959 was on an average less than 390 bales per month, the maximum delivery being 656 bales in July, and the minimum 151 in November. The yarn was never sufficient enough to keep the looms occupied for more than 10 days in the month and the average of all the nine months together came to six days only. In November and December it gave them work for only 3 days per month.

Such a shortage is bound to create a woeful situation. An idea of the magnitude of the misery of the people suffering from the ghastly famine caused by forced unemployment can be had from the figures tabulated below. They were collected by Dr. Shrinani Sankararam Ramakrishnan, District Gandhigram (Madhavaram) when she surveyed a few wards of the Chinnappally area round about her Gandhigram affected by the yarn famine.

Ward No.	No. of weaver families	Adults	Children
3	108	390	156
2	375	1,443	417
4	159	708	390
6	50	156	42
7	614	1,918	748
	1,316	4,654	1,843

Total: 6,583

As a measure of relief the Government once started with a cash relief of Rs. 2-6-4 per family per week for two weeks in the month of February. What a drop in the ocean! As this subject will be more fully dealt with by Shri. Jaiji in a separate article I shall not dwell upon it.

Surely one begins to wonder what factor or factors have conspired together to culminate in this disaster. The Madras Government accuse the Central Government of depriving them weavers of their yarn. The mills in the State produce enough yarn to keep all looms busy all the year round. Rather, so far as textile yarn is concerned Madras is a surplus province. But for the sake of all-India planning the export-produce is taken to an all India Pool, and allotted and re-marketed for different purposes. A part is exported abroad, another is supplied

to the textile mills all over the country and the balances (about seven to fifteen per cent) is distributed to the various States for handloom. This policy is being followed since April 1948 when an all-India yarn distribution scheme was introduced. What happened thereafter has been well and briefly put by the *Straka* in its leading article dated Friday, February 16, 1950:

"In March 1949, the Government lifted control over yarn with disastrous results and after prices had soared, relinquished the control to Agents. At the same time there was a fall in textile exports. This in turn was followed by a glut of cotton and yarn. Half a year later the Government decided to let the yarn go to the millowners and limit the exports and offered them to export both yarn and cloth and distribute them through their own business. This encouraged the mills not only to export yarn in large quantities but to stretch over their production in the supplies of goods that caused high prices abroad. Meanwhile the failure of the rains with the resulting decrease in cotton supplies coupled with the great textile strike in Bombay last year further cut down the production of yarn, and the handloom weavers found it impossible to obtain enough yarn to keep their looms working for half the month."

The Minister of Industries for Madras accounted for the situation as follows in the course of a speech in the Madras Assembly on Feb. 12:

"The past situation, however, was a consequence of uncoordinated administration. The Government of India allowed export and retained controls to ease the position arising from the glut of 1948. The export was necessary to earn foreign exchange for food which is also in vital demand. When then the supplies of cotton have fallen in spite of imports. The India Government agree that the available supplies should be equitably shared between all States and that weaving mills cannot be started to the point they close down and throw up another serious labour problem." (*The Straka*, Feb. 14, 1951.)

It is manifest from this that the anxiety of the Central Government to feed the mills has been the major cause of the tragedy. The well-being of the Madras weavers was the result of the pettiness of the Government for the Heavy Industry and organized factory labourers at the cost of cottage industry and village-weavers who, though very large in numbers are unorganized and unvoiced.

The Madras Government too are not so innocent as they seem. Only last week they allowed a spinning mill (the Meerut Mills, Madurai) to set up 150 power-looms requiring 180 bales of yarn and also a fresh knitting mill with 54 power-looms requiring 268 bales. These two mills work for 16 hours a day for 26 days in a month. The following figures will illustrate their effect:

1 Power looms introduced	218
2 No. of bales consumed thereon	400
3 Weight of yarn consumed 400x400	184,000 lbs.
4 Weight of yarn required for a handloom	30 lb.
5 No. of handlooms in Madurai city	15,000
6 No. of handlooms driven out by 2 mills 400x400	

Thus, 15,000 handlooms are closed, two fresh mills consumed 400 bales each yarn so can support 5,180 weavers or 11.5 per cent of the weavers in that city.

Then there is the problem of the master weaver. The term is a misnomer. The master weaver is not a spokesman or leader of weavers, but a middleman trader between the Madras Government and the cottage weaver. He purchases yarn from the Government and sells it or gives it on credit to each of his customers or clients as he likes. In fact, a large portion of the small quota of yarn supplied by the Government to him, thanks to the master weaver, through unknown channels and under washing the real weaver in the locality. Once in February, in the Cheralapatti area, three-fourths of the yarn which was supplied by the Government disappeared within 3 days. Near about Gundhigama, the weavers caught hold of a person who had paid Rs 500 to the master weaver for yarn worth Rs 240. He belonged to some place far away. It is difficult to say how much yarn does this do way, overstate and the poor weaver is denied his money. There is no satisfactory machinery to see that the master weaver supplies the yarn to the weavers for whom it is reserved. Thus the master weaver is allowed to play with the lives of 27 lakhs of people—a number sufficient to bring into trouble even a prosperous Government, and more so one like Madras.

Lastly I come to the fundamental question of the policy of the Government (Central as well as State) towards cottage industries in general and handloom and khadi in particular. In that connection I cannot do better than quote from a speech of Shri A. Vaidyanath Ayyar, which he gave in the Madras Assembly on 21-2-1951. He said:

"The Government have not been forthcoming in dealing with crises of regions to organized industries. In the case of the Madurai Mills, for instance, for the purpose of stabilizing the margin of cotton price between the Indian price of Rs 400 or Rs 500 and the world price of Rs 2,000 the Government have made a 5/10 cut of the 14 crans during the last one year in order to enable it to work. It means an annual subsidy of Rs 600 per baleman or Rs 56 per baleman per month. What has been paid by the Government of India to cut mill which is employing 25,000 labourers? Why can the Government try to give a fair help to the weaver so that they may be saving enough yarn with which they may work their looms?" (*Madras Assembly proceedings*).

One is forced to believe that the ruling authority in India follows a policy which is detrimental to the interests of the exploited masses. It is high time to ask it to mend its ways. For once these millions are on the march none can say how it will end.

ON WAY TO SHIVAHANPALLI

IV

March 12, Pandharkheda (Fifth halt, 12 miles)

Vinobaji accompanied a Jaina mendicant here. Dr. Mure of Yashwantrao Chavan Memorial Fund for Serum had also come. He had suggested the young men, who organised the Jaina mendicant.

To the audience which gathered at the evening prayer Vinoba explained why, although they had obtained Swaraj, they did not feel its glow. All over the world people desire the attainment of freedom with justice. It should dispel darkness and create warmth and provide energy and enthusiasm for work. On Swaraj, people were expected to proceed in batches to their various occupations and join their hands together for co-operation in order to create wealth. Their misgivings of Swaraj were not much in evidence. Instead, there was anxiety to be read on all faces.

Every leader was bound to emphasise the necessity of producing more food and articles of manufacture. But food and articles could not be produced by speaking about them. Men must work with his body and limbs in order to produce them.

A Jaina mendicant had been opened that day to that village. Vinoba had paid it a visit during the course of the day. In a town of eight to ten thousand inhabitants, he found only 2 or 4 persons plying the shawl. Every person of every age and both sexes needed cloth. But they all purchased mill-cloth for the purpose. He often wondered, Vinoba said, that people never cared to think about the amount of cloth which was actually produced by mills, in which the talents of so many honest and expert leaders, capitalists, engineers and assistants were employed and such a huge amount of capital was sunk. But it was necessary that they should know the facts. Before the commencement of the World War, the mills produced cloth at the rate of 11 yards per capita. Last year or 10 years after the war the production came to 12 yards per head, and we are told that in the coming year the production would be still less, — something like 11.25 yards, because of strikes and other causes. Such was the great performance, which the mills imparted! People asked Vinoba that since there was Swaraj now, why should mills not supply all the necessary cloth? He could not reply to that, he could only point to the fact that they were unable to do so. People had informed him that the black-market price of a pair of shawl was Rs 15 to 20. It showed that the production being insufficient the rich businessmen competed with the poor man, and took away whatever could be obtained at whatever price possible. The poor could not expect to get cloth under these circumstances. Did they want cloth? If they did, they could get it only by producing it themselves. Whoever spun for one hour per day would be able to produce 15 yards per annum, if he gave only half an hour, he

could well stretch it (1) equal much with the help of 12 yards or 15 hours could give him all the cloth she needed. But it could not be done, unless one worked for Vinoba advised them not to waste time in discussing problems, but to go to work. If the mills improved and were able to solve the problem later on, they were welcome to do so. But as long as they were unable to do it, would it not aid be asked, to the amount of cloth if they spun themselves? People could not increase the wealth of the nation without putting themselves to work.

If that village or town determined to produce its own cloth, it would be a great achievement — a considerable addition to the wealth of the country. What applied to cloth, applied to other things also. He hoped that the small Jaina mendicant would persevere in its efforts and induce others to join their ranks.

People told him that to spin was to go back to a past age. What an argument to make when there was actual scarcity of cloth, and they wanted a better life!

He was told that the population of Pandharkheda had decreased from 2,000 to 1,000 during the past few years. The reason was that people had been going to towns in search of work. But more migration could not give employment, if they were not prepared to work. What was important was work and not migration. Swaraj meant freedom and opportunity to work and produce wealth through work. The people should set to work if they understood the meaning of Swaraj.

March 13, Patan-Bori (Sixth halt, 12 miles)

Chandhar is a small village, four miles from Pandharkheda. The Patel there had made arrangements for our breakfast. Villagers came a long way to receive us. They were anxious to hear Vinobaji who, as soon as he was well arranged, began to spin on his loom. He made the talk speak for him. They all heavily observed the yarn that was being produced. Vinobaji then explained to them why they must spin and stop the flow of wealth going out of the villages. Women there do not observe purdah in the same manner as Marathi ladies do. But they do observe purdah in the sense that they do not go out of their houses at all. The Patel had tried his best to induce them to come out for Vinoba's sowing. But they kept peeping from inside the doors and windows. The Patel once and requested Shrinath Mahadani to go and speak a few words to the women. She for first vainly tried to persuade them. When they would not, she ordered them to come out — and they followed her, except about fifteen ladies. It was strange that those were the ladies who knew how to read and write, and had received some schooling. It was possibly due to the influence of the neighbouring district, where Marathi ladies observe purdah. Vinobaji put a question to the ladies in Telugu. Thereafter they talked

to have felt that they too in the presence of their time was, though very advanced now, were according to the ladies responsible for their present life.

In Frazer Town, the last place in Beira, on the border of the Hyderabad State, Vinobaji preferred to speak in Hindi as people understood both Hindi and Marathi. It was one of the biggest meetings. Not only women but girls also attended in large numbers. After Vinobaji had finished his speech the girls surrounded him and requested him to speak in Marathi. Vinobaji tried to humour them away but they persisted and got one more speech in Marathi, which was in a more homely style. The audience, which was just on the point of leaving the meeting, again sat down quietly.

It was only a night's journey from Wardha to Hyderabad by train and Vinobaji. But they had preferred to walk and even there their desire was to visit smaller villages. He had not boycotted the train on the 'plane. He wanted even smaller airplanes than what they had at present. If possible he would like to reach Delhi in an hour. But everything had its limitations. The glasses however useful they might be, could not replace the eyes. They could only assist them. Similarly they needed these machines of high speed. He did not hate them but the legs had their absolute value. The foot journey had some special advantages which airplanes could never bring.¹

He then related how in old days our ancestors used to carry Ganga water to Kashmir, waran and vice versa—a distance of about fifteen hundred miles. The tradition of carrying water from such distant places naturally brought and bound people together and created a common culture. The whole country experienced a sense of unity which was independent of political rule.

"What is the picture today?" he asked. Hundreds gathered at the looking office without knowing one another. Nobody had the leisure to know or enquire about anybody else. The foot journey could be utilized for education and knowledge of the country. It could be a source of self-purification and help them in identifying themselves with the people. It was for this that he had decided to travel by foot. Explaining the importance of Sarvodaya, Vinobaji referred to Socialism and Communism and said that all these words were very attractive but were of no avail if constructive work was not done. Sarvodaya stood for the good of all without exception. This naturally implied that my interest should not clash with that of another. Naturally, that meant that all were one and united. Sarvodaya therefore was bound to look after the most backward, the most exploited. That is why they had

been visiting the smaller villages and maintaining contacts with the people.

The villagers were the very backbone of the country. They formed the real basis of the life of it. It was in the villages that civilization could be seen even today. Even the so-called villages were more cultured than days ago. They knew how to remain peaceful in meetings while the city boys created all sort of confusion. The villagers were very poor, they had not much meat food to eat, but they received their guests and did not send them away hungry. They welcomed them. Villagers might have changed the form of their clothes, but their heart was not the same.

Vinobaji disapproved the tendency of the villagers to go to markets in towns. He advised them to supplement agriculture with general, weaving, lightening, pot making and such other industries as were possible in the village. It was only with the help of the village that the country would be saved. Their attachment to the land was so great that they would not leave from lands even at the cost of their lives.

(Translated from Marathi)

D N

Marathi Samadhan

On January 10th the first Marathi Samadhan was convened at Keshavnagar Station, under the aegis of Marathi Sava Mangal. Five thousand Marathas coming from Beera, Nagpur and several police stations in the district of Darbhanga and Bhagalpur police stations in the district of Bhagalpur attended. Many resolutions were passed, the most important, that was passed unanimously, being as follows:

In view of the fact that the Marathas in a large number of cases are chosen as Bhangas (and all over the State of Bihar live in places not easily accessible)—a consequence of which the prevailing sense of law and the Constitution do not reach them, resulting in the denial of constitutional rights of citizenship to about 50 lakhs of people who are being heavily taxed and oppressed at different and other levels and in places even taxed with impunity, thus creating a situation which is sure to undermine the peace and order of the State unless remedied in time, this session of the Marathi Samadhan requests the Government to grant a special police force to go round the Bhangia villages and apprehend the hawaldars and also establish special law courts to give the aggrieved cheap and speedy justice.

V H

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHANUJLAL CHAKRAVARTY)

Editor: K. D. KARNATAKIA



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AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1951

TWO ANNAS

PART AGAINST COW-SLAUGHTER

Shri Arjun Bhagat of Ahmedabad had given us a fast unto death on the first week of March last for absolute banning of cow slaughter, but was persuaded to break it after a few days by the intervention of local prominent men. It was reported in the papers that his fast led to some breach of law and order.

I take this occasion to express my views on the subject of cow slaughter.

The agitation for the protection of the cow seems to me to have started from the wrong end. It should be clear that in the preaching of ahimsa, persuasion to abstain from beef-eating should precede the one for abstaining from killing the cow.

I am of opinion that India as a country—irrespective of caste, nationality, or religion, should abstain from beef-eating for various reasons,—economic, social, moral, cultural etc. On this matter there should be a complete unanimity among Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Whites and non-Whites. Just as in some countries people do not eat the meat of the horse, in some others that of the pig, so also in India out of respect for the feelings of millions of inhabitants of the country, beef-eating should be looked upon as repugnant to the culture of the nation. If this proposition is accepted by all, the problem of cow-slaughter will become matter of solution.

Let it be remembered that the Muslims are not the only beef-eaters. Indian Christians also have no objection to it. But a great many of both of them go without beef, in fact even without meat, for a greater part of the year on account of their poverty. Some of them eat beef only on festivals, beef in India being cheaper than mutton. The Parsis generally forebear beef as much as the Hindus. Perhaps only a few 'modernised' Parsis might have given up their old abhorrence for it. It is only the European Christians, who, as a commercial group, do not abstain from it. There are, no doubt, some exceptions even among them. On the other side, there are among Hindus also some, who are beef-eaters. If they do not eat the beef of slaughtered cows, they eat that of dead ones.

These are from the Harijans. They do it out of sheer poverty. But though actual beef-eating is confined to these poor classes, the offence of promoting the slaughter of the weak cattle is perpetrated by Hindus of all communities. For, all sections of the Hindus, who own cattle in large numbers and buy for them, sell them to butchers. The economic pressure prevails over their religious sentiment.

Hence, if we desire to stop cow-slaughter, we should first concentrate upon persuading meat-eaters to give up beef and Hindu owners of cattle to desist from selling them to the butcher. This is the first and the more important step. If this could be achieved, we shall strike at the very root of cow slaughter. The problem would then become a religious argument, which would be tackled by the Harijans. But since there is no background for it now, its discussion, at the present stage, is not relevant.

So, I appeal to Shri Arjun Bhagat and other devotees of the cow, to take up the activity of converting beef-eaters into abstainers from beef. Of course, the conversion should be made by persuasion and appeal to the heart and the head. No distinction can be made between the meat of the slaughtered cow and mutton. The Hindus should be requested to take the pledge of not selling weak cattle to butchers. If they succeed in this propaganda, they will achieve their object even without legislation. In the past, humanitarian teachers and religious preachers followed the method to wean the people from meat-eating and drink. There are recorded incidents in history when through moral persuasion and importantly even great prayers and rituals had given up meat-eating. Such social and moral revolutions can be wrought only by preaching and not by legislation.

Finally, I would request those who have no religious abhorrence for beef-eating to voluntarily give it up out of respect for the feelings of millions of their countrymen and accept abstinence from beef as a part of Indian national tradition and culture. This will be a great act of compassion on the national kinship and a gesture of goodwill and fellow-feeling towards the Hindus on their part. It will also help in

removing an important barrier in the way of breaking caste and communal differences. If live-eating is abandoned the ground for killing the cow will disappear to a large extent.

I hope that all those who worship the cow will ponder over this and wholeheartedly engage themselves in this constructive side of cow-protection, and stand at the very root of the problem of cow-slaughter.

Wardha, 3-4-51

R. D. MASHKUTWALA

HINDUSTANI TALIM SANGH

Teachers' Training Course (1951-52)

The Hindustani Talim Sangh offers a 18 months' training course in the practice and theory of *Nai Talim* from July, 1951 to April, 1952. Admission will be restricted to about 40 men and women only. Training will be given in the basic crafts of (a) Agriculture and (b) Spinning and weaving, of which each student will choose one. All students, whatever basic craft is chosen by them, will be expected to spin daily for cloth self-sufficiency, and to take part in the kitchen-gardening. No shorter course will be available.

Candidates should usually be over nineteen and less than thirty years old, and must be physically fit. No uniform qualification in academic education is insisted on, but general knowledge equivalent to the 'intermediate' standard of an Indian University is the minimum desirable. Other things being equal, preference will be given in the selection of students to those candidates who possess knowledge of one or more handicrafts, who have previous experience of some form of constructive social service, or who are training themselves for a specific place of work in *Nai Talim* to which they will revert when their training is complete.

The time is now ripe for teachers' training colleges of post-graduate standard to be opened in a number of States to supply their own local needs for graduate teachers of *Nai Talim*. The Talim Sangh will do its utmost to meet the needs of such States admitting a few well-guided workers, and preparing them to form the staff of the future regional training colleges. It is expected that men and women will be selected for this advanced work from those who have already had some experience and training in the field of *Nai Talim*.

Institutions and individuals who wish to have further particulars of this course are requested to write to the Principal, Nai Talim Bhawan, Hindustani Talim Sangh, Sevagram P. O., Wardha District, Madhya Pradesh for a detailed prospectus and form of application. Applications for admission should reach the Principal as soon as possible and in any case before the 15th May, 1951.

THE ECONOMICS OF PROHIBITION

The total income from liquor and narcotic drugs of all the provinces before 1947 was a little over 53 crores of rupees according to the figures for 1946-47. The sum does not include the income derived by the States. It must have been considerable. On the other hand, the share sum has decreased to the extent of the entire revenue of the areas that now form part of Pakistan. Roughly speaking, the provincial or State Governments must now be getting Rs 14 to 16 crores from spontaneous liquor and narcotic. This is not an insignificant sum. But if we think of it from another point of view, we consider the huge sum the people must be spending after this vice—and it is the function of economics to do so—the entire income obtained by the various State Governments falls into insignificance. And in addition to this, if we take into account the great harm caused by it to the health of the people, their social and family happiness and in respect of many other things, the harmfulness of the liquor revenue becomes patent. True economics is not confined to the income and expenditure of the Government but it consists in seeing how and to what extent these are made in the interest of the people, and particularly that of the poor and backward sections, whose good is the distinguishing feature of a *Swadeshi* policy.

Calculating the sum spent by the people on drink etc. to be four times the income revenue, our people must be spending about two billion rupees after spontaneous liquor and narcotic every year since 1946-47. This comes to about Rs 5 to 6 per capita. This is too much for a country with such an acute shortage of food-stuff.

But this is not the main point. The major part of this huge expenditure after liquor is generally incurred by the poor and backward people in the villages. And thus the entire means is mainly derived from the poor. Surely, it is a very heavy burden for them. They are being sucked through toddy and liquor to all Government coffers. If the object of *Swadeshi* is to promote the interest of the people, Government should not add its hands with this revenue and should relieve the people of this burden. The cause of sheer humanity and service of *Swadeshi*—both are served by so doing. But let us leave this argument here.

Thinking to prohibition, this huge sum has ceased to flow to the Government treasury. Government have to make up the deficit. Consequently the burden was transferred to the moneyed classes in the form of some tax or other. The main and hidden cause of the cry against prohibition today lies in this fact. The moneyed people think that formerly crores of rupees went out from the poor in the form of excise revenue and consequently their money was saved to that extent. But due to prohibition Government had to tackle new sources of

income and this burden fall on their shoulders. The Marxist doctrine, that the fundamental urge behind the people's interest in economic well-being, seems to be applicable here. What other inference is possible when the educated classes argue against prohibition in the name of liberty and equality, keeping this simple basic fact in the background? This is the true economics of prohibition. What is gained or not gained from it, should not be decided from revenue derived from it by the Government, nor from the well-being of the educated and privileged classes.

The problem should be considered from the point of view of the interest and progress of all including the poor and the backward. That alone is entitled to the name of the science of wealth. Otherwise it would be a science of money-making. And in that case Government would also have its eyes riveted on gain like the ordinary businessman. That would be like the well-known adage, "Plough or no plough, my hire must be paid." Our ideal of equality also is not served in this way.

We shall consider that aspect hereafter.

CHANDRAN KUNU CHANDRAN M. P. INDIA.

QASIM BILAL RAHIMELAN (NATIONAL UNITY CONFERENCE)

The following has been received for publication: — Ed.

You will agree that a nation's strength through wealth, advancement and internal peace depend on mutual co-operation of all the forces of the country and national unity. These narrow national and communal loyalties is done away with and differences in colour arising as a consequence of such narrow outlook and communal hatreds are actively suppressed, so national unity and real democracy can possibly be built. The forces which brought independence to us are in reality the forces of democracy and nationalism. This is also the call of the age. Communalism is the opposite of national unity and democracy.

In the recent past, communal frenzy has tremendously affected the mode of our thinking and feeling and has terribly upset the whole process of our thinking and mental balance. We must heavily repeat here what has, in the recent past, happened in our country due to such thinking.

Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, ever attempted to save us and the country from communal poison. He worked his life in this very direction and thus threw upon our shoulders the great responsibility of our right duty. It is regrettable that even after the creation of the Indian communal territory and the consequences arising out of it we still suspect in the country and it expresses itself in our day to day life in our social and political dealings in various forms.

It seems, therefore, essential that to completely uproot communalism from this country of ours and to strengthen real democracy and nationalism we should all together bend our best consideration on the problem and with a determined resolution find a solution to it. The basic peace of the communal atmosphere and the communal happenings should be removed and some valid and practical plan should be evolved to successfully fight out communalism in the country. Various problems that are confronting the Nation in relation to our terms of old historic events, culture, religion and such other questions should be considered strictly in that direction and should include in such a manner that National Unity may be built on the basis of a national culture. The

unity of the country in particular and of course the entire mass of the nation, should be infused with a feeling of real democracy and nationalism. A spirit of true thinking should be infused in them so that the process of our thinking stops and nothing may be done with national and communal ideas and we may soon find the entire atmosphere of the nation changed to give the right lead to the development of our Nation on all sides.

With this end in view on 24th and 25th April 1951, a National Unity Conference opened at the headquarters of such persons of different schools of thought, religion and institutions of this country who give their faith in nationalism and democracy for the progress of the country is proposed to be held in Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh).

You are cordially invited to participate in this conference. We hope you will make it a point to attend the conference and benefit us by your deliberations.

Yours sincerely

JAGMOHAN NARAYANA DIXI
(Vice-Chairman, Lucknow University)
SHRIKISHORE DATT PALITDAL, M.L.A.
(President Ass. Congress, Uttar Pradesh)
B. M. PATEL, M.L.A.
GANGA RAJAN CHAKRABORTY, M.L.A.
SRIKANTANATHAN RAMPOOL, M.L.A.
JAGJYOTI PRASADSHUKLA, M.L.A.
(President P.C.C. Uttar Pradesh)
GOWD RAJANI, M.L.A.

(Opposition Congress Committee Uttar P. P.)
BHATULALAN ASHWINI
PRADIP NATH SHUKLA

YASHPAL
14 1st Bldg., Lucknow. JAGJYOTI PRASADSHUKLA
(Transmitted from Lucknow) (Chairman)

(Note: Though the Government of San Gerdin Dillaboth Post has been doing its best in maintaining communal peace in Uttar Pradesh and has attained a measure of success thereto, there is an undercurrent of communal discontent which requires to be carefully watched and handled, but it might grow within like a disease germ driven into the body, awaiting an opportunity to burst out later in a virulent and uncontrollable form. There are a few delicate problems between the two communities, which need to be solved justly and amicably in a manner which will leave no trace of bitterness. They require the goodwill, liberality, spirit of understanding, and freedom from both inferiority and superiority complexes in the leaders and members of public spheres of both the communities.)

I understand that the purpose of the above conference, in which leaders of all political shades have joined, is to create a feeling of national solidarity among the people of all sects and to seek the solution of outstanding problems. It can suggest practical remedies and programmes. It would strengthen the hands of the Government in creating a lasting peace in U. P.

— K. C. M.)

Wardha, 11-4-51

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HARIJAN

April 24

1951

CONTROLS AND RATIONING

It is apprehended that if food grains were completely decontrolled and ration shops totally closed, it would lead to a great hardship to the people of many areas. On the other hand the attempt to close the free market, without the power to go through the ration shops the quantity of food reasonably needed for daily consumption, leads to black-marketing, corruption and de-moralisation. An appeal to put up with small deficits can be expected to meet with success if it is for a short period only. But if the deficit is considerable and extends to long periods and is accompanied with indications, which show that considerable food does exist in the possession of the wealthy or in underground stores and can be purchased on payment of a higher price, the average needy consumer cannot be strongly condemned if he is reluctant to purchase or purchases from the black market. Such average needy consumers must be distinguished from those well-to-do and over-showered people who purchase secretly not for their immediate needs but for storing large quantities in advance from fear of a possible scarcity in the future.

The above is a statement of the case on behalf of the consumer who purchases from the black market. He is not averse to control of prices and rationing. Rather he demands them, provided they are administered more thoroughly and the ration is sufficient to meet his normal needs. Battering controls incoherently, and if, in addition to it, it is also so inefficient that he cannot avoid going to the black market, he does not unseat the system.

On the other hand the producers of food, for the matter of that, any useful article whatsoever also pleads a similar defence for selling in the black market and lays the blame for it on the control of things produced by him. The summary of a Cyprian's letter from an over-enthusiast published in another column is an illustration of this.

He represents the cultivator who complains that the fixing of ceiling prices of products undered by him at a lower level than is suitable to him, without at the same time making adequate supply of materials needed by him available to him at cheaper rates than those prevailing in the market is the cause of all hardships to himself and the consumers of his product.

The sugar merchant makes a similar complaint. He says that the ceiling price of sugar fixed by the Government was too low to induce him to produce sugar profitably, unless he could also purchase materials at prices suitable to him. As this was not done, he was unable to

produce sugar, with the result that both he and the consumer were unassisted. He would like to have either a strict control of sugar-cane prices or no control on sugar. The control on cane he says, would be unnecessary if that on sugar-cane were effectively administered.

The textile industry, likewise would have itself released from controls or in the alternative provided with cotton at rates favourable to it.

Similarly the transport manufacturers in respect of groundnut, and I suppose, the jute manufacturers in respect of jute.

And the farmer, the producer of grains, cotton, groundnut, jute etc., would like to have all controls against his produce to be raised, unless the things needed by him such as iron, cement, fodder and other foods for his cattle, engines, pumps, fuel etc. are supplied to him cheaply.

The gist of all this is that every one wants a strict control of prices and adequate supplies of materials needed by him, but wants liberty to sell his own produce for selling his produce. Thus apparently, Shri Haridasdas Mahesh would seem correct when he says that every consumer, i.e. every person in that capacity in respect of any article is a pro-controller and every producer of such article is a no-controller. It also drives one, apparently, to the conclusion that controls cannot be applied to isolated articles. They create more mischief than good. You cannot successfully control prices of agricultural products until you make the needs of the agriculturist cheap, that is, under the present system, make transport, marketing facilities, bullocks, manure, water supply machinery, fuel, cloth, and many other things, cheap and abundant. If the balance-sheet of the cultivator can be made favourable to him in a natural free-trade manner, the balance-sheet of the whole nation can become so. But if it has to be so done by the artificial method of controls, it is like a fine river which cannot be struck at any point without producing vibrations in all the straits on it, and also in the surrounding box, and cannot but create confusion unless every card is properly stoned.

If the producers do not want controls, it is to a great extent in their own hands. They must not insist on producing things only at a margin of profit, which they regard as essential for inducing them to work. For, if they want a wide margin of profit, they must be prepared also to pay the workers and the staff salaries and wages which the latter regard as essential to induce them to work. This means, that all employees must vary from day to day in accordance with the price index.

If this vicious circle is to be broken, the only point at which it seems to me, it can be done, is the voluntary curtailment of the "margin of profit", and the payment of wages and taxes in part at least in kind. Moreover as the strongest incentive to work is the hope of our present economic problems.

Ultimately, it is a spiritual question. The money-profit incentive is indicative of the uncontrolled desire for self-indulgent, luxuriously comfortable, grand and artificial standard of living. We have to choose between self-control, and extraneous control. If we do not submit to self-control, the end of extraneous control is bound to interfere as long as there is some capacity left to carry on government. Since in administering controls government will always meet with resistance as much a highly individualistic society as ours, slowly or catastrophically, they must lead to disturbance of a riotous nature. One may call these disturbances Communists or criminals as might suit one. But the root of the evil lies in the absolute emphasis on the individualistic view of life and happiness, and an utter disregard of the duty to society. No government in Asianic countries would, it seems be able to prevent these disturbances the aid of Western countries notwithstanding. It is in the hands of the producers and well-to-do consumers to prevent violent movements. The only way to do it is to put a voluntary control on the instincts of acquisitiveness, self-indulgence and the individualistic view of life. We must work for all, live for all share with all and suffer for all. In other words, we must adopt a life of *shradha* (generosity), *satya* (truthfulness), *ahimsa* (non-violence), *brahmacharya* (community) and *arjuna* (well-being of every one).

Varanasi, 3-4-'61

K. G. BHATTACHARYA

A. I. E. Language Policy

The cinema and the radio are two very potent instruments for Hindi-grammar work. The cinema has, in its own interest, made its Hindi simple and direct so that it might secure the greatest amount of intelligibility of the people. This cannot be said of the Radio. It can as well be made to serve a particular school of thought or a particular brand of culture through its language policy. The Constitution of India has now laid down the language policy of the country, which the radio must henceforth abide by. Hence the following announcement taken from the *Mirchi*, 21-4-'61 by Shri R. R. Dwivedi, Minister for Broadcasting, in the Parliament is very welcome from various points of view:

"Referring to the language policy in regard to Hindi, Mr. Dwivedi said it was being examined by the Advisory Committee set up for the purpose. At the last meeting it had been unanimously decided that maximum intelligibility should be the test of language used. A. I. E. was not a medium for the development of any particular culture or school of thought, and keeping Article 351 of the Constitution for purposes of general freedom, 'we are thinking of developing that type of language which will be easily understood not only by the Hindi-speaking people, but by the non-Hindi-speaking people also.

A CULTIVATOR'S PLAINTEXT AGAINST CONTROLS

I am a real cultivator owning 40 bighas of good land. When prices were cheap, I could save something between two to five hundred rupees annually after meeting all the expenses. But since the imposition of controls, I have been incurring an annual loss of Rs 300 to 500, my last year's loss having been Rs 450. This loss is exclusive of the cost of special cattle-feed (maati) for a pair of bullocks. A pair of bullocks needs 2½ mds (Mangals) of maati every winter. Its present price is Rs 40 per md. Gaur is another essential cattle-feed. Unless the price of *jaun* leaves adequate proportion to the prices of maati and gaur, i.e. at least Rs 15 per md, the farmer cannot balance his budget.

If I had sold my *jaun* in the black market, I could have realised Rs 387-4-0 more. If there had been a genuine cultivator in the ministry, he could have realised the farmer's condition, and would have saved him from the temptation of profiteering and black-marketing. As it is, honest cultivators can only pray to God to relieve them either from controls or from his *Heif*.

But while I suffer my losses, I sympathise with the cultivator, who has to resort to corrupt practices. He is an unwilling victim to the system of controls. Just as why he has to do so.

Take the instance of sugar. Before the controls, the price of sugar ranged from 7 to 10 annas and per sold at 8 or 9 per lb. As soon as control is imposed on a commodity, a black market is created therein and prices shoot up, the supply from the ration shop being too inadequate. In order to avoid purchases from the black market various tricks are employed to meet the deficit. For instance, the cultivator gets release of sugar on the cards of his labourers at the rate of 5 or 10 annas or 2 lb. *jaun* per each card. The labourer does not need the sugar, he needs more *jaun*, and so he sells his quota of sugar to the agriculturist, and purchases his extra *jaun* from him, thus both becoming black-marketeers at once. That he needs more *jaun* is not his fault. Is it possible for a labourer to live on 5 or 10 annas of food day after day for seven years? I dare say that from the hunched farm-labourer to the ministers some could have managed to live for so many years without purchasing a part of their cereals from the black market, wherever the free market of grains is closed. To the extent we have to eat more than 4 oz. of cereals per day during three meals, every one of us is a law-breaker, and made so by the system.

(From a Gopur letter)

A CULTIVATOR

Correction

In the article "On Way to Shikharapalli: — III (Barjan, 3-4-'61) page 43, col. 1, lines 14 and 15, please read *gavika* for *gavika*.

shared his instructions. "God has gifted man with two great instruments—speech and hands. You have been using your gift of speech by talking themselves. You must also use your hands for doing God's work. Perhaps your own claim, if you do that your hands will bear standing proof."

Vinodaji first spoke in Hindi then in Marathi and thereafter his speech was translated into Telugu. At the conclusion comprised of people speaking all these languages, the people tried all the various publicly March 16, Mysore (North Hall, 10 miles)

Radhama Prasad, the founder of this village is a Brahmin—a caste originally coming from Rajasthan and well-known for its commercial talent. It is supposed ever arrived parts of the country. Their women still wear the old-style Rajput dress—a heavy and big sari (phayer in Hindi) and an earring (a sort of short length) and bangles and make ornaments on the head, nose, ears, neck, arms and legs. Radhama introduced dress reform in his family, adopting the Rajput style of dress now widely adopted by Marathas in India. He was commended by his people for this innovation and had to suffer all the hard ships of a reformer. His own son has a following of a thousand families in the country. Though Radhama's regular school training did not go beyond the fourth year, he is the author of a scholarly work, the History of the Rajputs. He is the chairman of the local Marathi primary education and health centre conducted by the Government and has colleagues in the village.

Vinodaji visited the primary school spring about an hour in the midst of the afternoon, when language, though he could not speak, he would easily understand. It is a mixture of Marathi, Gujarati, Marathi, and a few other dialects including Telugu.

The children enjoyed Vinodaji's company, played their music, shared their craft work, including spinning and saw that Vinodaji, too, was interested in them.

The population has increased from 100 to 200 in 1945. In 1947 the village had a well-planted with big trees a primary school, a hospital building and a weekly market.

In the proper morning Vinodaji said that though himself did not live his way in Hyderabad, he could not resist the pressing invitation of Shri Parvati who had invited him to see her work. Although it meant a departure from the work, he was glad to see and speak with them.

Concluding, Vinodaji said, "was in the line of our great master Arundhati and his. Her name will be associated with freedom in the same way as that of Arundhati with Vinodaji and of his, with Rama, or the companions of their life. Arundhati had taken a vow to walk by the side of her husband in such a way as not to obstruct his path as is seen in the two men after their names in the history."

She followed an accompanying team during his exile, and there could not withhold his permission. Similarly he had followed Gandhi wherever he went. She followed him to jail, and also to jail as a mother of freedom on Nagpur's top. (Incorporated work of village workers in being represented throughout the country in her memory. This service might not reach everywhere, but it would be wrong to repeat it as, if they took the necessary care, it would give him a big loss. Vinodaji called the name of Vinodaji which had a little piece that had been planted as the entrance had grown into a temple which had been in the way. He asked the people to incorporate fully in the work that was being done there.

In the evening, a ninety-year old God touched.

"The second part is the life of the Great God in Nagpur in Vinodaji (Gandhi). To the outside of it, near by, is a hall called Arundhati (Gandhi). After the marriage ceremony has over it is used to show Arundhati in the form and appears upon her to take that as her ideal in her life's journey with her husband. Arundhati keeps step with Vinodaji without ever obstructing his way.

Vinodaji first Vinodaji inquired if he wanted to live longer, and if his life desire had been fulfilled. He replied that he had found Vinodaji more and more in his life. After that, by God's grace he had obtained the freedom to work for a happy man. He was released later that the God was a village physician and highly respected in the village.

There are only about 10 or 12 houses of the God in the village. They live in a society of their own and maintain their own independent economy. A God lady, serving that Vinodaji was moving towards her house, was hurriedly into her cottage and came out with devotion to apply to Vinodaji forehead.

There were a few plants of tobacco in the neighborhood of Vinodaji's house, an ancient temple and. Radhama Prasad desired Vinodaji to visit them, allowing him to see the tobacco plant and to see the temple. Vinodaji, according to the programme, a few days would have meant a further delay of three or four days. But Vinodaji was not to be stopped. He decided to visit the house further.

Before leaving, Vinodaji advised the members to be obedient and to devote daily some time to reading. "There are two things of joy within it is difficult to carry on the work. When so far from, who have to work in villages?"

March 17, Mysore (North Hall, 10 miles)

As we left behind the hills and forest of Mysore and approached Vinodaji, we saw a procession marching towards us singing in accompaniment with local musical instruments. We were led to the village house in a common ceremony.

Vinodaji is known to a common person his spinning was done only in a few houses. They met in every house. Vinodaji said, "The master" was the reply. The ladies were interested and began placed in the house others. There were a few women there who desired to do what Vinodaji work. But no one was free to think in terms of the village, in the proper meaning, therefore, Vinodaji had to say a few words to this community. "You must learn to think of the village, in the sense that the whole village belonged to you. The condition of the people is very miserable. Therefore think of your difficulties and employ yourselves in removing the condition of the people. There should be some who is not happy here. Don't try to discriminate between the category by looking at their caste or religion. All those who are suffering belong to a common class. The suffering class in the same way as good people—Hindu and Muslims of the people—do not belong to different castes. There is only one caste, namely, the God loving class. In fact, the classes have no different age or caste. They are citizens and that is the only basis they belong to. God will not ask you whether you are a Hindu or a Brahmin. He will ask you the content of your deeds. Whether you have practiced virtue or sin, whether you have been a good man or an evil man. The money which you obtain is not going to compensate you to heaven. Devote, therefore, whatever you possess in the name of your people's service. It is only then that you will be able to stand next to God."

March 18, Chik Ballapur (Eleventh Hall, 14 miles)

On our way to Chik Ballapur, the people of Ballapur had arranged a heavy reception. They had also arranged for our breakfast and we accepted the power juice prepared by the villagers. Ballapur was only one mile from Ballapur. Many people had themselves arrived there to greet us.

At Chik Ballapur we were lodged in the Chik Ballapur, the village house and area of Vinodaji's life. When the afternoon we had our meal in a public hall. "The good meals are no doubt very delicious for the members to visit and enjoy the village," Vinodaji said referring to the village he had visited. "From today, in the village and Vinodaji more occupations do not still. The

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Shri Balasubrah Puri

Shri Balasubrah Puri, the Raja of Asudha (now merged in the Bombay State and forming part of the Poona District), expired at the venerable age of 84 on Friday, the 18th of April last at Bombay. He was one of the most enlightened ex-rulers of the country, and the first to give to his subjects full responsible government. The Constitution was framed in consultation with Gandhiji and was a model of the type of Swaraj structure Gandhiji had in mind. The Rajasabha took paternal interest in the people and guided them in their administration and progress.

His interests were varied. Sports remained (according to the Sanskrit) as a popular manner, which provided complete physical exercise to the muscles, was his favourite method for the health and physical culture of the nation, and he took great pains to propagate it. He was also a patron of art and was fond of painting. A great devotee of Rama, he made literary researches in the studies of Sanskrit literature, and also tried to convert him in his faith. He was an orator with a staccato voice—a qualification rendered unnecessary now by the loud-speakers, but very much appreciated thirty years ago.

Wardha, 17-4-53

Send Supply

Great demonstrations have been sent to me that while Shri Mahatma Gandhi was risking his life for restoring the reputation to the coloured races of the world, I ought not to have made a reference to our own social and domestic delinquencies here. The cause of Shri Mahatma Gandhi is my own. Personally he is to me more than only a public leader of South Africa or a son of Mahatma Gandhi. I have my full sympathy for the valiant fight he wants to put up against the Union Government, and I wish that everything that we can do from here should be done to help him in it. With this very purpose I appeal to our own people to wash off the communal poison from our society. The Constitution of our country has made the road quite clear for us, and it is our own fault that we do not act upon it. We must realise how our lawless demonstrations have

produced their sinister effects upon our nation's abroad. The following press item will show that it is we who supply the seeds which poison our life abroad. The pity of it is that most of the Muslims who join the demand for separate electorates are residents of the Indian Union.

New Delhi, March 25, '51

"Certain Muslim leaders in Kenya are being supported by Moslems in the Colony in their demand for separate electorates and seats in the Kenya Legislative Council, according to private cables from Nairobi."

"The old Muslim League and British attitude in the days of Imperial rule in India is apparently being repeated in territories under British colonial rule."

"Changes are likely to be introduced at the Kenya Legislative Council and Muslim delegates from India have been saying that they should be given separate representation. Moslems are asked to be supporting the communal demand for two out of five seats proposed to be given to Muslims."

"On the other hand, Europeans have been demanding half the number of seats in the Kenya Council, the other half going to non-Europeans although the European population is not even one per cent of the total. The Government of India is expected to take up the matter with the British Government and urge a common roll and not separate electorates for Indians in Kenya." (National Standard, 25-3-51)

Wardha 17-4-53

S. G. K.

WHY STUDENTS?

It is reported that the Principal of a college in Aligarh was seriously assaulted by some students, and he succumbed to the injuries. The reason alleged for this outrage on the part of the students is that as a superintendent of examinations the Principal had announced to gather from examinations about a dozen students who were found to be using unfair means. Let us assume that the Principal had quite grandeurously and wantonly or with ulterior motives taken that step. Even then, no condemnation can be too severe for the act of the students. Even if they had been innocent, their subsequent action shows that they were unworthy of getting a degree. If college students entertain the belief that they can take the law into their own hands, how easy we can excuse the ordinary people for resorting to the same methods? The student world all over the country should outright condemn this dastardly act. Students have their associations. These together should build up a common code of conduct for themselves themselves behaviour in examinations, discipline, etiquette

regarding co-operation and the position of the State, and such other matters.

Students seem to have lost their heads as a reaction to their pathetic need to pass examinations by hook or crook. This needs a word for college teachers as well. To be an examiner has become a means of economic gain for which three goes on untidy rivalry among them. As such all those dirty tricks which are known to trade, have permeated the teacher-class also. Moreover, they are found to threaten students with dire consequences at the examinations if they did not behave as they would wish them to do. In this way even the legitimate grievances of students are suppressed and students get demoralized due to fear. Some are heard to say that such things are helpful for and conducive to discipline. Favouritism and wilfully wrong assessment of marks in the examinations, bribery, corruption, leakage of papers are have become a common occurrence. These things also require to be looked into.

It is well our educational institutions analyse this deep-seated malady that has beset them. It is as well some research students devote themselves to the study of this abnormal phenomenon of examinations, which has created such an enormous evil and danger to society.

[2-4-76]

M. P. Datta

BRIGHT LIGHTS OF SHIVARAMPALLI

It could be safely said that the Shivarampalli session of the Bharadwaj Samaj was a very great success. Indeed it is as reported to compare the previous session held at Firoz and Nagpur. The friends who gathered there must have felt the place with a sense of satisfaction, achievement and hope in the place of frustration and disappointment which generally prevailed in the atmosphere before.

Vinoba

The session was mostly dominated by Acharya Vinoba's personality and it was he to whom the success of the gathering is mostly due. His personality has of more than 60 years been Vinoba in Shivarampalli should be given credit for creating social elevation of the Bharadwaj Samaj members throughout the country and many of them perhaps visited Shivarampalli to hear and be near him.

As is already known Vinoba is engaged at present in a great experiment at his Ashram at Purnachow, Poona, for collecting the use of money as far as possible according to his idea. money as the sole medium of exchange has some greater obstacles and levels in the world than anything else. He was engaged, along with his few companions in the task of going to the production of the land with the simplest of implements, but depending even on hand tools for tilling the land. He writes to me what the extreme form of manual labour one achieve in agriculture in the present circumstances, where pumps, machines and tractors are resorted to be the ideal, up-to-date and scientific implements of agriculture. Vinoba is so much intent on this fundamental and revolutionary experiment that he was very reluctant to leave Poona. Even now for the Bharadwaj gathering which was his own creation, it should be remembered that it was from Vinoba that the concept of Bharadwaj Samaj has originated at Sevagram, shortly after Gandhi's assassination.

The concept was that it should be an unorganised group of people in which no sub-regulated discipline had a place. The transcendental ideology of the Gandhian philosophy should only be modified in the general social environment, and personal conscience alone should guide people. Since Vinoba was present here by himself to stress the gathering at Shivarampalli has been sustained steadily in these columns. The reader also knows how he thereupon decided to call to Shivarampalli. Vinoba continues to stress the creative genius and remembered name of a student, the greatness of a teacher, the deep wisdom of a student and the values worth learning of an teacher to discard everything which he considers to be superfluous and useless for his goal, that is why Gandhi selected him to be the first president in the individual civil disobedience movement during the critical times of the Second World War.

To stress further on Vinoba's personality will not be proper though much can be said in describing the grand experiment which he has as present manifestation. But to understand the import and the significance of his message at Shivarampalli the background of the personality called spiritual experiment which Vinoba is at present carrying on will have to be taken into account. It was seen to be enlightened and evolved the value of manual work and personal labour in his sermons and writings. The faith which he propounded at Shivarampalli when ever he tried to apparently to do it was the conversion of labour and the new attachment of the whole constructive programme through it. The purity derived from the simple manual labour and evolution of all our values in the present civilized world through this value is, according to Acharya Vinoba, the passage for all our life and difficulties. If we eliminate money currency and take to labour with a new faith, fervour and glow, the result of the world would be revolutionized. The best of the best in production and greater production with this new ideal. Vinoba repeatedly pointed out that if we walked in the future across our lands with the bare feet and the glow of innocence in our mind, our needs will be more than satisfied. Non-expansion, decentralization, equality, simplicity, honesty of life and economic equality will be necessarily achieved. If we learn to look at manual labour with this new vision.

The religious attitude with which this new value of labour is to be understood was the main theme of Vinoba's prayer speeches. Devotionality in the attitude of the day and there is hardly in the country a scholar at the Gita of Vinoba's sermons vividly engaged in his tilling this doctrine of the Gita in his personal conduct. Vinoba is a living example of manual labour undertaken with the non-attached religious attitude.

Those of the assembled members of the Bharadwaj Samaj who are not ignorant for immediate results than have derived great satisfaction from Vinoba's sermons. His activities were comparable to the highest guiding spirit on the earth. They passed the way he had tried the pathos of the revolution. There were many and perhaps they found a subject who were impatient for immediate results. Their minds were greatly affected on account of the previous Gandhian politics and their own inability to offer non-violent resistance for our social reformer political activities. They were discontent spreading everywhere against the Government, and found the present political organization of the country—Congress—simply incapable in view the idea of liberation and decentralization coming with great force all round. People demanded for food, shelter and cloth, and he too, the institution of party was able to suggest a way out. Was the Bharadwaj Samaj also to find an immediate solution? What was the attitude of the Samaj towards these problems? What should the members who be in the leading position? In short, what about in the attitude of the members towards Congress politics and the present Government? These were the questions which

ignored many of those who had attended the Sardaroga gathering.

Visitors' solution for all these difficulties was "work with both the Sardis with heart, mind and hand overhead, and await the results."

Grouping the proposals of a few main topics, other speakers were allowed three to five minutes only. Several found this time to be too short, but there was an alternative: The gathering lasted for four days, and the time passed away very rapidly. The meeting was crowded in every sense of the term.

Shankarrao Des

Shri Shankarrao Des, with his life-long experience in the political field, attracted the issue in a proper perspective and tried to offer a constructive solution to the problems appearing the members. Instead of standing by the meeting of the Congress Working Committee, which he was invited to attend at the Sardaroga gathering from the very beginning of the meeting, it seemed how to reflect the consciousness of the Sardaroga Samaj and the Sarva Sam Sangh. He advised them to approach the voters from whom real politics radiated and to put the test of leadership in them. It would be more proper, he said, if the masses approached voters instead of the Government and the political parties in the right spirit. The members of the Sardaroga Samaj should not expect to be nominated for election but should try to influence and guide them. Politics could then be shaped in the right direction. This was quite in line with the moral outlook of the Sardaroga Samaj when Shri Shankarrao Des traced from the beginning. The Sardaroga Samaj was not there to inflict ready-made political solutions on the voters, he believed was to guide the people in the right ethical spirit, according to the light which the members had received from Gandhiji. The Late Gopal Sangh was in his opinion, the last sentiment which Gandhiji had offered to them and he was loyal to the great teachings of the Mahatma, the words were expected to act as if they were members of the Late Gopal Sangh without allowing themselves to be candidates for election. It can be said that Shankarrao Des made a good impression upon the gathering to the as this issue was concerned.

Devi Dharmadharani

Devi Dharmadharani agreed with Shri Shankarrao that members of the Samaj should remain close to the delivery participating in election politics. He publicly broadcasted in his great lecture as a politician and fervently described the present degeneration in politics. Members must everything in politics and there was absolutely no contribution shown in spirit. Sincerely and meaningfully he very eloquently pointed out:

J. C. Karmaroge

Shri Karmaroge had unfortunately very little time at his disposal. He was called away by an urgent private summons and had to leave the place in a hurry. Within the short time at his disposal, he emphasized the need to reorientate the constructive programme by laying stress on agricultural self-reliance in all its aspects. He very brilliantly pointed out the difference between self-reliance, democracy and self-reliance democracy and advised the members to follow the last tradition of better citizens by keeping their words under control. Members should not follow the ways of the western self-reliance democracy in which words are deliberately multiplied.

Rama Kulkarni

Kulkarni's lecture was the finishing of the session for two days and when he left, he drew the attention of the members to the establishment of a citizens democracy. As long as the last words of ours and ours remained, there could not be any absolute safety and

economic equality or justice could not prevail in it. People must be taught to rise above caste creed and class.

Shankrishnaas Jaji

Shri Jaji occupied the chair after Kulkarni's departure. Jaji was especially concerned to remove the misunderstanding about the disbandment of the Gandhi Bhawan Fund and the work which was to be continued through it. He pointed out in the clear terms that there was absolutely no cause for any misunderstanding though there was some delay in beginning the work. The work had now started in right earnest.

K. K. Patil

Shri K. K. Patil has made it a point to visit the gathering every year and at Maharashtra he was asked to deal with the very center-point topic of food. In Shri Patil's program the Government and the people's points of view were harmoniously blended together and he dealt with the subject constructively, coolly and ably with a master's grace. He very grandly pointed out the great emergency of the problem and asked the gathering to deal with it with a religious zeal. Government and people might be expected to try to find a way was suggested and it was up to the Samaj to ensure the necessary contribution in the public school which was greatly lacking. Shri Patil stated on the difficulties under which the Government labored and directed the members of the Samaj to raise people's conscience and to consider their example in this respect.

The subjects like the peace-bridge or disarmament, economic equality, Maharashtra's food problem, women's movement, the necessity of creating moral atmosphere were dealt with by individual speakers while the chief spirit of these days and many members continued their ideas within the time allowed to them.

It is not the function of the Sardaroga Samaj to offer any ready-made solutions to problems affecting the people's welfare. The members think together and express what they feel. Every speaker is free to serve his own imagination and to follow the dictates of his conscience according to the light received individually in the gathering.

At the end of this short resume in which adequate justice cannot be done to the rest of many speakers, it can be said that Viswa's program pointed to a long-term constructive solution of our present-day difficulties and Shri Shankarrao Des's speech advised the formation of the Late Gopal Sangh of the constructive workers so that they could influence the voters in the immediate future according to the Gandhian method.

Jayashankar Nihon

Shri Jayashankar Nihon, then when a later speaker at his residence from amongst the politicians of the world could hardly be found, had his eyes on the Sardaroga Samaj. He within his expected a ray of hope and light in the midst of the surrounding darkness. He expressed this confidence in a short manner which he sent to the Sardaroga gathering and Viswa in one of the program meetings made a mention of this message and very effectively used to reorganize the same feelings.

One is to hope from the members of the Sardaroga Samaj that they would rise to the occasion from their homes into an efficient moral organization and be an instrument in removing the gloom which is pervading the country.

Sagar, 26-4-61

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FIVEFOLD PROGRAMME

From the two reviews published with this and the oral accounts of some of the visitors returning from the Conference it appears that Vinoba and other leaders of constructive work have placed a five-fold programme of work before the nation. Vinoba has lovingly summed it up in one half of a verse as follows:

मनसि श्रद्धा अथवा मनसि (Internal purity, external cleanliness, labour, peace and dedication)

1. *Manasi Shuddhi* (internal purity) stands for the *shuddhi-samachara* (honest-hill) movement. It is a call to the people to renounce vulgar ways of earning wealth or securing commodities and comforts and to work together for that purpose. The nation's stock of the principal necessities of life is less than the needs of the people. Those who happen to possess a store of these necessities try to take advantage of the scarcity by demanding more than a fair price for them. The purpose is nothing but to make money—as quickly and easily as possible, regardless of the privations of the people. This is anti-social selfish behaviour. Those too, who possess large stocks of money take advantage of their surplus wealth by paying more than a fair price in order to secure comforts for themselves in advance of others, regardless of the difficulties the poor are put to thereby. This, too, is anti-social selfish behaviour. No Sarvodaya can be established under these conditions. There can be no happiness and peace of mind, whether under control or without them. Also there can be no progress, no successful implementation of plans, no maintenance of law and order, and no security of individual or national freedom. Science can manipulate a mechanical heart and a mechanical lung to take the place of those organs in nature. But there can be no successful mode of dispensing with the necessity of honest life and sense of moral duty. We must therefore make a deliberate attempt to return to honest ways of life. This attempt must be both individual as well as local. We should also develop regard for the needs of others and the good of the public. We must also act together to sustain one another in the effort for honest life, and the attempt to resist injustice and evil.

2. *Bekhi-Shuddhi* (external purity) is the *sarvodaya* programme for cleanliness. We are generally credited with a good sensibility for personal cleanliness. We like to have a daily bath to clean our teeth, to wash our hands, to put on freshly washed clothes every day and so on. But this is by no means universal, and the development is only to a limited degree. In the

matter of public sanitation and cleanliness even in those reputed for personal cleanliness, the sense is, at its best, just gossiping. In the general public, it is very deficient and is the main cause of a good deal of disease and constant outbreak of epidemics among the people. It is responsible for our heavy infant mortality, poor physique, early old age, and low longevity. An intense drive for external cleanliness, personal as well as public, is another factor needed for creating Sarvodaya.

3. *Shrama* (physical labour) is the third great condition for Sarvodaya. The culture which we have inherited through our so-called education has made us like *king's men*, which prided itself upon its long and branching crown of horns but was adorned at its base and uncommonly legs. Though they were extremely useful for serving its life, it regarded them as unworthy and despicable members of its head-worn figure. The result was that capable of a terrific stamp of the hornless and faithful legs to save their master, the selfish its majestic horns got it entangled in a bush and torn to pieces by hounds. Gradually the centuries pass we have done everything to destroy the dignity and value of labour and too severely neglected, but suppressed and humiliated those who have, generation after generation worked hard to produce for us food, clothes, houses, furniture, ornaments and various comforts of life. These who have washed our dishes and urinals, swept our streets and cowsheds, cleaned our latrines and urinals, manufactured our cloth, pots, shoes etc. stand lower in our conception of dignity. We think of them with disrespect, because towards them with insolence and humiliate them in society even in temples where we gather for worshipping our Creator, they have either no place or have a low and distant place. All honour is assigned to wealth, power and book-learning. The result is that production has diminished, the door for a life of luxury and self-indulgence has widened, and while no-one wants to labour, everybody wants to get the comfort which hard labour alone can produce. This is an impossible aim. Whether we labour with our bare hands or with the assistance of implements or machines, labour we must. The capacity and will to labour must be regarded as the mark of a developed body and cultured mind.

This programme can be worked out in a variety of ways. We want to produce food, fruits, vegetables, milk, butter, ghee, oil, cloth and so many other articles of life; we have to construct houses, schools, latrines, drains, roads, culverts, bridges etc. We want bricks, timber, water and the like. We want wells, canals and other conveyances of water. We look to our God for food, our lords look to us for money. The money must be produced and provided by us. Every item requires labour to be performed. If along with labour we also have better implements, they are

weapons) but if implements are not available, our hands alone can still produce much if we have the necessary will. We need not despise the implements and mechanical aids, but let our hands be employed first. Thus is faith in labour (*labour=madhuk*).

4. *Shanti* (establishment of peace) is the fourth item. Peace is not to be understood here in its restricted context of abolition of war. Abolition of war is not ruled out, but war is a suggested edition of small conflicts which take place frequently in every small group. If small groups know how to live in unity, to resolve petty disputes and to detach loss and pain from their small world, it will not be the root of war in the larger world.

The work of peace is not a duty springing from a particular occasion, called breach of peace. It is a day-to-day, living and ultimate contact with every section of the local public, and the rendering of service in every life is difficult. It is like the daily visit of the medical officer, the nurse, the sanitary inspector, the judge, the employer all put in one. The soldier of peace is the universal friend in need.

5. The last item is *Samagras*, that is dedication of one's back to self-given work on Gandhi's annual day. The object of *samagras* is not served if the back is not spun by the dedicator himself. This small back of self-given work is symbolical of the dedicator's respect for Gandhi's faith in the *Sarvodaya* ideal, faith in personal service, faith in the performance of physical labour, faith in a non-violent and non-exploiting order, and of the equal status of the rich and the poor. It will also be the measure of the *Sarvodaya* worker's work among the masses. Every effort should be made to induce as many people as possible to give this back at the time of the next *Sarvodaya* week.

Wardha, 17-4-51

K. C. KASTURWALA

SHIVARAMPALLI ACCOUNT

At Shivarampalli, five miles from the famous city of Hyderabad in the South, was held from April 8 to 11, the third Conference of the *Sarvodaya* Samaj. Shri Vinoba had already reached the place on the previous day, after covering a distance of some 500 miles on foot. Out of a little more than 4,000 including about 100 in foreign countries, mostly or members of the *Sarvodaya* Samaj, some eight hundred attended the *Samaj*. The proceedings began under the presidency of Shri Mahadev Kulkarni who was later succeeded, on account of his engagements elsewhere, by Shri Shankaradasa Jey.

The life in the *Samaj* was almost like that in a camp. The first half of the day rang at 4-30 a.m. to awaken the delegates, prayer at five, followed by breakfast, body-labour thereafter for an hour and a half. This occupied us till 8-30, when we met for deliberations, and between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. we took food and rest

and did personal work. The congregational singing (*bandh-wani*) lasted for half an hour. It was succeeded by a 15-minute session of the *Samaj*. The evening prayer was held at 6 o'clock. It closed with a song with an address from Vinoba. Thereafter, evening meal and in-the-camp talks and on to bed.

The first day was allotted to general observations and suggestions by the *Samaj*. The speakers were allowed to speak on any subject they pleased, subject to a time-limit. They covered a very large variety of subjects, such as distribution of the land, economic situation of the country, self-sufficiency, workers' allowances, education, pottery, cotton, Marjari issue, animal slaughter, peace brigades (*bandh-wani*), *Sarvodaya*, Government policies etc. The two outstanding speeches of the day were those given by Shri Vinoba and Shri J. C. Kasturwala. The former stressed the new theme, Devotion to body-labour (*velum*), peace-brigade, personal contribution, self-help in *Shangh*-work and *Shadhi* speeches (*harat* life movement). He exhorted the audience to take to these activities in right earnest. Shri Kasturwala explained why he was at carrying on agricultural work in a village, an experiment in the evolution of a democracy of self-discipline as against that of self-indulgence in which money reigned supreme.

The food problem took up the next day in which the discussion was opened by Shri H. K. Puri, a member of the National Planning Commission. Though accurate statistics were not available, he said, it was not to be doubted that India did not produce the requisite quantity of food, and that it was necessary to change from subsistence agriculture to scientific agriculture. He also said that production and not distribution-control was the real problem of the day. Finally, exhibiting his trust in the *Sarvodaya* workers, he appealed to them to make the Government production drive successful.

This was followed by a general discussion in which several members expressed their views on the subject. Shri Vinoba gave three definite suggestions to meet the situation—(1) payment of a part of the wages of agricultural labour in kind, (2) recovery of land revenue in kind, and (3) management of *Shadhi* in every village home.

The next subject after the food debate was the 'harat life movement' (*harat vyavastha*) which has been recently placed before the country through the columns of *Shangh*. This discussion went on to a part of the third day (10th). Other subjects discussed on the 10th were regional self-sufficiency, economic equality, *Kin* *Pain* and attitude towards politics. The last one naturally evoked a long debate which covered the morning hours of the fourth day also. In the afternoon of the fourth and last day the subjects dealt with were running water, loans to physical work, women's welfare, the

place of Sarvodaya work or Shram work and pre-arranged (fixed) work.

The last post-prayer address of Shri Vinoba was the most important event of the Sarvodaya. On the first day, he referred to the place of prayer as our work and its importance as compared to other acts of sadakhar (good conduct) for characterizing people. In his address on the second day he pointed out the innumerable delay made in taking khard to the masses whether as a village industry (commercial kind) or as a domestic occupation for self-sufficiency (household-kind). He warned the workers that in the last of agriculture, sowing, sowing and improved implements they should not forget the real message of the shram, which not only demonstrated the extra ordinary greatness of Gandhiji, but was also a symbol of our revolt. He asked them to study carefully what Gandhiji had said on the subject.

In his post-prayer speech on the 15th Shri Vinoba referred to the message, which Pandit Javaharlal Nehru had sent to the Conference. The message said that the country looked to the Sarvodaya for working the light which had gone dark. Vinoba observed that India had for three weeks of years been passing the day of days (imagined) as a shrama (reigned) to attain the ideal of swaraj (freedom) called Swarajya (freedom of life). But now they had come to realize that the real shrama lay in establishing true equality, which though it did not deny days extended beyond simple exhibition of charity. He urged upon the audience to practice shram, (equality). He also pointed out that shramas like any other practice had to be accompanied with swaraj (democratization), but thousands of years may later have to be wasted to develop the sense of swaraj.

In his last address he summed up the entire proceedings of the Sarvodaya. He had little to add to what he had told them in his opening speech. He had summed up his programme of work as the half was already done. We were working internal and external cleanliness, physical labour, peace and non-dependence to help them to remember what they had to do. He also stressed the importance of education and asked them not to be as impatient as to force their will on others, but to bring about changes by imparting education, that is by giving the people their suggestions and ideas and leaving it to them to adopt their programme and way of life. It was, Vinoba concluded the only way to generate real and permanent strength.

The Reception Committee had also arranged a small exhibition of cottage-industries. Another important feature of the Sarvodaya was the eight one-hour meetings in which batches of workers from different parts of the country met Vinoba and placed their local difficulties before him. These small group talks were very fruitful, inspiring and constructive.

We passed an resolution as such. But it would be wrong to say that we made no contribution. In fact we found ourselves connected with definite tasks to be performed during the whole year. It is now for us to set up to these intelligently, and render an account of our stewardship when we meet again next year. Tentatively, the next Sarvodaya has been fixed to take place at Sevagram during the last week of February 1952. May each one of us rise to the occasion as demanded.

Wardha, 23-4-52

SURESH RAMANUJ

'CONSTRUCTION WEEK'

(MAY 28/52)

The following is taken from a Note received for publication:

"The Hindustan Party and the Hind Kshatriya Party are observing a 'Construction Week' through out India from May 28 to 31, 1952. The importance of constructive work in the context of the present-day mood of frustration and helplessness among the people cannot be overemphasized. The week is being observed with a view to instill among the people self-confidence, hope and an awareness of their responsibility towards the problems that face them. Active co-operation of the people alone can solve the national problems that await solution. The people should learn to work for their own collective good with or in spite of the help and goads of the Government."

"During the week many diverse forms of constructive work will be taken up. Digging of canals, tanks and wells, repairing or deepening of old ones, construction of dams and bunds, digging pits for cow pens and latrines in villages, collecting of soil water, water and clearing of drains of towns, digging up of mounds and piles of accumulated rubbish, water digging for improved drainage in towns and cities, but in view of the fact which the main emphasis in villages will be on digging for water and improved working."

This programme is being undertaken in a non-partisan spirit and the Committee formed to direct this programme has approached the Ministers of Works, Public, Food, Information and the Prime Minister for help and co-operation. In this connection it need to be made clear that constructive work will not be confined to this week only. It will start earlier and will continue after the week. But the week is thought to be specially devoted to constructive work on voluntary co-operative basis."

"The local Hindustan Party and Hind Kshatriya Party are to hold evening and night public meetings to educate and arouse the people for this constructive work. A mass collection of labour men and who will start work, to meet the expenses of propaganda, posters, volunteer-training etc. There are being chosen in and around the city where workers will undertake limited work. Committees are being formed in various parts of the city and rural areas to undertake this task."

Further information may be had from the secretary, Hindustan Party National Buildings, Bala Kishore Road, Delhi."

The idea of undertaking constructive work of the type mentioned in the circular by people of all ranks working together for the good of the community as a whole is good. In a country divided by so many political and social lines, it

order to bring workers of all persuasions together, care should be taken not to make it an occasion for smoldering rival political parties. The temptation to do so results in creating a new type of distinct caste.

K. K. MATHURAPALA

A FIGHTER OF STEADFAST RESOLVE

Kari Pancha Patel breathed his last on the 15th of February last at the ripe old age of 83 at Karachi in the Sauri District. Born in a poor peasant family, he had barely acquired even an elementary knowledge of the three R's. But he was the heart of a Shikha and the villagers used to assemble at his house every Saturday for Majas. His land being not sufficient for his maintenance, Pancha took to tinkering as a subsidiary profession.

On reading Doka's biography of Gandhiji, of course, in Gujarat, Pancha became a Shikha of Gandhiji and on the latter's return home from Africa he eagerly sought every opportunity to take part in his activities, offering Satyagraha in the various campaigns launched upon by him or under his inspiration and guidance.

He had taken part in the Flag Satyagraha at Naggur. He had also joined the raids on the salt pans of Dharasana.

Pancha was perhaps the first Satyagrahi to withhold land tax when during the non-co-operation days Gandhiji decided upon starting a no-tax campaign from Bardoli in 1921. And though Gandhiji later postponed the programme of civil disobedience, thanks to the Chhatrakars' note, Pancha stuck to his resolve not to pay land revenue till Swamy was attained. Importuned by Congressmen to pay up the revenue, Pancha approached Gandhiji and was reinforced by him in his resolution. Consequently his land, his only property, was confiscated by the Government. Nothing daunted, Pancha took to the Shikha and the loam to maintain himself.

When the Congress assumed office and formed ministries in the provinces, Government ordered the restoration of the lands of the Satyagrahis who had fasted for them during the Satyagraha fight. But Pancha would not accept the land nor pay the revenue saying that the Swamy for which they were fighting had not come. He again sought and obtained the confirmation of Gandhiji. But on the latter's advice he handed over the land for the use of a constructive worker who, Gandhiji said, would pay the revenue.

Pancha was again requested to take charge of his land after the 15th of August 1947 when India assumed full charge of her Government. But the content of Pancho's Swamy had grown with the time. He had identified Swamy with Gandhiji's Ramraj. "As long as the administration of the country is carried on with the help of the army," said Pancha, "it was no Swamy. Swamy should be based on ahimsa." Hence he would not pay the land revenue nor did he care to take charge of his land. He cited the example of Gandhiji and said, "Has Bapa gone back to

his Ashram of Vishram? When he goes there I shall plough my land and not till it." Referring to the Swamy of Gandhiji, Pancho, Gandhiji had remarked, "Pancho's resolve will remain without a parallel. We have not even yet got true Swamy. It seems to be distant today."

Pancha was a great devotee of Kahir and the galaxy of our past saints. Shri Vinoba when he visited Karachi in 1949 was greatly pleased to see Pancho and has been with him ever since.

He was fearless, devoted and self-silent. He dyed his clothes, spun his yarn and wove it into cloth himself since the days of non-co-operation almost till his death. He was truly in the language of Gung, "a gem of purest ray serene."

MISGIVINGS CONFIRMED

II

As promised I have to explain this week why my "misgivings" about Food Technology—old Research here, far from being removed, have partially confirmed. The newspaper report referred to in my previous article, "Misguided Swamy" had only given a glimpse of the Institute and its objects, but this brochure has given me a startling close-up view. Among the subjects for study we find the following:

1. Survey and preservation of different classes of food materials: prevention of spoilage, reduction and utilization of partially altered materials.

2. Processing of materials with a view to improving their keeping quality and facilitating ready usage: refrigeration, freezing, gas strength, dehydration, canning, etc.

3. Treatment of different classes food materials to improve their palatability, digestibility and general food value, elimination of harmful and undesirable ingredients.

4. Study of new and historic vegetable sources of food materials, their processing and supplements that go in to render them more wholesome and an acceptable emergency foods.

5. Preparation of concentrated foods, vitamins and other food accessories, compounds and emulsions: pure foods, ready-to-eat foods, supplementary foods, food substitutes, etc.

6. Preservation of fruits, vegetables and other perishable articles: training of personnel into methods of preparation of squashes, jams, preserves, pickles, chutneys, etc., and general investigations into food technological problems including the possible use of related gases, artificial coloration and antioxidants for preservation of shape and food quality.

No. 1 might conceivably be useful to the ruling classes, though I much fear the methods would be far too expensive. As to the rest they concern only the upper, middle and lower-middle classes, who are a small minority of India's population. At the same time the industries to be benefited by these measures are all of a non-village type. Even those which might have had some connection with rural life are hopelessly apart. One of the photographs in the brochure called "Training in processed fruits and vegetables", shows young men in city dress standing at tables and handling elaborate and

expensive, unknown types of equipment. In another place, the laboratory quite thoughtfully mentioned that "The teacher complains that he had an experimental to do with the microscope and other apparatus more often to come a first-class and get adopted in time."

Some five years ago I was asked by Bhattacharya if he could give me anything useful for the villages out of all his discoveries and inventions. On this, he said and took me off to his office in the Delhi Secretariat to see a wonderful collection of samples. There were water-proof things and teapots things, and other things which I can't remember. But this I do remember that each time I took a fancy to something and said, "Can you give me the information for preparing this in the villages?", he would reply that the process had been patented. At last I exclaimed in despair "My dear Doctor, the long and the short of it is you have sold your brains to the capitalists!"

That sentence comes back to my mind because in this Research Institute I seem to see the same thing. It impresses me as a capitalistic enterprise.

It so happened that by the same post with Dr Bhattacharya's letter and brochure came a weighty volume from America called *Nutrition and Physical Degeneration* by Weston A. Price. The author of this book has made a detailed study of the real effects of processed, tinned, and other types of artificial foods on human health. Some people in the West are awakening to the degenerating effects of their own civilization, but we in India are spending huge sums of public money on creating the very conditions that they are now trying to prevent.

This whole thing is a bad job, and is, also, only typical of many other projects and schemes through which our unhappy land is being "developed".

Pasadena, 6-6-31

WBA.

While Along with the above article, Minobaka has also sent to me the brochure referred to in it. It is an attractive publication, and I read it with all the interest of a science student. Nevertheless, however, my approach was slightly different. I think that in order to appreciate the viewpoints of both Dr Bhattacharya and Minobaka, it is desirable that the reader should be acquainted with the contents of the brochure to some extent. I shall try to do so next week, and make my own comments thereafter. —(K. G. M.)

TO THE STUDENTS

Dr Mahadevi Gandhi

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APPEAL

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress have received that a National Memorial Fund be named in memory of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The funds collected for the memorial are to be mainly utilized for the construction of rural roads, wells and other means of village water supply and village school houses and for other like purposes. 15 per cent of the amount collected will be reserved for a Central Fund and the rest utilized in the State wherein the money is collected for the objects stated above.

We appeal to all, rich and poor, in India to send their to the best of their ability towards this memorial which will perpetuate the memory of our great and beloved leader and continue to reward the men and women of the land of the brave, sturdy and live at the poor that made Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as dear to us all.

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HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY BHAKTINATH GANDHI,
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VOL. XV No. 10

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1951

TWO ANNAS

— RAJENDRANATH TAGORA —

On the 6th May, '51, falls the nineteenth birthday anniversary of our National-Poet-philosopher. Let us recall at least a few teachings of this master mind. They will bring some hope, refreshing faith, and sweetness to the present-day disappointed distressed world. He recognised no barriers among the different sections of humanity and he pleaded with the great prophets for finding and pursuing unity in diversity, concord in discord and harmony in that superficial and transient disharmony. He did not put forward in his writings any casteist school of thought but took the everyday common happenings of ordinary people for his themes. He did not support complete renunciation or retirement from society but asked us to accept life as it comes and mould or cultivate it to tread on the only true path of Love.

Political leaders of powerful countries are following the beaten path of diplomatically talking "Peace", while preparing all the time for brutal wars and forging abominable weapons of destruction. Thus the faith of humanity in Truth and its ultimate success—Sagacious Jyoti— is shaken to a great extent and even thinking people, despite of all the philosophies, seem, nervously to ask: "Is life worthwhile?" Definitely, something is wrong with the present order and the greatest tragedy of the recent times is not the economic breakdown alone but the greater and more appalling moral breakdown of the world. No doubt, evil will persist as long as life lasts but what is very disturbing is that evil forces seem to triumph over the life-sustaining good forces. Here Jyoti points out to the despairing soul that it is in this superficial defeat that the seeds for the glorious victory of good forces are really sown. He says:

"Little tragedies occur not to demonstrate their own reality but to reveal their eternal principle of joy in life in which they give a moral shaking. It is the object of this universe for us to realise its harmony by perfect union of love with others. All pleasures in this union create misery, giving rise to the inner passions that are expressions of failure of that equilibrium which is happiness and therefore peace" (Creative Energy).

Apart from the diverse political trends of Socialism, Communism, Capitalism, Communist-

ism and other hundred 'isms', there is the greatest need in this world today of positive dynamic Humanism or Love. It is this fundamental aspect of life that Jyoti stressed most and he appealed to humanity not to lose faith and leave the path of goodness at any cost. Drops can make an ocean and if persons are taken proper care of persons will take care of themselves. If individuals in their personal lives get rid of distinctions of caste, provincialism, racial differences etc. and tread the right inner path, it is bound to improve the standard of the society at large. Leaving the economic aspect at the moment, this is the kernel, as I understand, of the Sarvodaya message as well. Let me quote Gandhi at length, for no greater tribute can be paid to him than to understand him aright and follow him to the best of our capacities. Stressing the need for nations to renounce and accept the love of great men of faith Jyoti adds:

"Men of great faith have always called us to wake up to great responsibilities and the problem has always existed in their mind and then there did not seem to exist any. But the poet is now saying that really in a nation, and human unity has to be called forth from its obscure depths by some faith which is creative. There was a day when the human reality was the brutal reality. That was the only capital we had with which to begin our career. But age after age there has come to us the call of faith, which calls against all the evidence of fact. 'You are more than you appear to be, more than your circumstances seem to demand. You are to make the impossible, you are immortal. The universe has laughed and tried to kill the faith. But faith grew stronger with the strength of martyrdom and as her willing higher comrades have been called upon the service of the human. Has not a new age come today, borne by Christianity, achieved in by a spiritual agony or suffering? Are we not waiting today for a great call of faith, which will say to us: 'Come out of your present decadence. You are to create the impossible, you are immortal.' The nations who are not prepared to accept it, who have all their trust in their present institutions of systems, and have no thought or space to spare to welcome the million great who come in the message of Christianity, are bound to meet their disaster may be their present wealth and power" (Creative Unity).

This indeed is a great heartening message to humanity which is threatened again by another war and complete destruction of all human values.

B. CHINNAIAH

ON TRAIL TO KUTABARIPALLI (A STORY OF VINDOBA'S STRUGGLE)

VI

March 19, Arkhara (Twelfth Day: 8 miles)

The party had to wait only eight miles to reach the halting place of the day. People from the surrounding villages had begun to come into the morning and had filled every corner of the grounds and the large compound of the Dak Bhagawan in which we were lodged. They were eager to see and hear Vindoba and were full of affectionate regard for him. Evidently they looked forward and wanted to be caressed. They came and sat near him and listened to his recitation of the Telugu Gita. Vindoba has the habit of reading or reciting his poems aloud.

Vindoba looked around him after finishing his recitation and saw that hundreds were eagerly looking at him. He put them a few questions. The five small children in Telugu touched the hands of the villagers. There were a few thoughtful-looking people also. Vindoba inquired of all of them understood Marathi. They said that there were some who spoke Marathi, but most of them could not speak or follow it while the Marathi people could understand both the languages. He was therefore requested to speak in Telugu. Even the Marathi-speaking villagers supported the demand. This was different from what I had seen at other like meetings. Vindoba and the like where people usually speak in either Marathi or Hindi.

An incident in the market was related to Vindoba. A book costing only three annas, was sold for ten annas in one shop, and fourteen annas in another. The purchaser quarrelled with the shop-keeper when they realized that they had been deceived. Vindoba made the market the subject of his speech for educating the villagers. He said that the traders—the Telugus—should sell their wares honestly. The trader was a master, the trader a servant. A merchant was not expected to be richer than his master. But it was just the opposite in India. The master had been rendered poor and the servant had grown rich. How had he become rich? By exploiting the master. And he was in this mood to understand his duty. The master said, therefore, awake! Awakening meant abolishing the very use of the markets. He would do so by producing his own food, vegetables and cloth. If they did not produce their own food, they might run hereafter to the markets even for their food. None could save them from being exploited if they did not themselves get rid of their dependence.

Vindoba also exhorted the people not to look to the Government for doing everything for them. The Government could do nothing to help them if they did not help themselves. Even God helped only those who helped themselves. If the Government attempted to bring food, cloth etc. ready-made for them, they could only

do as the Government. That would mean heaven and heaven brings and depletion of all national wealth. Government could run for the happiness of the people, only if they worked hard and produced their own necessities and established Swaraj in their own villages.

March 20, Windyash (Thirteenth Day, 11 miles)

We left Arkhara early in the morning, guided by a hunter told by one of us to show the way. Vindoba is a fast walker. A serpent passed swiftly from the right to the left, naturally itself afraid of getting crushed. Vindoba's foot might have just fallen upon it. But he went ahead and it was my turn. I passed the creature and it was the turn of the haddock, that followed us with the rest. But nobody was hurt and nobody hurt the serpent.

The village was a very small one—500 souls only. And so, in the afternoon, Vindoba could visit almost every house in the village. Incidentally on every place was seen to the right, under the shade of a roof. Vindoba inspected it. Then he met the carpenter, the shoemaker, and the blacksmith also. He was invited to a house. The housewife gave the customary welcome with *hambura*, brown rice. She wore *milli-cloth*. "I have visited your house," said Vindoba. "The *milli-cloth* must go now." The husband was already a *black-wearer*. The lady also took the *black* pledge.

At 4 p.m., as Vindoba was detailing letters, we heard the music of a procession. Twenty-five women accompanied by the village folk and with the village music in front, were seen marching towards Vindoba's residence, with *chankras* on their heads. Vindoba joined them in singing. This was the first demonstration of its kind in the whole of the town. Every one felt happy. Vindoba expressed his joy, and also expressed his fears. "The light has given me tremendous satisfaction. But I want to warn you. Traders have not yet attacked this place. But this is only a temporary phase. Merchants from other places will soon throng in this village and you will begin to purchase their wares." He was soon asked, he said, of merchants of the present are. Really speaking, merchants should be servants of the village. But they had given up all their honesty. Wherever they went, they looked only to their own interests.

Vindoba had been told that on the completion of the Panchanga Puja, that part of the country, which was so backward, would begin to flourish. Vindoba referred to this and asked what exactly they meant by "flourishing." Did it mean that the traders from outside would bring several new samples of *milli-cloth*, and the people attracted by the varieties would begin to purchase them? Also, that there would be a brisk trade of other outside merchandise and the *black* which was worn by them at present would all disappear and that they would not witness the plying of *charitras* thereafter? Vindoba wanted them that unless they pledged them-

would not be too outside cloth. Their village would become poor in no time.

Yashraj advised the people that one of them should undertake to carry on the work of social service in the village. "A village like this has much attraction for a man like me. If I stay here, my first duty would be to train the spinners to prepare their own slivers. At present, you are using slivers prepared by others. Why should you not make them yourselves when you grow your own cotton?" Yashraj referred to the experiment at Delhi and narrated how the refugee women had improved the quality of their yarn after they had begun to use their own slivers. He pointed to one of the ladies of our party who was then preparing her slivers before them and said even children of five or six could do that.

Then referring to the mountains that surrounded the village, Yashraj said that the next thing he would do would be to fetch the stones from the neighbouring hills and there-with build piece houses. He would then take to sanitation of the village to prevent illness. The night-soil, which was wasted at present, would be properly utilized. Their village of 500 people should give measure worth rupees two thousand at least.

People asked for a worker of the type suggested by Yashraj. He said that they should not expect a worker from outside. Local men should come forward.

People suggested Rajeshwar Reddi's name. It was his house that Yashraj had visited in the afternoon. Rajeshwar Reddi promised that although he could not himself look after the village work, he would arrange for a worker. This satisfied the people.

I have narrated this at length to show how Yashraj tries to fit up some workmen in every village so that some work should be going on even when he has left the place.

(Continued)

B. B.

A CAMP FOR AISHWARYA-LIFE

Several friends, particularly students, have desired time and again to stay for some time during the summer vacation in one or another of the Wardha institutions, in order to get some experience of Ashwariya life, acquaintance with the various constructive bodies and the benefit of talks with persons like Shri Yashra, Keshavrao Mashruwala and others.

Most of the institutions suggest their usual activities during summer. In this summer, Shri Yashraj is on tour through the Hyderabad State and is not expected to return before the middle of June, and Shri Mashruwala is not very much available for various reasons.

Nevertheless, it has been decided to make some arrangements for persons desirous of having an experience of Ashwariya-life. They can stay in the Sevagram Ashram for a month or less from 15th May onwards at their own expense.

During their stay, each one will have to devote two and a-half to three hours to working in

the field, two to three hours to spinning and weaving, and about two hours to miscellaneous occupations like cooking, grinding, washing, and cleaning kettles, unmade grounds etc. The temperature in May rises to 115° in 135° F along with occasional hot winds. Only those who can sustain such hard labour and have right kind of eating.

With body-labour as the main activity of the Ashwariya-life, attempts will be made to arrange discourses with Shri Keshavrao Keshava, Shri Keshavrao Mashruwala, Shri Jagga and such others as might be available. Also arrangements will be made to acquaint them with the activities of the various constructive institutions.

The boarding and other expenses will come to Rs 25 per month.

No space will be used in the food.

Smoking, gun-chewing and tea-drinking will be strictly prohibited.

The wearing apparel must all be of pure khadi.

Everybody must bring with him his bedding, their pots, spoon etc. Persons knowing swimming should bring their tools of swimming and team also. Others will have to purchase them here.

Those anxious to come should please communicate with the undersigned immediately, and should not come without written permission.

24-4-51

Wardha, 24-4-51

Joint Secretary, Shree Ganga Sangh
Wardha (Wardha)

Anandibai Karve

The friends and admirers of the late Shrimati Anandibai Karve, wife of Dr D. K. Karve the well-known founder of the Indian Women's University, Poona, have issued an appeal for funds in her memory. The name of Shri Anandibai Karve is associated with the Primary School at Hingne (Poona), in which was merged a primary school originally founded by Anandibai herself for the education of village children who, at that time, could not get admission to the regular Hingne school. She donated to see that school provided with a suitable building and had donated in 1944, Rs 14,000 out of her personal savings for the purpose. The cost was, however, estimated at Rs 60,000 and, hence, the construction has not been yet taken into hand. The present appeal is made for this purpose over the signatures of, Shrimati Lakshmbai Nimbalkar (President), Dr R. P. Paragge (one of the Vice-Presidents) and more than 20 other friends. Remittances should be made to Shrimati Shantabai Sahay, Secretary, Anandibai Karve Memorial Council, 10, Hingne Sadak, Poona 4. Names may be recorded that Dr D. K. Karve completed 60 years just last week. Shri Anandibai Karve a child widow before her marriage with D. Karve, was herself a tireless worker in the cause of widows and orphans. She at times literally took the beggar's bowl to obtain help for the orphans under her care. Her life story may be read in her autobiography in Marathi.—Mass Press.

Wardha, 24-4-51—

B. B. B.

HARIJAN

May 3

1951

FOOD CONTROLS RECOMMENDED

Discussions on the problems of food control and rationing at the recent Sarvodaya Sarvagya Conference proved to be quite helpful. Shri H. K. Puri, member of the Planning Commission, explained at length the Government's point of view. As he observed, had been importing about 1.2 million tons of foodgrains even before the second World War, and the situation had been aggravated by the partition of the country as well as the continuous increase in population at the rate of about 4 million per year. The consequent annual deficit of foodgrains of the order of 4.3 million tons necessitates imports and consequent food controls to avoid steep rise in prices.

While a minimum quantum of food controls was necessary under the existing circumstances, it was pointed out by Acharya Vinoba and several other speakers at the Conference that the nature and machinery of controls needed radical changes. It will be useful to summarise the suggestions for the careful consideration of the Government and the Planning Commission:

1. In the urban areas, the Government should arrange for the supply of foodgrains at controlled rates only in the poor and the middle-class sections of the population. The rest of the community should be free to make purchases in the 'open' market. Even for the open market, the Government might fix a 'justifiable' price from time to time. If any citizen is willing to pay a higher rate than the 'justifiable' price, no stigma of black-marketing need be attached to such a transaction. But if anybody feels that the price demanded by a dealer is unfair and above the 'justifiable' price, he should be free to go to a law court. Cheap and speedy justice should be ensured in such cases. The 'open' market system will not only liquidate the black market, but will also bring additional revenue to the coffers of the State through income and sales taxes on 'white' rather than 'black' transactions.

2. Distribution of foodgrains should be arranged as far as possible through Co-operatives. This will considerably reduce the existing Government expenditure on food administration and also eliminate needless conflicts regarding rations and allowances in the grant of permits. The Government should make an early commitment that if a group of consumers numbering say, a hundred families in any city or market, apply to the Food Officer for distribution of controlled foodgrains through a Consumers' Cooperative, the application would be readily considered after proper scrutiny of the

bonafides of the applicants. The existing Governmental machinery of distribution has failed to inspire confidence in the public; it is openly charged with inefficiency and corruption. By shifting the responsibility for distribution to the consumers themselves, the Government would not only be able to shield itself against volleys of public criticism but also provide constructive work to Congressmen and national workers. The tragedy of the present situation is that while Congressmen in office and civil servants burden themselves with enormous responsibilities, the best of workers who valiantly fought for freedom have no programme of action before them. They, therefore, as able and capable as bitter critics of the Government.

3. In the rural areas, the Government should make a commitment to the employers of landless labour to pay wages partly in foodgrains. This will enable the agricultural wage-earners to secure their minimum food requirements. The quantity of foodgrains given as part of wages should be fixed, while the cash counterpart may slightly vary at different times of the year. Acharya Vinoba has been advocating this arrangement during his walking tour with very good practical results.

4. Acharya Vinoba has also been laying stress on the proposal that procurement of foodgrains should soon be replaced by the realisation of food revenue in kind. This would enable the Government to secure considerable quantity of foodgrains for distribution at controlled rates. The current level of food revenue was fixed about two decades ago and needs revision. State Governments seem reluctant to revise the food revenue before the general elections. But the right thing ought to be done without delay.

5. The Government should assign top priority to the production of food grains. Attempts to earn dollar exchange for importing food by producing more jute in the country is a short-sighted policy. In case of war the Indian people will, surely, not be able to consume jute in place of rice and wheat. Government policy regarding food self-sufficiency should, therefore, be definite and unambiguous.

6. Campaign for "Grow More Food" should be played on a war-footing. The Government Agricultural Departments should be more active and practical in discharging their duties. Latest reports indicate that production of food in India is now 40 per cent higher than it was before the War. Why can India not achieve the same results? According to the Report of the Reserve Bank of India, the Grow More Food Campaign has been an ignominious failure. The Ministry of Agriculture should take a very serious view of this report and completely overhaul its schemes. Public co-operation can be forthcoming only if the people are convinced of the soundness and sincerity of Government schemes.

Wardha, 28-4-51

S. K. AGARWAL

KASTURBA AND MAHATMA GANDHI TRUSTS

[The *Field of View* criticised the management of Kasturba Trust in an article published on 19th March, 1939. The criticism was reprinted in a subsequent issue of the same paper by a letter from Part J. C. Karamnigga. But C. V. Vaidyanathan, now Chairman of both the Trusts, has circulated a copy of his reply to this issue within 10 to a lengthy document and since it is not proposed to publish the original criticism it is unnecessary to publish the reply in extenso. But incidentally the reply gives considerable information about the state of the two Trusts, which the public will be interested to know. The following gives it in condensed form, deprived of expressions invited by hostile criticism to far as possible the language of the original is preserved but 2 paragraphs in Part J. V. Vaidyanathan for condensation and consequential alterations to the text are — C. C. M.]

The Kasturba Trust

1. Trustees

The prominent charge seems to be that the Kasturba Fund is deposited in banks and its Trustees are "stingy old trustees who have little conception of the requirements of constructive work." Some of them are undoubtedly old in age. The Trustees include Shriyada Devadas Gandhi, Ashadevi Arjundevaram, Jagga Lakshminarain and Santilla Poo as members on the Executive Committee of twelve. Can it be said of these that they have little conception of the requirements of constructive work?

Each of the businessmen who are Trustees in the Kasturba Fund were invited by Gandhi himself, and conscious of their limitations in the field of constructive work, they have never deluded in the actual work of the Trust. Their function has been to act as Holding Trustees, and as such they attend and act for proper accounts and investments (temporary or long term) of the available surplus of funds. The same is the case with the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi also.

2. Expenditure

The second charge is that the Kasturba Trust "scarcely spends the interest on capital annually received." Here are a few facts in respect of the year ending 31st December, 1940, the report for 1940 being not yet ready. The amount of interest received during the year came to Rs. 3,79,396-13-4, while the mounting expenditure during the year came to Rs. 1,82,284-6-8 and Rs. 2,86,380-11-3 was the non-recurring i.e. capital expenditure on lands, buildings, donated, etc., upto the end of 1940. Surely it would not be alleged, in the face of this, that the interest on capital is 'scarcely' spent.

3. Centres of Work

As regards the actual work, the Trust publishes an annual report which is available to any one who wishes to have it. There is a short summary statement of work.

Centres of Work have been and are being established	1938	1937	1936	1935
Majority and Health Centres	72	140	150	307
	10	18	23	47
Total	82	158	262	354

These centres are spread over the whole of India in different parts and the total number of village workers working in centres in 1941 in addition to the workers in the training and other centres.

The Trust may pride itself on being privileged to carry on work in widespread rural areas in the country. It is true that the number of centres is very small as compared with the requirements of the country, but obviously it is impossible for the Trust to meet the total requirements of the country. All it can do is to train workers and set up model centres. It will be for the general public and the State Governments to take up the work. It is complained that work is not done for a long time but it is not a question of doing more routine but doing work on the lines of Rango, which means the first task is one of training the necessary personnel with the Gandhian outlook and then naturally takes some time.

Mahatma Gandhi Trust

1. Advisory Work

The work is still new and requires creation of the necessary agency to put it through. The collection, the assembling, the selection of the advisory committees and the provincial committees took a pretty long time. What can the Trustees do if those who were initially nominated as collecting agencies would not promptly reply or render accounts? A lot of time was taken by all those who worked in the initial stages to make recommendations about the personnel of the advisory committees.

However, by now 18 Provincial Advisory Committees have been formed out of a total of 24 (25¹) units and the remaining four (five¹) are yet in the process of being formed. The formation is not also by the arbitrary will of the Trustees but from among the names suggested by the collectors and constructive workers.

The general scheme of the formation of an Advisory Committee is that a committee exclusively consists of 12 members, out of whom 5 are representatives of the collecting agencies. Six are representatives of bodies, whether of an all-India character or a provincial character, carrying on constructive activities in the province and the industrialists through whom a contribution of nearly 40 per cent of the funds come are given a representation of only one.

2. Grants

The article alleges that the constructive workers have to struggle with dwindling funds and growing handicaps and difficulties, and that the A. I. S. A., the A. I. Village Industries

Association the Hindustani Taluk Sangh and other associations created by Gandhiji are all suffering for want of funds because no help is being given from the Trust Fund. I give below the amounts paid till the end of 1949 to some of the important institutions working in the constructive field and for allied causes.

1 Hindustani Taluk Sangh	Rs 1,60,000
2 Ahmednagar Village Improvement Association Wardha	- 75,000
3 Harijan Sewak Sangh, Delhi	- 1,00,000
4 Bhambhaya Adinapati Sewak Sangh Delhi	- 50,000
5 The World Peace Conference	- 1,50,000
6 Miscellaneous help	- 80,000
Total	Rs 6,20,000

The above are exclusive of the following grants:

(A) Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad	Rs 1,30,000
(B) Nature Cure Institute, Uraji	
Kanchan (District Poonah)	Rs 30,000

and some other minor donations.

All the above making a total of Rs 8,04,000 were paid from the Central grants of the Funds & Help.

The allotment from the provincial grants of the funds, on the recommendation of the Provincial Advisory Committee, or otherwise, comes to Rs 6,02,000-0-0 upto the end of 1950. The activities covered through the various institutions run by Gandhiji are work among aboriginal and tribal areas, basic education, medical relief, maternity homes, village industries, general work among women and Harijans etc.

I believe, the above should be enough as an account of the financial affairs in the matter of constructive work.

4. Schemes

The Trustees have also on hand other schemes which are at present not come to working in full owing as many details are to be supplemented and some plans to be finalised. Frequent among these are:

(i) Museum, consisting of collections of Gandhiji's writings, etc. at Delhi, Sevagram, Ahmedabad and one more place.

(ii) The work of micro-filming and photographing the voluminous record has already been taken in hand and is progressing.

(iii) Some memorial at each place, made important by the visit of Gandhiji and some historical event having taken place as a result of his visit. This is a work of an all-India nature and the matter is well under progress.

(iv) Documentary films of Gandhiji's life.

(v) The welfare of Gandhi place by which to meet the needs of children in villages for the year round to stay and carry on as many constructive activities as possible, bearing in mind the Sevagram principles. This involves the question of training the personnel, and that matter is also on hand.

(vi) Legacy Work. The Trust has decided to make this a main plank of the memorial and preliminary work has been started by the Legacy Medical Board.

General Difficulties

The public should appreciate that our chief problem is to get proper and sufficient personnel to carry on the constructive work on lines visualised by Gandhiji. An All India work of this nature requires preliminary investigations and planning, unless funds are to be wasted or spent in mere routine work. The Sewark Mulla should be expected to work in the spirit of and with a vision too far as possible, for the Trustees, with their limitations given by Gandhiji. Even in the case of the Kasturba Fund, charges were made in the presence of Gandhiji that he was sitting tight on the fund and doing nothing, and the fact that the Trust was preparing the ground under Gandhiji's own direction and inspection was totally ignored by the critics. When such charges used to be made, Gandhiji used to smile and say: "I know best whether I am sitting tight, I propose to apply the funds to the best use possible, and not waste them away." We may not say the same with the authority of Gandhiji, but we may be permitted to claim in our own humble way that we are trying to follow, as best as possibly we can, the line laid down by Gandhiji, and thus ought to explain to every bona fide enquirer, the wisdom of the delay. We may not succeed, but we are at present making our best effort to see that, whatever we construct is done on the solid foundation of the Gandhian ideology and spirit.

Publicity

The work being of a constructive character and mostly in the rural areas, does not attract publicity in the Press, which is mostly urban. Again, there is not that glamour in the work, which politics has and that is also one of the reasons why the Press generally does not feel interested in giving publicity to the work under both the Trusts. I may also admit that we have not yet specially solicited any publicity in the hope that in the long run the work itself will tell and I am glad to note that the Kasturba work is now being appreciated by those who have cared to see it.

The Trusts will always be glad to give any information to an enquirer and be grateful for any suggestion that he may have to make.

G. V. NATALAMENI

ALL INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

Training Courses in Nagavadi

The Grama Sevak Yojanaleya in Nagavadi will reopen on the 1st July, 1951 and will offer the following courses of training:

1. A Two-year Course in Grama Sevak Nee Taluk:

This course will combine practical training in village industries with training in rural adult education through village industries. Candidates will get training in one of the two major industries in Nagavadi, i.e., glass or paper and in all other industries available i.e., agriculture, bee-keeping, palm-leaf, cloth, soap-making, paper, glass, paper, soap, bakery and toy-making. A knowledge of the various subjects without which science and good citizenship as a free citizenry will be impossible, will be given correlated to the various processes in the village industries taught. The idea is that those trained will be able to organize rural adult-education courses through productive work in village industries.

2. A One-year, i.e., the Vedic Course in Village Industries:

This is a one-year practical course in village industries with some theory teaching in regard to the same. Every candidate will get training in glass or paper and in all the other industries mentioned in the previous paragraph.

3. Shorter Courses in One or the Other of the above Village Industries

Some scholarships are available for the two years' course in Grama Sevak Nee Taluk only. Those who have had some experience already in construction work will be preferred. The age limit will be roughly between 20 and 35. Minimum qualification in mathematics, or its equivalent in general knowledge (Hindi and English being the medium of instruction), a good working knowledge in one or the other is required. But a good knowledge of Hindi will be considered additional qualification. Since there will be a minimum of 4 hours of production work daily, candidates should be capable of hard physical work. Scholarships will be given only to those who produce the guarantee that after finishing some institution, organization or persons will see to it that they will be put to the work for which they are trained.

For the Vedic course minimum qualifications are a good working knowledge of Hindi or English and general knowledge equal to Elementary School Leaving Certificate. Also capacity to do hard work.

Further detailed information is available in our printed prospectus and syllabus, copies of which can be had on application with 5-anna stamp for postage. All applications should reach us by the 15th of June, 1951 at the latest and all

communications should be addressed to the Secretary, A I V I A., Nagavadi, Wadga (M. P.).

Nagavadi, Wadga, 4 KARNATAK
27-6-51 Secretary

SOONATH TEMPLE

I have received the following from Mr. E. M. Maitra in answer to a letter sent by me. The clarity of the answer makes the publication of my letter or any comment upon the reply unnecessary. —(E. G. H.)

1 Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi, April 26, 1951

My dear Kabeerji:

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd. We have decided in the clearest terms that Harijans would be entitled to worship in the Soonath Temple exactly in the same way as others. No caste or religious sects of Harijans were against this principle we created. The Harijans of the Trust Deed clearly lay down that the temple should be open to all-Hindus as well. Not only that, but in view of the present condition, even at the cost of offending the orthodox section, we are insisting on giving non-ritualised food to visitors and authorising all spiritual activities of food-grains.

2. It is absolutely untrue that the Government is spending any money for the religious ceremony. It is incurring some expenses for repairing roads and lighting them and making water arrangements and providing other amenities for pilgrims as is done by all governments when religious fairs are held within their jurisdiction. I also know that Sardar under Bapuji's advice gave up the intention of reconstructing the Temple at the cost of Government. The expenses of constructing the Temple and installing Soonath are going to be defrayed from the Trust funds and public subscriptions.

3. A secular State is not a Godless or anti-religious State. It only means that believers in every religion will be free to follow their own religious pursuits, undisturbed. The secularity of a State does not prevent it from repairing or building shrines, in fact, the Government of India has repaired many Hindu shrines and mosques. Nor does it prevent the Government from giving help to religious shrines. Most of our Governments have been giving grants to religious institutions, and where a shrine contains useful activities connected with education or economic social uplift in any manner. It would be the duty of any State, not pledged to the destruction of all religion, to support them.

4. I have already given an interview to the Press on these lines, but you may, if you like, release this letter to the Press.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
E. M. MAITRA

HARIJAN

PRODUCED BY KALATHA GANESH

Editor: K. C. MANNAPPALA



VOL. XV No. 11

CHIVDARAD—SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1951

TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Shri Shivananda's Murder

In the dead of night of Saturday last (28th April '51), some unknown assassins visited the sub-post-quarter of Shri Shivananda, the well-known public worker of Secunderabad and mortally wounded him with shots fired at close range. A few hours later the career of this brave worker of Secunderabad thus came to a close.

He and his senior colleague, the late Sri Pulchand, well-known Shah, were by a few years less sons of Gandhi's Ashram at Sevagram during the closing years of the century. Some time before the launching of the Non-Co-operation movement, with the consent and blessing of Gandhi, they settled down at Wardhan—their native place—to serve their own province, and founded an institution there. Ever since, they were associated with every political, social and educational activity connected with the struggle for freedom. They had found a colleague of a very high—political outlook in the late Acharya Sri Chemsuriah Vankar, and the three worked together for the emancipation of Secunderabad from the grip of autocratic rule, social customs like untouchability, early marriages etc., and government. Financially they were poor and were often hard pressed for maintenance. That has been regarded as one of the reasons for the too early end of two of them—Shriyats Chemsuriah and Pulchand, both victims of T. B. They had worked for Swara, always standing in the front rank. But they did not live to see the day of Swara. Shri Shivananda was the third comrade. Since the attainment of independence he was a link between the Government and the people. A non-maker of office, he was highly respected by both, and feared by the reactionary forces, which stand for the oppression of the untouchables and the poor. It appears that, since he was a strong ally of the minorities, he had enraged the Shrotrians and has probably died at the hands of some of them.

He has died a soldier's death and is, hence, above mourning. But it is a great loss to the people of Secunderabad and his several personal friends. Among the latter must be particularly mentioned Shri Shurudabehn Shah, widow of Shri Pulchand Shah, whose well-being he looked

after ever since his colleague's death with all the loyalty of a friend. But she too is a brave worker and it is hoped that she will carry on their joint mission further with as much devotion as ever. Wardha, 1-4-51

Food Collection

A correspondent signing himself 'Two-Master' writes:

Although millions in India and elsewhere starve there are yet tens of millions of us who enjoy two square meals a day.

Shall we then be just going at the glacial speed of a snail towards a safe solution? Can't we even so much as give up voluntarily two meals a week, collect the foodstuffs and distribute it as quickly as possible to the famine-stricken areas?

But what if Government provide the necessary transport facilities?

"A good point, your appeal may yet weaken the wall but is a bare word of dry words, can drying live trees and others."

"Why depend on American charity?"

"India, though better, can yet stand on her legs."

The appeal is good, and the Government should encourage the urge by providing suitable facilities. I suggest to the correspondent and the people with similar noble urge to make such collections in their localities and take practical measures.

Wardha, 2-4-51

K. C. M.

The Message of Sarvodaya Service

One should have met on their trial. During the few years that we have to live on the earth, we must strive to serve all and to win the love of all.

He who has gained the riches of the world, but has gained not love, has gained nothing. He who has acquired knowledge, but has acquired not the love of all, has acquired nothing. He who has won power in the world, but has won not the love of all, has won nothing.

Hence, friends, love all and gain the love of all. This is the message of the Sarvodaya Service. (Translated from the Marathi original) VIJAYARA.

Voluntary Self-satisfaction

(I am glad to publish the following from Shri T. Vithayalasaheb.)

—K. C. M.]

In your article on "Fast Against Cow-Slaughter" in Harijan of 21st April, you suggest to those who have no religious abhorrence for beef-eating voluntarily to give it up as a gesture of goodwill and self-satisfaction towards

Hindus. It may interest your readers to know that forty years ago when I was Chairman of the Tanjore Municipal Council, a petition was put in to allow a beef market in the city. When this was put before the Council, all the Hindu members spoke strongly against granting it. This surprised me. They told me that they had been as well treated by the Hindu kungs of Tanjore, that they had of their own accord given up beef-eating as a gesture of appreciation and goodwill. In proof of their statement they produced a stamped and registered document in which a Tanjore Muslim, while giving his daughter in marriage to a Lucknow Muslim, demanded and obtained an agreement that she would not be asked to eat beef at her new home.

24th April, 1931. T. VISWANATHASWAMY.

Commerce on Borderland Ways of Trade

[The following is received from a correspondent. It shows that our roads have not improved during a whole year.] — R. N. M.]

The ways of trade are given up to the borders of death, and supply to the borders of war beyond the borders of fraud. The employment of commerce are not intrinsically evil for a man, or less general to his faculties, but these are now in their general course so vitiated by dishonesty and abuse at which all connive, that it requires more vigor and resource than can be expected of every young man, to right himself in them.

* * * * *

We are all implicated, of course, in this charge, it is only necessary to ask a few questions as to the progress of articles of commerce from the fields where they grow, to our houses, to become aware that we eat and drink and wear garb and fraud in a hundred commodities.

From "The Listener" a letter delivered by America in London on 24-4-1930.

Crossword and Race

The Editor, *Harper's*,

I cannot agree with Earl Macarty Dowd's press statement that crosswords are not of the same class as racing.

Just because the solution is known to the sponsor does not make the crossword any better than horse-racing.

Any scheme where a competitor uses "judgment" to choose the winner (that is when up different trials and makes a shrewd guess about the probable result), and where one out of many possible permutations pays off must—mathematically—belong to one class. Such are crosswords, word and numeral squares, foot-ball pools and horse-racing. If imagination counts, racing can bring only a few say dividers, whereas crosswords etc. are all pervasive.

Lottery, slot machine and other gambling devices dependent solely on chance may be considered slightly different.

Y.

ON WAY TO SHIVABANPALEI IN EAST OF VINHAY'S PLAINS

VN

March 27 Gough's (Fourteenth Bk. 17 miles)

THE editor and of the Journal, which we had to cover today in north Gough's by through mountainous terrain. It had been so hot the night that we saw no rain arrived was a variable front for the day, and a haze which obscured our progress. If the previous village were to be described as the center of a clear lake the year was now in all its glory. One decided and twenty-five better with a chariot at her head there to a procession in the village just before we were getting ready for our departure. An armed procession was in the arrangement of the village had waiting in the front, followed by boys, women and men respectively. They came from a neighboring village to see the show.

I should have said at the start that the reception in the morning by the villagers of Gough's had been equally inspiring. They had come out about a mile in front and about in to their village with their women holding whorl-shaped (bamboo) signs of welcome in the front and singing hymns along the way. The village had been carefully swept the road decorated with designs of stripes and hangings of orange leaves hanging on both the sides of the road. A special custom was noted for the village in which not a nail was used. A shelter about one mile prepared to accommodate the members of the party. There were small cupboards for holding and storage. Everything looked simple, natural and pleasant.

To prove to the chariot procession the editor arranged themselves in 25 rows of the road and started singing. The chariot made to move and they sang without breakage of tempo and voice. The only break was in the chariot but that of the spirits. The relation of the words, with intermission stage for singing on the road and entering dancing on the chariot's rhythm. They went on singing for more than two hours. Forty hands were seen. All the party was presented in the village by the host who were dug in their village's chief. The village inspected the work of every sponsor and thanked for part. The courtesy of the host pleased him. Richard Nicholas demonstrated good work and the sponsor was glad to see that the position of sponsor could be so easily solved. He was told that there were a few women of the Gough's who did not go to the village as they considered it their duty. The village referred to this in his post-prayer speech and said "Every one who were with you after the village is not a woman. Like that of the sponsor or the blacksmith. It is an occupation common for all. It must be done in every village, just like cooking the food in without such." But it is only a woman's occupation. They have and give as well as men and women of all ages and ages. Goodness and to give study. He had done it even on the day of his murder. He went to the prayer ground after he had given. He was presented to us as a example and as a model.

Returning to the demonstration of the chariot's rally. The village said. With your chariot I had today as if I were riding Lord Krishna with the Suburban Chakra in his hand. I with the educated people come and see for themselves what great energy and strength lie in the chariot. But there also we finished the village who are all apprehensive that they to give for their duty."

Some one asked Vinay why they should be expected to give even after being. This is an unreasonable question, said Vinay. "You could as well ask why you should wear your head after being?" But it is necessary for you to cook for your kind and it is necessary for you to give for your kind. For the present the editor have performed the duty of producing 15 yd. of cloth per capita in place of the 17 yd. which they would

problem before the war. But even if their production rose to 50 (or 3) tons per 100 in the interest of the village in purchase of rice, it is clear even if it is given free, it does not "irrevocably" shield them from purchasing rice. If all such villages will be covered, they will be without work and who is going to feed you for nothing? Remember the story of Lakhmi which I have told you. (The story was that the Goddess of Wealth had the habit of coming for rounds of inspection. Just outside the door, two the priest and himself the houses of (poor) men. She saw a light burning. The priest saw that women went to those who worked till it was dark even with the aid of lamps.)

"Minister" Thakur continued: "I taught a multitude of girls to be able to get internal discipline, drinking, cotton-wool, smoking, smoking has increased in a dangerous extent. People are not inclined to make even to a poor person. It shows that even the sense of ordinary good manners has been lost. All such girls go to the money of Minister. Some are themselves have taught us 'Do not waste even half a minute' (धनार्थं नान्धु) etc. These are the tools of Satan."

Thakur also referred to other village industries. Oil, for four annas—every thing must be produced in the village itself. (This alone could transform the lives) like Green Raj (Village Raj). And when people related that quarrelling with one another the Green Raj would be transformed into Green Raj. But then would make the practice of Rajyogya Rajyogya (invited a non-violent struggle). "You will all be the masters of the struggle. The struggle and the struggle will be in weapons. We do not need hands or machines, good. It will be our power of protection, which will be needed in a struggle for the establishment of Green Raj and Green Raj."

Obviously, it was the destruction of money economy Thakur based on. It also referred to a probable clash between cities and villages. Unless the former changed their mode of life and worked for the regeneration of the village industries instead of exploiting them, a struggle was inevitable.

March 22, Murali OPBharati Bhakt, seven miles)

The people of Chitkoti, which lay on our way to Narnal took the opportunity of welcoming Thakur as he passed through the village. They brought food and set up a big bonfire. In the morning hours, before the dawn, it looked as if there the stars had descended on earth to see Thakur from a close distance. I remembered (Sanskrit) a line—"Let us join our light to brighten the world." The year seemed to fulfil this intention.

Thakur looked for a couple of minutes. "I am grateful to you for all this effort. You are so much devoted to the Lord's song. Devote yourselves to His work, also." He begged to be carried for me carrying on his chest, made the devotion in time.

Murali is a large town and the prayer meeting was a mixed gathering of town and village people. Thakur's speech was better addressed to both. It was a great address and his, therefore, been reported separately (in this issue).

There were some interesting questions and answers after the speech. Thakur sympathized with some of the critics, who regarded the placement of Indian languages by English in the Law Courts and public administration. Thakur said that in Hyderabad there was perhaps, some psychological reaction to the use of Urdu, but in Punjab there was none (said Gajani). And still Gajani had been replaced by English. But he wanted the people to emancipate themselves by thinking that when a matter passed away, it was a work of God (which he a short time). Similarly the loss of the English Government had been left in their language. It would pass off after the present age and in the service had returned.

"Does the Congress consider any work in English?"

"Send them to the waste-paper basket," Thakur replied.

"But this is an age the machine. Proceeding in English is the working?"

Thakur had to smile it by saying, "You were the last people to believe (Hindi). You should also be the last to enjoy it."

This was followed by a discussion on Urdu.

There was a good talk for Urdu here. But they developed an Urdu which is not understood even by the people in Delhi. If they have stayed in that Urdu, it would have been an example for the country. But those who were responsible for its formation, revealed it with double words. If they had taken the help of Persian words it would not have been so bad.

Thakur made one more suggestion. There was about two languages spoken in Hyderabad—Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Hindi and Urdu. They had also to learn Sanskrit. Marathi, Hindi and Sanskrit were always written in Nagari. He advocated the same script for Telugu, Kannada and Urdu. "I know what a great hardship it is to learn different languages written in different scripts. In Europe they learn any language within a couple of weeks because of the common Roman script."

Some pointed to the difficulty of adopting in Nagari such different letters of Urdu which had similar pronunciations, e.g. the various shades of ۛ and ۛ.

Thakur pointed in Turkey. They had abandoned the Arabic and accepted the Roman script, and arranged the letters according to the pronunciation. There was no need to differentiate between the ۛ in Urdu and that in English. In the end it was the letters which disturbed the shape of a language and the minor shades would have to disappear.

"But then, the purity of language will not be maintained," objected a speaker. Thakur explained the flaw in this reasoning. While Urdu was correct in Hindi it was considered corrupt in Marathi who pronounced the ۛ in a different way (ۛ). So, too, was the case with the ۛ in Hindi, their own word. Who was to judge whether it should be ۛ or ۛ? There was a certain extent the purity of words and pronunciation was a matter of convention and habit. Obviously, the grammarian had to choose the language as it was spoken by the people and not the other way round.

Obviously the religious discussion had not interest all, and a Muslim man to speak. People tried to discuss him, but Thakur called the man and gave him a few words. He and explained about his programme. He narrated how difficult it was to get girls and such. He was a labourer. Thakur explained to the audience the need of payment in kind so that a necessary amount of food remained in the office. The point appreciated the suggestion, but the Government officers put forward administrative difficulties. Administrative things will, was to be rejected in the convenience of the people and not the other way. If the administration could not make the people happy even after favouring, if their interests remained as before, why should the people feel inspired to fight for such a thing, he asked.

D N

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HARIJAN

May 12

1951

FOOD DEFICIENCY

Pandit Jeebharlal Nihra has appealed to the nation to work for the production of food. It should be heartily responded to. Whatever advantages there might be about the policy and administration of controls and rationing, these should be seen in the absolute necessity of increasing the production of food. And Food must mean in this context the staple grains—wheat, rice, maize, jowar, gram, etc. etc.

Some people have asserted that, as it is, we are actually self-sufficient in food and that the deficiency is all due to controls, black-marketing, profiteering, etc. It is also argued that at the most the deficiency is not more than 15 per cent of our needs and it is too small a deficit to be a cause for worry.

I am afraid that these controversies give a wrong lead to the country besides making us shut our eyes to obvious facts.

The very fact that profiteering and black-marketing in food are possible and large-scale business take place from time to time is evidence of an insufficiency. Kind Providence has not made food an article capable of preservation for too long a time. If the stock was sufficient to give to every individual the amount of food needed by him, the underground markets in the hands of traders and cultivators would under a system of controls and very inadequate rationing become too large to be held profitably and it would be impossible for them to raise the prices exorbitantly. For while a black market subsists by severely cutting off the number of purchasers so that the stocks may not be too easily exhausted, it itself is controlled by the consideration that the stocks in hand should not become as big as to lock up too much capital or go to waste. If a baby were to supply to every needy person the amount of money necessary to purchase his requirements from the underground markets and the Government declared a general amnesty to black-marketers, it would be quickly found that the stocks were insufficient to meet the demands of purchasers. When they say that you can purchase "any amount of food you need from the black market", it is forgotten that this is possible only so long as the number of black-market purchasers is a very small one. The insufficiency is thus, not an imaginary but a real one. It can be met only by increasing the production.

Whether the deficiency is 15 per cent, 5 per cent or 10 per cent is not a material point. That we are not self-sufficient should be a sufficient cause for concern to every prudent manager, whether he has to manage a family or a village or a State. Even if we were certain of the accuracy

of our self-sufficiency, it should be met with self-mathematically insufficient in food but to an absolutely sufficient degree. Personally I think that our crops should be to such an extent of that less than 10 per cent self-sufficiency implies the country almost in permanent danger. It had standard food control as standard that it should be the highest thing not to water. I doubt if our country ever recently produced sufficient food during the last thousand years or so. Given a country which was abundant in food it was bound to be prosperous. And if its food-sufficiency waned, it must give rise to evils in its religious, social and political order, and a progressive decline in its morals and culture.

The production of food is great extent should have priority over all other plans, and so means, which can help it, should be exploited or developed as far as possible. The system of revenue administration, land tenure, payment of wages and salaries, agricultural research, education, social hierarchy, local self-government, irrigation should all be so rearranged that they give supreme importance and according to the production of food in various international trade and commerce, industrialisation, import of capital goods and machinery not needed for production of staple grains can well even for a generation. If we prove our talent for increasing our food, we shall discover the key to our all-round prosperity. The talks about raising the standard of living and the establishment of a welfare State have no meaning, if we do not have the very first step needed for living.

Wardha, 2-5-51

K. C. MATHURWALA

TECHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES

As promised at the end of Minsabhai's article "Shipwreck Confirmed", I give below some important portions from the brochure entitled *The Central Food Technological Research Institute Mysore* published by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, New Delhi. It is in fact a collection of speeches delivered by prominent leaders and scientists at the time of the opening ceremony of that institution on 11st October 1950.

The brochure gives eleven subjects proposed to be applied in this Research Institute. Of these Minsabhai has already enumerated six, but I give below all the eleven together for getting a complete picture.

- (1) Storage and preservation of different classes of food materials: preservation of vegetable, cereals and oilseeds of perishable materials.
- (2) Processing of materials with a view to improving their keeping quality and handling characteristics, refrigeration, freezing, gas storage, drying, dehydrating, etc.
- (3) Treatment of different classes food materials to improve their palatability, digestibility and general food value, alteration of harmful and unpalatable ingredients.
- (4) Study of new and inferior under-utilized sources of food materials, their processing and application to use so as to make them more valuable and complete supplementary foods.
- (5) Production of concentrated foods, vitamins and other food concentrates, margarine and model purpose foods, ready-to-eat foods, supplementary foods, food substitutes, etc.

(4) Preservation of food, vegetables, and other perishable articles involving all pertinent new methods of preparation of canisters, jars, preserves, pickles, etc.; and (5) and general development into food technological problems involving the possible use of selected pure vegetable substances and substances for preservation of meats and food stuffs.

(6) Methods, design and dissemination of improved types of food preparation to suit the economic conditions and tastes of people in different regions, approved cooking methods.

(7) Study of problems relating to food industries, production of technological information, study of existing industries, their industrial problems and collection of material data for development of new industries plus plant trials with different types of industrial equipment.

(8) Food mechanics: storage and advice on important conditions in food industries; treatment and reduction of waste products from food factories.

(9) Development of improved and rapid methods of determining quality of food products; selection of food and vegetable substances.

(10) Food information: dissemination of general information bearing on food and display problems; general dissemination of important developments in food technology; issue of lectures and reports for the production of basic preserves and materials available in lectures, dissemination of new methods.

There is some justification in Dr. Bhadrnagar's complaint that Menon's criticism of the Institute is based on a misconception of the objects for which it is founded. It is like finding fault with a Chemical Laboratory for not being equipped with apparatus needed for the research of physics. In the speech which he made on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Institute, he made it clear that the functions of this Institute were not:

"those of agricultural Institute which largely concern themselves with and involve increasing production of crops and evolution of new varieties of various plants."

There is very slender connection, if any, between research for technological planning and research for increasing agricultural production.

He went further.

They (the Government) have laid much too emphasis on the mere routine utilization of our own methods of food or packing means during storage, in industrial processing and on the preservation of surplus by longer pots and longer after crop collection. The possibilities of introducing preserved new materials which can be used in food have had the least attention. All measures for increasing the growth of food both in the vegetable and the animal kingdom are preposterous. The Government Food Commission will certainly require more money and thus drain the side which technology has turned to food preservation and food utilization. The losses incurred in the handling, sorting of rice and flour as a food article as well as in the making of processed rice and other packed, concentrated, tinned and tinned foods are quite large and can be decreased by the aid of technical supervision and research.

"We had then by introducing technical means to which technological research has already shown the way and by preventing losses of food materials during the storage by longer means, necessary rice and flour, wheat and technology can help to convert our shortage of 40 per cent perhaps into a surplus."

"This Institute is the first step which the Government of India have taken to solve the food

problem." Dr. Bhadrnagar (Bhadrnagar) from the purely Hinduist method. I have covered today and others who have made much money out of the immediate necessities of this but a food article a year of the immediate money (10 to 20) it will make a distinct contribution towards the solution of food shortage in India by its technical aid."

Dr. Bhadrnagar has also given a brief account of the useful contributions made by it already during the period of its actual commencement and the formal opening.

Particular attention has been directed to the production of emergency foods to meet our war's needs and also to utilize food materials which are now going to waste in various amounts."

Also

on the production of suitably designed preservation foods, different stored foodstuffs, vegetables and cereals.

Other developments relate to the possible application of storage, new food and the animal feeding, but which is a high-class article of food supplying practically all the food materials which are lacking in the ordinary stored diets. Work on the utilization of the past food and the stored foods which are produced abundantly in the Madras region all along the Western Ghats is already in progress and the industries are also taking very much interest in the new developments. Work on the processing and preservation of pulses and pulses from Eastern India has been carried out.

Other chapters bearing on the utilization of different materials, processing of various grains in order than complete to alternative means; also of rice, stored samples for storage and getting stored vegetables production of good rice storage from different sources in a cheap storage industry; storage of food products, new and improved methods of processing of pulses without affecting their nutritive value; production of the nutritive value with food preservation, etc. are in progress.

Dr. Bhadrnagar is not any of these.

who put the of strong belief in the foods as source provides within not processing food; improved making, making, making or making or making anything.

and advice.

I believe these projects and scientific research should not derive from research for new foods but sources of supply or the employment of new processes in the production and utilization of our various food supplies.

Besides the speech of Dr. Bhadrnagar who has earned a great name for power of organization and speedy execution and to whose talents the credit of getting this Institute founded is mainly given by all his collaborators. The brochure contains very interesting and instructive speeches made by Shri C. Bhadrnagar who performed the opening ceremony Shri M. Thirumala Rao Deputy Food Minister, and three great associates Shri S. V. Ramaswami, C. V. Rangan and V. Ramaswami—the last being the Director of the Institute. Even though one might differ in one's approach towards some of the subjects to be studied in the Institute I regard this Institute as a very useful and valuable one. In our vast country there is much for research facilities with a proper industrial approach. On the whole the Institute is not one which can be condemned outright or to put it positively, it is one which should be maintained and whatever drawbacks one might feel in its approach towards investigations from the point of view of the Services

order should be remedied by organized conversation and appropriate discussion. Whatever wrong emphasis might have been laid on any particular subject of study and various drawbacks that might be or are discussed together can be cured by mature experience. These activities form a part of man's experiments for discovering Truth.

With these observations in honor of the lecture I shall depart now but I endorse the sayings expressed by Bharata.

Wardha, 12-4-31 K. C. BHARATWALA.

A POWERFUL WORD

[Text of Tagore's speech at Wardha, on 10-2-31
FORWARDED AND TRANSLATED FROM HINDI. —D. D.]

Powerful Word

Some words are so powerful that when uttered at the proper time they shake the whole nation and place a goal before it. Thus in 1880 Dadabhai Naoroji gave to the nation the word *Swamy* and it gave a new spirit, a new source of energy to all India. It gave the people a goal to work for and for 40 years the word gave them service. It had served its purpose when India reached that goal in 1927 and so it retired as a national war. Gandhiji too, who had worked for that word and carried the people to that goal, completed his earthly career shortly thereafter.

Servitude — The New Word

Thereupon a new word, a new goal was needed for the nation. Unless the people had it, it seemed as if they had nothing left to work for. Indeed for a time they actually felt so. Gandhiji had already pronounced it even when he had been working for *Swamy*. But its significance was not realized then, because the nation's mind was concentrated upon *Swamy*. The new word was *Servitude*.

Moral Degeneration

Servitude has placed a clear goal before the people. It extends to all the people, in its service. There is no need now for the various political parties which have arisen after *Swamy* because the problems which have arisen after *Swamy* are all of a moral nature. The fall in the moral standards of the people is a common and universal experience. I do not blame the people for this. A whole nation cannot become morally depraved. And still if such is the universal experience the reason must be found in the environment. But whether it is the people or the environment, which is responsible, it has to be remedied. The most important thing which is necessary to be done after the attainment of *Swamy*, is to stabilize the people's character for mutual goodwill to them and do such other fundamental work. There is no scope for setting up different political objectives in such circumstances. They can have their due place and scope when the moral level of the nation is high and there is mutual goodwill. Accordingly, I for one, always ask the politicians whenever I get an occasion to meet them to remove the different political labels and to struggle together for a

Universal Unhappiness

During my tour I pass through both towns and villages. I find that the people in both the places are unhappy. In the villages people are unhappy because they do not get cloth, in the

towns they are so because they are taking to drinking. It is not that they drink to enjoy their happiness.

Decline of the Gandhiji Spirit

The townspeople have been developing other vices also. Since the attainment of *Swamy*, they have even forgotten the distinction between *swadeshi* and foreign articles. They purchase whatever looks cheap and attractive. What in the use of *Swamy* if the town-shops are to be filled up with foreign articles? I can assure you that if you continue to purchase foreign articles, no foreign country will ever to establish its rule over you. Why should they undertake the responsibility of government if they can sell their merchandise to India without any hitch? As it is so no country is now anxious to establish its political domination over another country. The long and short of this is that *Swamy* has no meaning if our markets are to remain flooded with foreign goods.

Education of Villages

Such is the picture of the towns. On the other side, the villages have become depleted of all their industries. Their petty vocations have been washed away from them by the cities. Look at the rice-mill here at Wardha. If paddy-husking is done in villages, the villagers get employment. If it is done in the towns they are unemployed. Thus the towns, themselves powerful against foreign trade, exercise their ability for simply ruining the villages. The proper thing for the cities to do is to maintain village industries in the village itself, and establish only such industries in the cities as will stop the influx of foreign goods. If they do this the towns and villages can work together in concord and raise the prosperity of the country. Just as they declare some forests as "reserved", so the need is to declare some of the industries as "reserved for villages".

Danger to Towns

If this is not done, the very existence of the towns will be in danger. On the one side, they would be exploited by foreigners and on the other they would be attacked and looted by hungry and unemployed villagers. What I ask townspeople to possess is a newly enlightened self-interest.

I am constrained to say that if you do not find a co-ordination of the towns and the villages a deadly struggle between the two is inevitable.

The Mind of Servitude

As I do not wish to encourage such struggle, I propagate the *Servitude* ideal and exhort you to maintain upon the power of that word. It comes strength in every part of the body politic. Not a single limb should remain weak. If you do not think in terms of *Servitude* but talk of classes and class-struggle and consider only class-interests, India can not be happy.

At present the Government, the traders, the townspeople and the village people all strive discontented and making the attempts of one another. If all worked for the prosperity of the villages, they would find themselves working for a common goal and mutual benefit. This is the aim of *Servitude*. It is not the slogan of a poli-

small party, but a card which would involve all party leaders. Its aim is to unite all hearts and minds united strength.

PROHIBITION AND EQUALITY

The ideals of equality and freedom have been given an important place in our Constitution. It was the very intent of the Constitution that led the Supreme High Court to rule that not to apply Prohibition to the military was against the spirit of the Constitution and hence the army cannot be exempted from it. This same spirit we learn from the papers, led the Indian High Court recently to declare void and void the law ending the Zamindari System.

Even the law prohibiting polygamy has been contested in some of the Courts on the plea that the Law cannot, should not, make any distinction between the sexes? In short, the principle of equality having been incorporated in the Constitution, is bound to attract in various ways the attention of the people, the Government and the judiciary.

What then is the practical significance or true significance of equality?—this is the important question before us. Adult franchise has, so to say, conferred political equality on every citizen. Adequate provision has been made to safeguard the interests of the untouchables, the backward classes, women and children, the minorities, etc. This has, in a way, laid the foundation of social equality. But the equality that all people always think of is the economic equality. The Government can do a lot towards achieving this equality. Radical changes are necessary in the whole economic structure for this purpose. Various schools of thought professing to achieve social welfare based on very fundamental but different outlooks and opinions have come into being—regarding how to do the work, and what are the real and efficient ways and means for it. The Indian Constitution aims at achieving equality and freedom by working on the democratic method. Prohibition can be said to be the best way for it. It saves the hard-earned money of the poor and backward classes and women from being squandered over drink. With the money thus saved they can raise their standard of life. It is the duty of the adult-education workers and the social-service workers to see to it that these people learn to do so. A good deal of work will be automatically accomplished in the direction of achieving social security for their women and children, as envisaged by the Constitution, during the process. Equality cannot be established by appropriating the property of the rich and distributing the proceeds among the poor. Equality depends on the economic structure and the method of Government finance—the way they raise and disburse their funds. From this point of view, it can be said of prohibition that due to it crimes of rapine are immediately distributed among the people thus raising the standard of life of the poor and making them to be true citizens of Bharat.

The Government, therefore, should look at prohibition with the broad and comprehensive outlook and give up the safety idea of monetary gain. Crimes of rapine that might otherwise have gone to liquor do remain with the people. They will be circulating among them. The Government will no doubt avail of these transactions through their taxation. They may also levy other taxes on the advice of economic experts. But under no circumstances should they look with a critical eye at the income from drink which has been collected by the people for over the last thirty years. Some Governments have undertaken to survey the working of prohibition under one pretext or another. They are welcome to do so with the above object, not to do away with prohibition. As a matter of fact no such survey is necessary, for prohibition is a wholly desirable and successful measure. A desire to survey is likely to enter one's mind if one entertains any doubts for one reason or other, or has an eye on something else, or one may want to survey the situation in order to take stock of the work done in the case of prohibition and chalk out plans for the future. Let us hope that the Government undertakes the survey from the latter motive. The latter type is what even the Constitution and Government cannot undertake it.

(Translated from Gujarati)

M. P. BHAGI

FOR TRUTH'S SAKE

More than thirty years ago, Gandhi declared that the use of liquor and narcotics must be prohibited in India. Ever since Prohibition has remained a conspicuous item of Congress policy.

When the Congress first came to power the Prohibition policy was enthusiastically adopted and started by almost all the provincial governments. Notable successes in this direction were made by Madras and Bombay. Even after the resignation of ministers some section-85 Governments, rather Ashwini Mehta, dared not discontinue this social-sanctification measure. And later, on the return of Congress ministers, the matter was pushed ahead vigorously. The prohibition-urge was ringing all over the country.

All of a sudden Gandhi passed away. This great fact seemed to relieve the authorities in India of a great strain. It was like a patient's vomiting out the bitter dose of medicine after the administering doctor had gone, forgetting that it would only augment his pain. Slowly and steadily, the State Governments as also that of the Centre have been dropping one programme after another, which till the other day formed the very part of our vows. Of these the one which has been most disastrously cast off is that of Prohibition.

Drinking is an old addiction in a section of the people. Nor am I unaware of the high place it occupies in fashionable society. There is none, however, who does not know its evil effects. That is why we find in the Constitution of India, the following directive requiring every State to

and, about protection of the common good, means the material purposes of the individual and the group, which are injurious to health.

Our own country apart, very recently the *Times* in London published a brief news item from London, which ran thus:

— *Times* News, Feb. 22

"There is the Public House at Teles, now built from an irretrievably pasted-on O.M. (O.M. stands for Indebted prohibition license system) issued by the state that arose from drink."

The American Representative told the Congressmen, saying there had been some cases of the "O.M." cases in drink legislation, but the alcoholism was not. This is to go into public houses and "O.M." cases.

The Group decided to reply that the matter must be solved by the people themselves.

The reply given by the American Representative on following it, by the Group is not important, because most of them believed in prohibition, and were also under no compulsion to do so. What matters is the appeal for prohibition.

The prohibition programme has thus almost a historical appeal. And in the particular context of our country, it is very distressing to find the Congress Government including the Central Government to abandon or neglect it. Lack of interest is put up as an excuse. Here is a shocking indictment from a very candid, constructive worker, now the Chief Minister of Orissa, which he gave in the Assembly while presenting the budget for the next year.

Personally speaking it is a tragedy to my life to find myself being directly responsible for all that is being or not being done in the Excise Department. I hold very strong views about the drug and drink habit. But when it comes to take action on the governmental plane the problem of state becomes difficult. It is not merely a question of taking large amounts of money from all sides there is demand for more money for all kinds of urgent development work. As an individual I may have a sort of partial satisfaction if I work my hands clean of my money tainted by this vice, but Government, will have its fundamental job being revenue from this source if it cannot do the same then obviously stop borrowing and stabilising on a large scale. From my experience about the work of the Excise Department I know how difficult it is now to stop this state habit in many areas of the State. To make prohibition really effective we must have to employ a very much larger staff than the present Excise Department. However much we may want it we cannot find the necessary funds for the extra expenditure in the present moment. If we cannot afford to spend the money necessary to stop people from making their own drinks in their homes then and people why should we the State tax such people and make it more expensive for them to drink?

We have all sympathy for the virtuous Chief Minister for the tragedy in his life. But I am sure that the worst enemy of prohibition could expect nothing better from any Chief Minister who wants to rid the state and yet have it. Any attempt to turn innocently making others drink on the one side and banning the use of liquor on the other will not succeed any more than a rider anxious to ride two horses at once.

Another ingenious device that the governments have adopted for excluding their concern for the drink-habit is of appointing committees to go into the usefulness or otherwise of this measure. A committee is already at work in Madhya Pradesh, another is to shortly take up alcohol in Karnataka. There can be no doubt about the recommendations of these committees. They would simply state the Government policy which seems to be apt to do away with prohibition altogether, and might even take steps to amend the Constitution for the purpose.

The Governments have a knack of wanting public money. They want in a special measure. If they are for prohibition, some can stop them, if against it, let them freely say so, without fear. Clearly in such cases as these they will not waste public funds.

Of course prohibition does not stand alone in the Congress programme. Perhaps Governments feel embarrassed in adopting prohibition and rejecting other parts such as, in particular only one, amongst Government would not be concerned and liquor as both are associated with big business and fashionable society and Government cannot disown them. The drinking habit is the symbol of India's high-class and high-positioned society. It cannot be denied that giving up or weakening prohibition is not a Gandhi policy. What he stood for is well known. Yet we very long the hope that our well-being as also of the world is in following the Gandhian way.

If we really desire the Gandhian way, Government must set up in it. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, we should not associate Gandhi with our government and yet give up his fundamental ideas. If we have not faith in prohibition our very faith in Gandhi can be questioned. I wonder how Chin Japag, the father of prohibition legislation in India and the writer of several effective articles, stories etc. on the subject, does not speak out his mind in the matter and exhort the State not to depart from the original programme.

All is not yet lost. Governments are trustees of the public good. They must be truthful and frank. They must carry out policies which are mandatory on them or be courageous enough to declare in unambiguous terms that Gandhiji's vision was no good and the article 37 of the Constitution was passed when the minds of the framers were under the influence of a spirit, which was of a different type than the spirit of wine.

Varanasi, 4-2-53

STYLER MANJAN

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TWO ANNAS

THAKKAR BAPA MEMORIAL APPEAL

I request the reader's attention to the appeal for Thakkar Bapa Memorial Fund published elsewhere in these columns over the signatures of Shriyats C. V. Navrothkar, Parashottamdas Thakkar and several others. The reader will see that this memorial and its appeal are of a different type from those previously conceived and put forth in honour of departed and much loved leaders. The following are its peculiar features:

(1) It is not fix a target in terms of the amount to be collected but in that of the number of people who will contribute to it. At least 10 lakh people are desired to subscribe to it. All the subscribers, I expect, should be persons who have heard about Thakkar Bapa and his great message in life and admired him. It is usual in families to pay donations in the name of every member of the family—even infants. While contributions might be so made in this case also, what is desired in my opinion, is that such is facts as others who are too young to know anything about Thakkar Bapa or Harijan or Aditya, just cause should not be reckoned as separate donors. Thus if a child of five, who has heard something about Thakkar Bapa, asks its guardian to pay something in his name, it may be so done. But if a guardian wants to pay something in the name of a child of a year or two for sheer but without its being told anything about Thakkar Bapa (or the two causes) the child must not be reckoned as a separate contributor. The object of adopting this manner of collecting the subscriptions is to find out the number of admirers of Thakkar Bapa and the sympathisers of Harijana and Adityas, and to express as many people as possible. It is a direction to the collecting agent to visit as many houses as possible and speak to as many persons—young or old, men or women—as possible for this fund.

(2) In furtherance of the same object, the amount of a single donation has been fixed at the small figure of four annas only. This will enable a poor man also to contribute his mite. It might be asked, why not a pice? Probably four annas has been fixed in order to facilitate accounting and receipting. But those who want to

pay less than four annas can do so by a number of them collecting four annas or more among themselves and taking a receipt in the name of one of them.

It will be remembered that the cause of Harijana was as dear to Gandhiji as to Thakkar Bapa. And Gandhiji had made a rule of his life never to leave Harijan town to collect even pice and pice at public meetings, railway trains etc. He also charged a fee for his autographs and the collection so made all went to the Harijan Fund. He has directed in his will that 25 per cent of the profits of his publications should go to the Harijan Fund. Since Gandhiji's death, none has taken his bequest's bow in the interest of Harijana. This permanent Thakkar Bapa Fund will, I hope, fill up that want to a certain extent.

(3) Another peculiarity of this fund is that consistently with Thakkar Bapa's views, it treats all beds as a single unit and makes no internal distinctions between Harijana and Adityas on regional, linguistic or caste differences. To every area and every group according to its need, and from every friend of the Harijan and Adityas according to his capacity—is the principle kept in view.

(4) In order to avoid possible troubles or differences arising between Thakkar Bapa's two children, namely, the Harijan Sewak Sangh and the Aditya Sewak Sangh, the signatories have wisely decided that whether the collecting agency belongs to the one institution or the other, all the collections will be spent equally for the benefit of both the classes.

(5) Experience has taught the difficulties arising out of allowing all and sundry to make collections. The accounts are not easily sorted, the collections are not properly verified and it becomes difficult to exercise a proper check on the expenses incidental to collection. In order that this should not happen with regard to this Poor People's Fund, the signatories have decided to authorize only their own trusted workers to make the collections and pass receipts.

Persons desirous of proving their contributions are requested to carefully read and observe the instructions of the signatories made in this behalf at the end of the appeal. No

contributions should be given or lent, to help the underprivileged agree, confirm, and consent should be insisted upon.

I hope all those who admired Thakkar Bapa and all who have a following for Harijans and Adivasis will pay their contributions without fail. Indeed, there should be many who should pledge themselves to send a contribution to this fund at least once a year.

Varanasi, 7-5-53

R. D. MAHAPATRA

THAKKAR BAPA MEMORIAL FUND

An Appeal

Who is not aware of the invaluable services rendered, for a long period of over 45 years, in a spirit of service and in an absolutely unselfish manner, by the late Thakkar Bapa in improving the lot of the backward, the untouchable and the tribal communities in India, and in service of the people in times of famine, flood, earthquake, epidemics, etc.? His work was carried on ably and on the solid and wider foundations of humanity, without an eye on power or popularity and without any ulterior or immediate political motives. His long-continued, strenuous and sustained work of the most important nation-building and humanitarian character has endeared him to all, including those who had even a casual chance of coming in contact with him or his work. It is, therefore, the natural desire of his colleagues, co-workers, admirers and followers to do what they can by way of homage and as a mark of respect to which he has been held by millions and millions of our countrymen.

The best memorial is to apply oneself to the cause that Bapa had at heart in his spirit and manner and to discharge our duty to the millions of our countrymen. And yet the idea of doing something tangible as a token of love and respect cannot be successfully brushed aside.

Thakkar Bapa was essentially a man of the poor. He lived for the poor. It is natural, therefore, that this memorial cannot be measured in terms of any money-target. The best measure for it is the number of his countrymen who will each contribute his small or big quota in token of his love. The way he represented it is so huge that any amount of funds will be inadequate to meet it. But it is our unswerving faith that, if the cause has taken root in the hearts of the people, there will never be any dearth of funds. It is, therefore, that the target for the memorial is fixed in terms of the number of people who have intimated the message of Bapa's mission in life.

The decision for the memorial was taken on 26th March, 1951, at the meeting of the Acharya Jivraj Singh, under the presidency of Dr. Rajendraprasad, to make collections from at least a million people. The poorest of the poor may subscribe with his quota of four annas,

while the richest may subscribe whatever his heart and the wealth of the poor impel him to do. There is no limit to the maximum that could be paid. The moneys collected will be administered by a joint Committee appointed separately by the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Bharatiya Adhivasi Sevak Sangh which are Bapa's children, along with such members who may be co-opted by itself. As the fund is essentially the poor man's, care has been taken to see that the expenses of administration are kept at the lowest level.

The moneys will be applied to advance the work of education, sanitation, improvement of economic conditions, relief from distress, etc., among these backward communities to be shared equally for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes throughout the whole of India, irrespective of the amounts received as collections from various parts. We have visualized, as did Bapa, the whole of India as one unit, and the funds will be spent according to the needs and the capacity for work in each part of India.

The collections will be kept open till the 15th January, 1955, the first anniversary of Bapa's death.

As Bapa's work is to be carried on in the future and on a more and more extensive scale, donations to the fund will be received even thereafter, and so that extent, the fund will not be considered to have been closed.

We therefore, earnestly appeal to all, whether rich or poor, to contribute their mite to the memorial in token of their homage to Bapa, as also of their shining interest in the future of the Indian Republic and humanity in general.

Arrangements are being made to set up local offices to receive collections at various places and for issue of receipts for every payment made. It is requested that payment should be made to some but the authorized agent, as also to make without a proper receipt. A list of authorized agents and offices will be published in due course in the Press. In the meanwhile enquiries and payments may be made to Secretary, Bharatiya Adhivasi Sevak Sangh, Harijan Colony, Kirti Nagar, Delhi.

Parashuramdas	Tamil	G. V. Narasimhan
Gowindlalalal. Patel		Hridaynath Kanera
B. G. Kher		Rameshwar Mehta
G. P. Shriv		Devadas Gandhi
Shrinathrao Sarda		Radharam. Mehta
Harkrishna Mehta		Anagabharasa Sarda
Rajkrishna Rao		Shankarrao
L. M. Shrivast		H. Manojee
Sawai Ramchand		Vijay Ram
	Telugu	Haripada Kanera
Jehangir P. Patel		Gopalabhai
M. S. Anay		Chandray
		V. Raghavan Iyengar

Kirti Nagar, Delhi

15th April, 1951

ON WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLI (A HUNT OF YOGI'S DISPENSARY)

THE

March 23, Sase (Hundredth halt, 9 miles)

Devotion programmes with shikharas, bhaktis, etc. have become an everyday essential feature of our lives. These proceed in at four different places in our way to Sase, which was only 5 miles from the last camp. These camps are on the bank of a river of the same name, which means the Golden's is likely further on. It is a place of pilgrimage, being mythologically associated with Parashuram. He is said to have performed a sacrifice here in which he gave as much gold to Brahmins by way of bhaktis that it began to flow like a river. Hence the village came to be known as Sase or Sarampam, i.e. town of gold. But the greedy Brahmins were not satisfied and wanted still more. Parashuram got enraged at this and turned the stream of gold into a stream of water! (How good?)

Being a place of pilgrimage, Sase is largely inhabited by Brahmins. Most of the villages which we had visited so far were almost exclusively inhabited by non-Brahmins—Kaddis in particular.

It was brought to our notice that Sase was once a flourishing place, but had much fallen down since. Several people had migrated to other places in search of a living and there was no public school. The people felt much depressed and sought guidance from Vinoba.

At Sase there was a spinning co-operative, by ladies, and Vinoba noticed that the clothes of the spinners were miserable. These two features supplied the clues for Vinoba's search.

He was glad to see that women occupied themselves in spinning. But he wanted these women to be capable of doing any work given by the wife. The people of the village must use the cloth made in the village itself. The people must love one another and live as one. That they must protect one another. There lived in the town spinners, weavers, shopkeepers, etc. Weavers and shopkeepers, if the people did not use the cloth, the oil, the dials and other things made by the village artisans on the ground that they were costly, they slowly destroyed one another. It was an illusory co-operation, which made them overlook the fact that it was a more profitable transaction if money from the pocket of one went to that of another person of the village itself than if it went to the pocket of an outsider. They must all support one another's industries. That was the meaning of co-operation (unity of workers) of which the Brahmins spoke with pride.

Addressing the Brahmins Vinoba said that varnashrama implied that a person must carry on the hereditary profession for passing his living. This would not be possible unless they supported the village economy. He found that the Brahmins, who had the pride of being at the head of the corner had introduced changes in their habits, and luxury made shoes on their feet. That was not varnashrama. There was no death of educated Brahmins in the village. How was it then, he asked, that there was no school there? They should not expect the Government to open a school at every place. Government was in very straitened circumstances. They could have it by their own effort. The population was less than two thousand. A few classes, teaching for an hour in the morning and the evening, would be sufficient to give literacy to the whole village. They should do this without any fee.

The Brahmins agreed and offered their names. The school was to be named Narayana Vidyalaya. A long programme to educate the whole village was chalked out. Fifteen or twenty-five students per teacher—six months' intensive teaching—two teachers a year—500 students per teacher; four teachers—two hundred hours' night classes for adults—this was the scheme of the programme. This Sase was selected to set an example to the nation. They discussed things with Vinoba and work was to be done

in a couple of days. (At the next halt we were informed that work had been started accordingly.)

March 24, Balakonda (Hundredth halt, 21 miles)

Before we left Sase the District Superintendent of Police sent a message to Vinoba requesting him to allow an armed band of police constables to accompany him up to the next station, as the area in between was affected by Communist terrorism. Vinoba, while thanking the D.S.P., suggested that ordinary citizens accompanied just the Police, if they desired to accompany at all should do so without uniforms. 'The question of arms and police accompanying me therefore does not arise at all.'

At Marupali 5 miles from Sase, the village leader requested Vinoba to address a few words to the people. It is very difficult to persuade Vinoba to speak at the public places but the discipline and the confidence exhibited by the people were sufficient to induce him to break his usual practice. 'I am glad to meet you. Those who ran away to Arunachal with guns there but I must give you a bigger gun. The people of Sase have decided to educate their village without any outside help. That is a great change in Sase. After all it is education alone which is the real solution for all our problems. I thank you for the advice you have shown.' And he moved ahead. At Chikmagur the workers of the Sase Monthly purchased him and accompanied him with the work of the hospital. It was a small village where a few workers were working casual work in the surrounding villages. The centre was to be developed into a Kharata Ministry House.

At Balakonda the compound was filled with guns and women, numbering not less than 1,000. Shri Hanumanth Poddiah welcomed Vinoba and accompanied the people with the programme of the day. They were asked to come at 5 to the evening but the place continued to be crowded with the people, especially women, who had fled from the neighbouring villages. At 5 p.m. the whole place was completely filled with women. It was not advisable to keep the crowd waiting till five. So Vinoba stood to their right and began. 'It has become possible now for you to attend such meetings in such big crowds. A few years back, during the British regime this would not have been possible. But freedom does not mean that capitalism will come of its own accord. We have to work for it. I have seen women spinning here today, but they do not wear khadi. They spin for money. If we don't value our own work, how can we expect others to value it? Let us use the cloth made of our own yarn.'

He advised them to form a village committee to look after the village affairs, looking village committees. They must live like one family and keep themselves away from all party politics, that might draw them from the town. He wished their village to become a Ghatika like that of Lord Krishna. Lord Krishna had not the least bit of greed but he taught the feet of any leader in order to offer presents. They must not put their hand on the feet of any man. A woman's milk-filled hands was sufficient for the satisfaction of their greed and affection.

The meeting was held in the compound of the temple where we were lodged. There was only one door and a path was created. Vinoba himself attended the roll call. Food distributed by Vinoba was arranged and about two thousand people received grace from him. On return to his room, he said, 'Today I had the darshan of one thousand souls burdened and 800 Aranyakas'—that is how he looks towards life.

And then we crossed the Golden—crossing the Golden stream and crossing into the Starved desert.

D. M.

SARVODAYA

Its Principles and Programme

Pages 55-61. Price Rs 1/- Pp. 100 net 3-6

NAVATITAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 100, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

May 15

1951

INCOME AND PROPERTY

I draw the reader's attention to Swami Sharan's article "Economic Equality", published elsewhere in this issue.

There is no difference of opinion on a principle as such, involved here. It is a question of fixing immediate targets. They have to be such as you might hope to achieve by the double method of (a) legislation of a truly democratic government, and (b) voluntary sacrifice of individuals. About the latter there need not be any limit at all. So for practical purposes, the only point to be considered is to what extent you would be able to induce the representatives of the people in the legislatures to pass legislative for the realisation of incomes and grants properly, and to ensure the implementation of the laws now pass. If a party committed to the targets proposed by Swami Sharan comes into power, I would willingly accept his targets in preference to those suggested by me.

In the prevailing critical condition of the country and with an adult franchise, it may not be quite difficult to put forth attractive schemes of redistributing private property, and the party which promises specific equalisation of wealth may easily gain more popularity than one with a moderate target. With an adequate party organisation, it may be able to get even a majority and, therefore, to pass bold pieces of legislation. But passing laws is not equivalent to the realisation of the objectives.

When it comes to implementation, unless a fair section of the class of persons who are adversely affected by a law have become reconciled to the change and several of them have even voluntarily carried it out in their own firms, the ministers will find themselves sandwiched between their own laws and a stone wall. Both Government servants and the moneyed classes will combine to resist the implementation, and all the corruption, which we complain of in the present system, will continue. Hence the fallacy, in part at least, of passing laws without the intelligent consent of the people against whom they will operate. Hence also, the necessity of creating a fairly good number of people, who will make voluntary sacrifices and without waiting for legislation. To bring about this, a hunger for a better life than the one dominated by money should be created on a fairly large scale.

This is not impossible. It is not only the end forces which propagate with intensity and urgency. We know how Gandhi could create a new force in the earlier in less than a generation. Mohammed had electrified the whole of Arabia

during an equally short period. Several such instances could be cited from the history of every people. If apostles of Gandhism possess the right spirit of a mission and personal example, the revolution might take place more quickly, than we can dream of. If they are weak the world will be where it is, even at the end of a century. People believing in violent and mercenary methods might also get temporary ascendancy, and apparently bring about with great rapidity the changes desired by us. That might bring economic equality, but it will not bring Gandhism and, therefore, realising.

For the above reasons, it is difficult to put down any time-limit either for achieving the first step or for the period between the first step and the next one. Everything depends upon the intensity of the effort and the purity of the means.

Moreover, the world has been changing more rapidly than we are able to calculate. The change takes place in both the directions. The so-called democracies have been proceeding at one time towards Fascism and at another towards Communism. At one moment people become strongly war- and violence-minded and at another intensely peace- and love-minded. India and Pakistan might move towards each other's destruction during the next few years, or they might tolerate in a manner that might astonish the world. And both the enemy and the friendly might become long-lived or short-lived.

We do not know the future and cannot, therefore, lay down any definite timetable for any particular goal. We know, however that, considered as we see, we can find our place by working for Gandhism alone, and not for Fascism, Communism, Conservatism or any other violent ideology.

I would wish, if I could, to move in the direction of the first step suggested by me before the next elections, and if it could be achieved by my saying "Open Sesame" I would at once utter the magic word. But I feel that "pretence people" of our race will think of me, with even my low targets that I am a devotee of the mean. Nevertheless, I have no quarrel against Swami Sharan's ideal or even one better than his and, if he can show a way to its achievement, I shall welcome it without reserve.

Wardha, 21-4-51

H. O. KANISWALA

Manga Karnal

Now that the manga season has begun I remind the reader that manga karnal is a valuable article of dress, and must not be wasted. Individual and institutions can organise their collection as a good work. At Nagpur, Wardha, students have thought of starting the collection.

Wardha, 10-5-51

T. S. H.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

In the Moscow dated 21st March, Khrushchev's statements have clearly expressed his considered views on economic equality. He has stated that as a first step he would be satisfied (a) if the maximum incomes of merchants, and others and employees—governmental or otherwise—are brought down to Rs 3,000 and Rs 2,000 per month respectively and (b) if the maximum property of every individual is limited to Rs 10 lakhs worth on the whole.

I have pondered over the opinions of my esteemed friend. After mulling over them the greatest thought which they deserve, I find myself unfortunately unable to endorse the standards set by him.

In a Sarvodaya Samaj, as in Sarvaj, there is no scope for private property at all. If we allowance is to be made for differences in wealth during the transitional stage, the inequality should not be great or abnormal but should be as small as possible. The possession of such private property will not benefit the peasant. There are no special facilities or comforts purchasable or saleable by him. The wealth may on the other hand render his position awkward and may make him the object of public aversion.

The length of the transition period should have been fixed by the Kshetris. The criterion might have been an outright 10 should not exceed ten years at the most. That was the term fixed for removal of social untouchability and a longer period is not necessary or desirable for the liquidation of economic inequalities.

The value of the assets both movable and immovable of an average Indian citizen may be estimated at roughly Rs 600/- calculating at 25 years' purchase of Rs 240, the present average annual income. The holder of 10 lakhs worth of property will then be equal to 100 poor people. It is an unconscionable injustice granting all citizens of democracy. Every citizen's vote in a democratic republic is equal to that of every other. It implies equal status and respect. But under unequal wealth the poor vote is an insignificant fraction of the other rich voter.

No one should be allowed more than Rs 24,000/- worth of property and that too not larger than 10 acres. There should be a further provision for its automatic reduction to the minimum if any fixed for the average man. The gradual scaling down of wealth will even and insure proportionate increase in the stature of the man—social, moral and spiritual.

The same considerations apply also to the maximum monthly incomes. The average per capita income per annum being Rs 20/- the merchant-prince will be equal to 240 and the employee to 100 ordinary individuals. There

should be a similar scale three-fold and scaling down for these incomes.

Reduction of wealth may take place in three ways: (a) by violent dispossession by the swayed proletarian, (b) by compulsory legislation in a well-ordered society, and (c) by the willing conversion of the owner into a conscientious trustee. The last is the best while the first is the worst method of change. The second is the pattern used by countries accustomed to the parliamentary form of government.

Whatever the extent of the wealth and whatever the length of the transition stage, in that extent and for that period, the possessor of wealth should approximate his position to that of a trustee.

The ancient sages in our country did not tolerate these dishonest and dubious economic inequalities. They assigned charity or dāna as a pious duty and further provided for Vaidika yajna which the rich magistrates and kings performed once in seven years. These meant redistribution of wealth hitherto accumulated in the hands of the fortunate few. They are natural, various, beneficial outlets for the free circulation of wealth throughout society, Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, thereby justified her name of Dhanadevi.

Since modern society has lost sight of these sacrifices and benevolent deeds, social misery has descended upon it, affecting the life of both the rich and the poor, thus giving rise to envy, hate and strife and poisoning the very springs of social relations inherent in harmony.

A return to the village and a re-creation of basic values will restore the essential foundations of human society and will build the dream of Sarvodaya resulting in equitable distribution of wealth well-being and happiness.

Vijayashankar

BOMBAY

The Fivefold Programme and Shri Jeevachari Mohan

Readers know that at the last Sarvodaya Conference at Belurmath, a fivefold programme, namely, of honest life, cleanliness, physical labour, peace and preservation of a bank of self-again yarn, was placed before the nation. It seems Shri Jeevachari Mohan has decided to pursue the programme. Some days ago he was reported to have taken part in digging a well. The other day the newspapers reported that at the last session of the A. I. C. C. several members had rudely flung about basins read after eating the fruit. The Prime Minister could not bear this and he started picking up the reins. He then set an example in cleanliness. His strong efforts to prevent war and his determination to bring communal unity are too well known to mention. He has thus set the ball in motion for the nation as follows:

Wardha, 5-5-53

S. D. M.

SELECTED LETTERS

(By W. K. Gerdth)

Second Series

XXV

I am glad you realize that poverty is the common lot of millions. The real way to pray to Lord Krishna is to do in the same poor little service to those who are less fortunate than ourselves, and when we show the spirit of service in daily life, unbelieving neighbors will begin to believe in God (Forwarded by Mahadev Doss in his diary under November 14, 1952)

XXVI

(Forward for Girl Worker Edwin Adams received by H. B. under November 13, 1953)

Cleanest air, cleanest water, simplest food and cleanest thinking which really means communion with God are the four laws, the first three flowing from the fourth. Hence your English saying, plain, that is, simple living and high thinking. I would like to simplify that saying into — clean thinking and clean living. These are a symptom of unclean living in my sense of the expression. Let this then be my message to the brothers for a beginning.

XXVII

(To Anna, Macomber's son, who was ill and convalescing in bed. Received under October 30, 1951)

You must not give way to despair. Even organic defects are known to have been removed or at least brought under control. Proper breathing, proper diet and fresh air added to the will to be better bring the desired recovery. You should have a living faith in God and know He will keep your body intact as long as He has use for it.

And why do you think that we can serve only with the body? Mind is a far more powerful instrument of service. They serve best who have perfect purity of heart. Indeed we serve so as to attain perfect purity. Thoughts of the pure in heart can do what the bodies with corrupt hearts can never do. Therefore in no case have you the slightest cause for despair. Do not seek to prove how thoughts work. Enough for you to believe that they do work and produce mighty results. Therefore always cultivating purity of heart, you should be perfectly at peace, whether you are well in body or not. Will you do this?

XXVIII

(To the same. Received under November 8, 1952)

I hope you clearly understand what I meant when I said you should cease to think the body as yours. It is God's but God has given it to you for the time being to keep it clean and healthy and use it for His service. You are therefore the trustee, not the owner. An owner may abuse or misuse his property; but a trustee or keeper has to be very careful and make the best use of the property left under his care. So whilst you must not be anxious about the body, you have to take every care you can of it. God will take it away when He wishes.

XXIX

(Forwarded under October 30, 1953)

You have asked me for my opinion about small contracts. I am not in love with them. The

book of life is open to the simplest minds and it should be so. There is nothing occult in God's plan. Anyway the mysterious and the occult have never made any appeal to me. Truth has no secrets, and Truth is God.

XXX

(To Mrs. Henry Alexander. Received under November 26, 1952)

I have personally ceased for years to grieve over death at all. The shock is felt when a comrade is torn away from me, but that is purely due to personal attachment which in other words is selfishness. But I immediately recover and realize that death is a deliverance and has to be welcomed, even as a friend is welcomed, and that it means dissolution of the body, not of the underlying spirit. But I must not philosophize. To be true to you and to myself I had to declare my faith and at the same time to let you know that Mahadev and I and your other friends here were not so indifferent as not to take note of the happenings in your circle.

XXXI

(To Miss Mary Furr. Received under November 25, 1953)

Because I do not find a particular thing helpful for me, I may not be indifferent about others and not take the trouble of knowing whether it is helpful for them. I know that that particular form of worship is helpful for millions, not because they are less developed than I am, but because they are differently constituted. What must not be forgotten about me is that not only do I not consider idol worship to be a sin, but I know that in some form or other it is a condition of our being. The difference between one form of worship and another is a difference in degree and not in kind. Men go to Church going as a form of idol worship. Veneration of the Bible, the Koran, the Gita and the like is idol-worship, and even if you do not use a book or a building, but draw a picture of divinity in your imagination and attribute to it certain qualities, it is again idol-worship. And I refuse to call the worship of the one who has a stone image a greater form of worship. Learned judges have been known to have such images in their own homes. A philosopher like Pandit Mahatraya will not eat his meal without offering worship to the household deity. It would be both arrogant and ignorant to look down upon such worship as superstition. Again in the transaction of the worshipped, God is in a consecrated stone and not in the other stones lying about him. Even so the sanctuary in a Church is more sacred than any other place in it. You can multiply for yourself instances of this character. All this is a plea not for luxury in thought or worship, but it is a plea for a definite recognition of the fact that all forms of honest worship are equally good and equally efficient for the respective worshippers. Time is gone for the exclusive possession of right by an individual or group. God is no respecter of forms or words,

and the Government, and our speech and multiplied our thoughts even when we do not understand them ourselves, and it is just our thoughts that matter to Him.

WIND OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Shri. Marital Gandhi received many hundred messages from various parts of the world during his 14-day fast.

Four organizations of New York, namely, Peacekeepers, War Resisters' League, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Catholic Workers expressed their sympathy with the cause for which Shri. Marital Gandhi started by picketing the South African Consulate in New York. A delegation of the pickets waited upon the Consul and had a discussion with him for 1½ hours. In the interview:

The Consul stated that there was any "trouble or opposition" concerned with the Cape Coloureds, the Indians or the Boers. He expressed that the British were much better off than used to be, that the Indians were quite willing to assist them in all such matters, but the Boers did not want to return, which in his opinion, demonstrated that they were being well treated in South Africa.

The Colours, he added, were being encouraged to maintain their own tribal society and at the same time were being educated in democracy.

The real difficulties, he continued, were with those coloured persons who were born in South Africa, who, and whom he would not say, came to know in their native habitations. Difficulties as to our problems raised the consciousness of the coloured people were being constantly improved.

On the other hand, the Consul made a pathetic story that the Union of South Africa intended to maintain the policy of keeping political control in the hands of the white minority, and the policy of segregation as well. He repeatedly touched this point in his talking what we thought Americans in the South would do if the whites were outnumbered too in one. He was specific as to whether this policy of minority rule represented democracy or progress for South Africa. His answer was to ask whether we knew of any instance where democracy had it in any majority rule was actually practical. When we cited the United States and Western European countries, he suggested that as a matter of fact such minority oligarchy run all of them.

We raised the question as to whether South Africa really believed that it would indefinitely maintain this minority rule against the wishes of the coloured people of Africa. The answer was that we really knew what might happen in 1931 or may in 1932 years, but that for the present, the policy in effect was the only possible one.

The interesting moment came when Shri. Subramaniam, Secretary of the committee, asked the Consul whether he would be permitted to visit South Africa to witness the treatment of the "imprisoned" in the magazines of the coloured people which the Consul had assured. The Consul shared his heart and was obviously, for the moment, heartily over by that suggestion. He related his images vividly of how and in a moment said: "That would be a shame for the Government of South Africa to refuse. All kinds of people want to migrate to or visit all kinds of countries and all governments find it necessary to allow them to do so." (The Times, April 16, 1931)

CEPHAL BUGHAY — FRANCE

The Secretary, War Resisters' International of England informs that Cephay Bughay, a conscientious objector to war, had served four sentences totalling a period of four years nine months imprisonment and was about to face his fifth trial for continued refusal. This was felt by his friends as unconscionably hard, and at a recent meeting of the committee for the legal recognition of conscientious objection each member undertook to work for his release. But it did not appear to meet with much success until on the intervention of another friend, also a member of the French P. O. R., the wife of Monsieur Jules Bouché, Minister of National Defense for France, became personally interested in the matter, and took it to the authorities. News has been received that Cephay Bughay is to be discharged from the army as physically unable to serve.

This is welcome news. Not only is it a personal triumph for the conscientious of Cephay Bughay who has stood the test of very great trials for nearly five years, but also for the cause of war resistance in France. It shows that considerable progress has been made there, for the case is unparalleled in its important implications. Bughay deserves our congratulations.

Thanks are also due to M. Jules Bouché, the Minister of Defense of France, for taking the right step. It is hoped that he will also look into the cases of several other war resisters who are now suffering terms of imprisonment in France because of the stand they have taken similar to that of Cephay Bughay, and that the proposed law for the legal recognition of conscientious objection will soon be brought before the Assembly in France and passed.

Wardha, 13-4-31

E. C. MARSHALL

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TWO ANNAS

UNDISCOVERED RESEARCH WORK

I, L. C., end of the article "Technology and Research Institutes" (Harijan, 13-2-50) who I endorsed the misgivings expressed by "Minister" about the work of these institutes. I shall try to show why I do so.

There is a world of difference between science employed for tinkering about Serowades and that employed for enhancing trade and commerce.

Let me illustrate it by a few examples.

We are deficient in food. The deficiency is greater to the poor and the middle classes than to the rich. It is the farmer who most needs substitutes and emergency foods. The Research Institute is asked to help the people in their hunt for them. Now if the scientist discovers some new cereals, fruits etc. of neglected weeds, grains and trees found in abundance in nature, and teaches poor people how to make use of them for boiled over as emergency, his suggestions would be welcome and in the interest of Serowades. But very often he simply selects one already known to the poor and guardedly used by them. He discovers no new food but uses his technique to make it an article of luxury and make for subjecting to complicated processing. He gives it an artificial flavor and appearance, so that even the well-to-do might be tempted to purchase it. The attempt to develop riches does even at the risk of depriving it of its already poor nourishing qualities. The resulting product can be manufactured only commercially in a big plant under a patented process. When research is devoted to this end the article ceases to be a substitute or emergency food. It becomes an item of luxury and a subject of industry and commerce. The result has often been that it drives normal food out of use and production, may even cut of existence while it itself becomes too costly to suit the poor man's purse. A thing which was normally neglected before even by the poor, because better and more nourishing things were available, begins now to supplant the better like a substitute or even supplant following out the principal not because it may be used as an existence. It is a scientifically processed "attractive effluvia" of this kind. The scientific treatment of the natural oil which required no processing whatever in order to be made edible has enabled managers to make both ghee and pure oil unobtainable

and unobtainable and encouraged and facilitated their adulteration. It has made prevalent an important article of commerce with the result that adulteration do not work to grow sufficient food even in the face of chronic shortage, starvation and malnutrition. Most of the schools, other than government are disappearing one after another. This is employment of scientific research for the enrichment of the better and more nourishing measures of life and for the cheap type and exploitation of the people.

Let me give one more example of anti-Serowades research. India and several other countries lack food and milk. Both are produced in abundance in other parts of the world. Indeed the production is so abundant in some of them that if man had not been endowed with the intelligence for commerce, nothing would have been more natural for them than to select desert countries to take away their surplus food and milk. — The flowers which had blossomed for being suited by the laws for their beauty. But the commercial interest intervened and prompted them even to burn their crops and trees, bury their milk into oceans rather than even sell them to needy consumers for a price which the latter could afford. But this vicious destruction clashed with their scientific instinct of not with their humanitarian urges. So they sought the help of research scientists. And the latter abominably produced formula for the manufacture of synthetic rubber and several other artificial materials from grass and milk. The results might well be that (i) production of natural rubber and (ii) the consumption of corn and milk by the poor as food might become uneconomic. The latter would have to be advised to consume some inferior and artificial substitutes for corn and milk. But they would be flooded with toys, balloons and even houses and motor-cars of synthetic rubber as superabundance. All this is science misapplied.

This type of scientific research reminds me of a rich European who, I was told, could make beautiful toys, dolls etc. from rags. She could use any bit of cloth — used or torn — to make some beautiful plaything out of it. In the beginning rags cost her nothing and her dolls fetched fancy prices. It became a profitable business so that she could pay a little money to those who would collect rags for her. She could also employ some girls whom she taught the art. By

and I have learned by experience that the so-called "preservatives" (whether the tags referred to by some, bleached or dyed and otherwise useless) do cause changes in the pieces of meat (fish, etc.) after all the amount of fish needed to feed one, dried. And as from an industry which made material, it turned into an industry which turned good material into waste and then dressed it up for purposes of commerce. The skill of the artist and her actual economy of making use of the waste was somewhat alterable but when turned into an industrial business, it became a luxury which varied a useful resource.

A dozen similar examples might be given that Chondrobrachius (sharks) used to describe some of them in 1910, or some years ago. They showed that the transformation into processing food, then processing, the preparation of concentrated foods, the methods of artificial conservation, the so-called improved cooking methods, and the whole of problems relating to food materials etc. are subjects for which 1910's fish were completely worthless resources.

Dr. Chondrobrachius is a repeated visitor. But he does not speak like me when he rebukes those he disapproves: when in the name of science, I strongly recommended that food should be taken in for as possible in its natural state instead of simply cooking it, then he ought to "say and that as a scientist with a reputation to lose he joined some with them and had no reservation in affirming that it is a perfectly healthy and wholesome practice to prefer food which was processed to those made without salting, smoking, boiling, baking, roasting, etc." Dr. Chondrobrachius has read in the course of his journey.

Sharks have been found to make the ability to process a substance better, but in a much less degree than most by studying (using the natural can choose fish, shell).

At the University Institute a very good animal room has been provided. The intelligence of these creatures will make the learned doctors in making good foods for man, they themselves having this that capacity. And yet be some to say,

Let people take food in what nature offers. Not all the University Institute have any such suggestions. Some with artificial substances and methods to make the animal to their diet with the help of the natural house.

I confess that that is not the attitude of a veterinary of course, but that of an advertising agent of an advertiser.

Chondrobrachius let me repeat that I do not consider this or similar evidence. As I have said in my previous article.

It is a fish which should be substituted and what the fish-like one might be in its capacity to transform the substance from the point of its. Chondrobrachius is to be considered in personal presentation and interpretation, directed.

Physiological research is good but it must have a proper goal and perspective to work after. Warlike, 1946/50. K. O. HARRINGTON.

EAT TO LIVE

In the days of national scarcity it is a rule to eat less than what is required and a virtue to reduce our intake of food to the absolute minimum.

I think it was Gladstone who observed the golden rule of giving thirty-two bites to each mouthful. Some way remarked that he gave exactly thirty-two bites so that each of the thirty-two teeth should be given equal chance to do its duty.

Neither claiming to belong to Gladstone's category, nor being a meat-eater like him, I have varied the rule. In my own case, so that I bite every morsel of food about 20 to 25 times. I have been following this rule for the last few years, and find that the intake of food is reduced to less than three fourths of the original. In these days of reduced intakes, if my fellow countrymen will follow this simple rule, they will find that the reduced ration supply will last for some time. We have to try and grow more food on a nationwide scale and eat less food on the same scale and I suggest that thorough mastication of each morsel of food by every one will reduce the amount of food required by about 25% if my own experience for the last five or six years should count.

Thorough mastication of food is not only useful in reducing the amount of food intake but has got other advantages also. It reduces the craving for chili powder and other condiments. The pylorus in the saliva, mixing more freely with the food, makes digestion and assimilation easier. And it is a well known medical maxim that it is not what you eat that matters, but what you assimilate. That is a very true.

Of course, your family doctor may be rather displeased because if the whole of your family observes this good rule his bill will be considerably reduced. Again, the time required for the meal is increased by about 15 minutes for each meal. Thus whereas I formerly required altogether about less than 20 minutes for the two principal meals, I now require about 35 minutes. But whereas I formerly simply gulped down my food, forcing the stomach to do the work of the teeth I now enjoy my food for so much more time. And in this respect, Indians should not be hankers like the Americans. If someone here that he cannot spare the additional half-hour, being very busy, I may retort, "Well you cannot possibly be busier than Gladstone."

Eat to live and don't live to eat, is a moral precept worthy of being followed.

In short, grow more food when and where you can eat less and thoroughly chew and masticate so as to be able to digest and assimilate and you will not only help yourself, but you will help the nation to tide over the period of scarcity.

A. T. SASTRI

HARIJAN

May 28

1951

WHAT IS A SECULAR GOVERNMENT?

Shri Harprasad Tyagi writes

✱

Since we have declared ourselves to have formed a Secular State, doubts have often been expressed whether Government can encourage religious societies, provide religious education in schools, help such institutions with money, and so this or that thing. If it has any bearing upon a particular religion, in this article I have made an humble attempt to throw light on the meaning and implications of the secular character of India.

I feel that a Secular State should be understood here in the sense that India has no particular state religion. It will not make distinctions between citizens on the basis of their religion. It does not, and should not, in my opinion, mean, as it is regarded by a good many educated men, that a Secular State should not favour itself in all about religion, while according to them should be a personal matter of every individual and must be looked after by him and his co-religionists in their own concern—enabled as well as unaided by the State.

"This is absolutely a negation of religion and I believe if this is the interpretation of the Secular State this policy is bound to fail in India. It will be spiritual bankruptcy. We have a vast population in India, capable, in addition, not afraid to accept it without making serious reservations on the line of our nation."

It is the duty of the Government to rule the nation of living and maintain a Welfare State in which equally by the day of the State to provide proper religious institutions in the nation. Also does not live by bread alone.

Consider the statement

"I was surprised to find to observe that even the students of Mysore had no religious devotion in the State attitude. But if India is not to declare spiritual bankruptcy, religious institutions of its youth must be held in it as much as necessary as secular institutions" (Hindustan, 28/5/51).

I think mostly the negative attitude towards religion is not correct. The Secular State of India must follow a positive constructive approach towards religion. We must specifically declare that the constitution of the State of India neither set in the state a goal for every religion, but in equal regard for all religions. (Necessity) and I must encourage those institutions which give a total view of Religion. As suggested from a disinterested relation, State in institutions associated by or meant for the citizens of a particular religion only it should help in the power and guidance may such institutions in world, religious education or other branches to all points irrespective of caste or creed and Indians must retain for other religions also. On the whole, the Secular State must be open to all in a way belonging to any religion. There should be no objection if the State helps such institutions. Equally if a Muslim group or persons is open to all and the State is taught to all people without giving them to be Muslims, and also material interests of other religions in a universal spirit, it should be helped. Similarly Hindu monasteries, Christian monasteries, should teach their religions to all who desire to study them supplemented with the material teaching of other religions in a universal spirit. The

religious side, the right of religious freedom to State and equal for them it should be open to all people should not altogether neglect other religions and should in essence equal regard for all religions even though it specialises in a particular religion. If the State gives a lead by establishing such activities, material progress will also watch and feelings of inferiority for those different, commencing will develop.

In this connection I invite the attention of readers to the views expressed by Dr Rajendraprasad at the Bombay Intellectual meeting, (vide elsewhere in these columns).

"And Tyagi should prepare a position in which religious institutions common for all is prohibited. A disinterested institution might suppress this with particular knowledge of its own taking care to see that it does not try to monopolise space for other religious groups. Naturally such special teaching must be all those generally approved by the State."

"Generally a Secular State does not mean to be so, if it establishes personal laws such as Hindu law, Mohammedan law etc. To me it seems it is more in accordance with its tendency to remove such laws which categorise people on the basis of religion only. There should be a uniform law for all citizens in respect of marriage, inheritance etc."

"The Secular State should also be deemed not tied up interferer with religious institutions if they encourage financial activities or attract people or spread educational method."

"In short, a Secular State of India should adopt equal regard for all religions. (Necessity) as its ideal and encourage correct religious activities and should consider it as one of the important functions."

I endorse Shri Harprasad Tyagi's views and Dr Rajendraprasad's attitude as the only practical manner which can be adopted in a democracy composed of people belonging to scores of religions and sub-religions. Personally, I would wish to discard all religious labels in the same way as political and caste-labels. But in the realm of religion, the label-less religion might itself become a distinct label, and there might arise also a dozen varieties of it. Hence there would again arise the necessity of tolerating them with equal regard.

Equal respect for all religions does not conflict with an attempt to introduce reforms or to denounce the evils and untruths in any or all of them. A orthodox religion is also a religion and entitled to equal respect. Some of the reforms might be so radical and widely accepted that in course of time they might change the form of an orthodox religion or of all religions beyond recognition. That might render some of the old institutions useless and antiquated. Therefore they would become simply historical records or monuments of a bygone age. Now, for instance, the tales of Ramayana, Gita and Pancha gita. It is perhaps better that religious changes should take place in this manner than through violent struggles and economic movements. Struggles and reformations result when reforms, however good and rational are forced by violence. No one in Arabia ever tried to renovate in the mosque of Mecca the idols, which Mohammed destroyed after every Arab's conversion to Islam. At the same time, let it be remembered that he could not remove the Qasba. He had to

religious that celebrated around it. It was deenounced of him to do so, even if not consistent with reason. But, his fanatical followers used the power of the sword to destroy the temples and of non-converts to Islam. Hence, the urge to re-establish the old idols where a suitable opportunity arrived, lived burned in the hearts of the defeated people, and was transmitted from generation to generation in all conquered territories. Like the seeds of plants and insects, which were to be unsuspected in summer but multiply themselves in abundance with the bursting of the monsoons, the buried urge burst forth with great intensity as soon as the political subjugation ended. We are passing through a stage of this kind at present. It has to be certain extent thrown our minds out of gear. There is a desire to reject institutions, for which we have not much faith left. After a while we shall get tired of them and then shall discard them through sheer neglect. Let it be so. No doubt, it entails too much cost of wealth and energy. But it cannot be helped. The reformer should not despair if what he seeks to propagate through the reform movement is intrinsically sound and good, the conventional spirit will wither away as soon as its season is over.

Wardha, 19-5-31

S. C. WADHIVALLA.

TWO CITIES IN ONE

The philosopher Plato said that men often were not ruler and city two—the city of the rich and the city of the poor. In the last century a Christian Missionary of Berlin wrote a novel under the title—*The Two Cities*—the rich and the poor. History suggests that wherever a community is too sharply divided between rich and poor one of two things happens, either the “city of the poor” dies and starves, or the other, viz. the rich city, may impose order by force on the city of the poor. If our government were to set up a national government for the world continuously before it moved aggressively to revive the world’s economy, one of these two cities would surely starve, i.e. the community lives, the world government would be under heavy pressure to go Communist, or to go Fascist.

The city of the rich, based largely on the economy of the United States, sees this problem less clearly than does the city of the poor—the Moslems, half-starved, diseased and nearly exterminated millions. If American progress in Berlin is common phenomenon “to keep law and order” in the Mohammed City of Mecca is called “the task”, and he is all ready for to prove that those who are not enjoying life and who fear the house must fear that they lose houses may well be answered. There is a lot of fear and ignorance in America for a house to deliver us we go to bed at night asking, How can we sleep? But they ask, What do we not? These questions involve a pressing gap between the two cities—what that could do need our government. It is true that men shall not live by bread alone but should take particular care by “bread” to be passed between hands to those who had no bread at all.

Another way to view the problem of the two cities is to say that though law and order have to be enforced in nations commensurate by means of government, no government enforces them for long that does not believe about justice. Today the City of the Poor might well wish to know whether the City of the Rich really cares before setting up political housekeeping with it, before would require it more justice, or surely than a typical amount by the whole City on the desperate misery of most of its inhabitants.

(From *Balagopal Rao's Life's Job for Human Race*)

EQUAL RESPECT FOR ALL RELIGIONS.*

In our country particularly there is a very great necessity that each one of us should realize that the best course for him is to act with a sense of respect and equality towards every community and creed. For it is only in this that the welfare of our whole nation and country and of every one of us lies. It is because of this truth and conviction that our Union has adopted the policy of non-alienation and has given an assurance that every part and individual of this country would not be subject to any discrimination on grounds of religion and would be provided the same opportunities as are enjoyed by others. In conformity with this ideal I have respect and affection for all the faiths.

Even though I am a Sanatanist Hindu by birth and daily practice and ordinarily worship and pray to my God according to the rites of the Sanatanist creed yet I believe that every man of religion can reach God by worshipping Him according to the dictates of his own faith. So not only have I respect for all religions and their places of worship but I also go to them to show my respect whenever an opportunity offers itself. Whenever there is an opportunity I go to the Ganga and the Yamuna, the Church and the Gurdwara, with the same feeling of respect with which I go to the temples of my faith.

K. S. SUBRAMANIAM.

“VIVAHAR SHUMING MANDAL.”

A SOCIETY FOR SHORTER LIFE.

An Appeal

Much of our cherished expectations and hopes of material and moral improvements have been lately belied by the progress of events during the past three years and more. Many are the reasons advanced to explain away the sorry plight in which our country and we have been reduced. Essentially, however, this is due to our lack of social consciousness. We have so far placed our personal interests above all other considerations. The true concept of a corporate social life has not yet dawned upon us. This has unfortunately been our attitude as late for the past many years and we are yet on the same downward track.

It is however our good fortune that there are amongst us some people working in the various spheres of life—social, political and spiritual—where man interest is service of humanity. They are greatly pained and worried over this sad state of society. All such right thinking people are unanimous over that—that there is no way out of this situation until the moral values of individuals are raised.

Our freedom is dead and fruit if it does not raise our moral culture. A society can prosper only if its members have character and are self-disciplined. Religion is incompatible with a lack of morality and integrity.

The first step towards the attainment of this goal is self-purification. Not one of our deeds and thoughts must work to encroach equity, honesty and integrity. That is our prime duty.

Towards that end the Vivahar Shuming

*Extract from the speech delivered after the Congress concluded its business as reported in *Pragat Times*, May 12-13.

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As part of its mission, the Herald has the duty to observe "A self-perpetuating West Coast Western With Style in Sunday, 1st June."

consequently appeal on behalf of the Marxist world view, who believe in the absolute need of unity in individual as well as in social life is necessary, then, that with the activities of the

James C. Threlking
City Manager, Wash.
County, Maryland

1000

PLACE, UNIT AND EQUALITY THEOLOGY LARSEN

71—LOCAL WORK EVENTS IN 1994

[illegible]

and still are found in many European countries. In the early years following, when the young fish were in places which had no predators, survival rates were high. But as the young fish moved to places where there were predators, survival rates dropped. The young fish were found in places where there were no predators, but they were not found in places where there were predators. This was because the young fish were not able to survive in places where there were predators. This was because the young fish were not able to survive in places where there were predators.

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These data suggest that the use of a single, low-dose, intravenous bolus of 100 mg of propofol for sedation during endotracheal intubation is safe and effective. The use of propofol for sedation during endotracheal intubation is a novel technique that may be useful in the emergency department.

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Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the polymer solution on the apparent viscosity of the polymer solution. The apparent viscosity of the polymer solution increases with increasing the concentration of the polymer solution.

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They quickly changed course and began to pump out the gas and water.

From January 1991 and 1992, the following information was collected:

Coral Reefs, Everglades—**Baker**, **Lynn**. 1980. p. viii + 67.

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¹⁰ For more details on the model, see the Appendix.

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2000; 284: 2689-2695.

re-graded, and the road was widened to 12 m. The road was then sealed with a 100 mm thick layer of bituminous concrete. The road was then sealed with a 100 mm thick layer of bituminous concrete.

is used as a (non)linear regression model. The model is fitted to the data by minimizing the sum of squares of the residuals. The model is then used to predict the response variable for a given set of input variables.

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[illegible]

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 1, 1-14.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2000; 283: 2686-2692.

HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

HANDLOOM PROBLEM—1

I regret there has been a long delay in publishing the following by Shri Mare Krishna Mahesh. It has been slightly condensed without injury to its arguments. This will be followed by a reply to it by Shri Shankaradasa Jey and a note by me.

—K. G. M.

I must congratulate the weavers of India on the success they have achieved by their agitation in drawing the attention and sympathy of even those who were committed to the theory that the problem of handlooms cannot be solved unless there is universal handicapping. It is now admitted on all hands that handloom is not mechanically backed up with handicapping. It is the handloom which first attracted Gandhiji's ardent attention in the beginning. Then he gradually came to the conclusion that unless there was handicapping on a large scale, the problem of handlooms would not be solved. But the situation has at least changed in the meantime that it is now considered that the problem of handlooms can be solved even without widespread handicapping. Let me place the problem of handloom, as I have studied it for the purpose of calm consideration of all its aspects.

The exact number of handlooms working in India is not known because it is a flexible one. It is estimated that there are about 25 lakhs of handlooms in India and the number of handloom weavers is about 28,00,000. There is no doubt that if yarn is made available, more handlooms can be brought into operation. At the rate of 20 lb. of yarn per month per loom for regular working, 1,25,000 bales (1 bale=400 lb.) of yarn will be required every month for 25 lakhs of looms. But this much of yarn the handlooms have never got for the last several decades. During recent years the production of yarn and cloth was maximum in 1945 about 25,000 bales of yarn having been supplied per month to the handlooms. This created a glut in the market in the middle of 1945 to such an extent that even many co-operative societies had to incur heavy loss and export yarn in order to save themselves from utter ruin. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact reasons for this glut. The available statistics go to show that the handloom production since 1928-29 has all along been more than 1,250 million yards. But never before there was

such a glut as in 1945 when the production was only 1,250 million yards. The probable reasons are that before 1945 there was a certain export market for the handloom cloth of India in Ceylon, Burma and a few other South-East Asian countries. Pakistan also was a great consumer of Indian handloom cloth. All these export markets became closed in 1945. In addition to this, more mill-made cloth was available in the Indian market to compete with handloom products. The handloom suffered most probably on account of these two reasons in 1945-46.

The present shortage of yarn is more locally felt because of shortage of mill-made cloth. As soon as more mill-made cloth will be made available in the market, the demand of the weavers for more yarn will decrease proportionately. It is not difficult to give production of yarn to feed all the working handlooms, but there are certain other aspects which have to be taken into account. What was the mill-made cloth based on export market since 1929, the problem for handloom would have been not shortage of yarn but sale of its product. Due to cessation of trade between India and Pakistan, shortage of cotton affected the production of yarn in the mills. In 1950 for some months handlooms were supplied only 32 per cent of their requirements. Even then, no shortage was felt. Indian yarn found a ready export market in the neighbouring and other countries in as much as about a lakh of bales in 1948 and two lakh bales in 1950 were exported. Along with export of yarn, export of cloth also went on. Shortage of yarn and shortage of cloth both combined to make the problem of handlooms acute indeed. It was in September and October 1950 that shortage of yarn shortage was felt and immediately the whole matter was studied and steps were taken to ease the situation. But nobody can say that the problem is finally solved.

There are about 25,000 powerlooms working in India. Most of them are small units and employ weavers for their work. There is no control either over the handlooms or over the powerlooms. The suggestion that the handloom cloth may be exported and the cheaper mill-made cloth may be made available for the home consumption is not based on correct appreciation

of yarn. The handloom cloth does not create an export market, even though its export has always remained low. The countries which used to consume Indian handloom cloth have practically banned its import in order to help their weavers. Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma are in search of yarn and not handloom cloth. If yarn is not available from India, they might import it from other countries, but they are not to help their own weavers. Powerloom manufacturers catered to as a position to purchase yarn at any price and export their goods. A large number of weavers sell their surplus of yarn to the powerlooms and make a living out of it without doing the work of weaving. In addition to the powerlooms, there is a system of master weavers in Madras. It has remained an administrative problem as to how to control the powerlooms and such other types of small weaving factories.

In addition to all these, the clamour of the consumer to have cheap cloth is there. Mill-made cloth will always be cheaper than handloom cloth. If the supply of mill-made cloth is less than the minimum requirements of the consumers, then it takes the best of the price of handloom cloth. The two types of cloth bearing different prices create the difficulty of enforcing the price control. If the control is lifted, then automatically the handloom cloth goes out of existence. Here is a riddle which has to be solved.

Assuming it is so planned that all the external requirement of cloth is met from handlooms, which are supplied with yarn made in the mills, and all the mill-made cloth is allowed to be exported, then the consumer must agree to pay the higher price and reconcile himself to the less attractive finish. The consumers and the industrial workers might as well attract the sympathy of even black layers in favour of cheap mill-made cloth, in the same way and by the same means as the weavers have been able to secure the sympathy of even self-splitters.

There is a suggestion that the mill-made cloth may be brought to the same level of price as the handloom cloth by means of keeping a cap. This has to be considered along with the new problems which it will create, namely, the rise of the cost of living index and consequent increase of the wages of industrial workers which will again increase the price of cloth, thus creating a vicious circle. It has to be very clearly examined further as to whether the composite mills can be called upon to limit their weaving below a certain level and make available more yarn for the weavers. It is not the question of profit of the mill-owner that matters much, but the question of retrogradation of labour and of the continuance of mill as an employer and has to be borne in mind. The matter cannot be over-simplified by saying that

more yarn is not being made available to the weavers in order to retain the profit of the mill-owner as it is. The profit of the mill is something different from the profit of the millowner and is the profit of the mill, not only the mill-owner but a large number of workers are vitally interested.

There is no doubt that the weavers must be given sufficient yarn to earn their livelihood. The question is from where this yarn is to be found. First there is acute cotton shortage. In 1951, India imported cotton to the extent of about 15.58 crores and this year it will be much more because the cotton prices have very much gone up. It may be suggested that the Indian cotton may be used by making yarn for handlooms and the foreign cotton may be used for the purpose of mill-made cloth. In that case, the handlooms will produce only modest and coarse cloth and the spinning mills will have to be re-equipped for that purpose. Apart from the mills producing yarn for the handloom weavers, why should not organisations like the All India Spinning Association take up the work of producing yarn by means of large scale hand-spinning as has been taken up in Bihar by the Akshay organisation there? Capital for the work can certainly be available from Government and private sources. If organisations come forward to take up the production of yarn, then not only the weavers will be helped to a great extent, but the problem of distribution of mill-made yarn may considerably be minimised when yarn is locally produced to meet the local requirements. It was expected that when the suitable opportunity will afford itself, there would be a number of organisations in all the States imbued with the belief in the efficacy of regional and decentralised economy, to come forward and tackle the problem as it arose.

Here the problem which the weavers have posed requires production of yarn and that too in a decentralised manner. There is an opportunity to put the theory of black into practice. It is purely an economic proposition. Large areas can be converted into regular spinning mills producing yarn at every house and feeding the handlooms. If it is suggested that Government themselves should undertake this venture, I frankly admit that they cannot, for it is not their work. But they can and must render all possible assistance if private individuals or organisations come forward to do the work. I know the programme well and it is with the self-spinning theory. But that theory, as it is, does not fit in with the solution of the handloom problem as it has arisen.

At the end, I wonder if the complete change which this country has undergone in the pattern of her economy since 1947 has been fully realised by those who come forward to offer criticisms and suggestions on the basis of facts which are no longer in existence. It was certainly the belief

of everybody that, everything meaning normal, independence would help carrying out the policies and programmes which were enunciated in the course of the movement for independence. But when everything has changed as a result of independence especially after the partition of the country, the policies and programmes which were once advocated should be reviewed in the light of the new circumstances.

Before 1947, India was an exporter of raw materials, whereas today she is an exporter of raw materials and for that import, she has to find out exports which necessarily should be of manufactured goods. Last year, India spent Rs 55 crores on import of foodgrains and Rs 80 crores on import of cotton. There was no large scale import of jute, otherwise, that would have required some exchange also. This year the probable foreign exchange expenditure on foodgrains would be about Rs 170 crores. The increased shipping freights have further increased the cost of imports. There will be more expenditure on import of cotton. In order to finance these imports, in terms of foreign exchange, export have also have to be developed. Out of the total export valued at Rs 532 crores, cotton textiles alone were valued at about Rs 130 crores in 1948. Cotton textile exports are at the moment only second in importance from the point of view of foreign exchange, the most important exchange earner being jute goods.

These figures will clearly show how the economic position of the country has been completely reversed after 1947. If the thinkers do not apply their mind to this drastic change of circumstances, it serves no useful purpose by dogmatically repeating well-known theories. My concrete suggestion is that individuals and private organisations should come forward and take up the production of jute by hand-spinning and bring about regional self-sufficiency, so far as supply of cloth is concerned. This is the effective solution of all the problems which I have listed above.

New Delhi, 20-4-51

H. K. SAWHNEY

KATKI MANDALS

It is often said that the Charika Sangh may easily get merged into Katal Mandal organisation. The Sangh will act only as a linking link and a guide between the different Katal Mandals. Is this a progress or a retrogression of one of the largest constructive organisations created by Gandhiji?

In order to understand this we will have to draw into the past with the modern viewpoint. We are now independent. But of what worth is it? We are besieged on all sides by grave difficulties of food, cloth, finance and materials. We have to play into the hands of the great masters of the world who have developed a new

kind of imperialism. The need of the hour therefore, is to fight this new 'Satan'.

Katal Mandal is the remedy to rid ourselves from this monetary obligation. Every village, township or city should be so remodelled that it may not prey on the other but live in happy co-existence.

The finances of a village can be well improved if it becomes self-sufficient in food and clothing.

Gandhiji has given to the charika with this intent and purpose. And it is for us—the ideal lovers—to press its words.

Charika Sangh has taken up this as its mission. The reconstitution of the charika with this new outlook is the Katal Mandal organisation.

It is only two years since this work began. The progress so far made is quite satisfactory. There are more than 100 reorganised Mandals and about 500 under observation, as will be seen from the following table:

Name of the Area	Reorganised	Re-organised
	No. of Katal Mandals	No. of Katal Mandals
1 Assam	5	—
2 Bengal	52	52
3 Berar	2	11
4 Bihar	—	60
5 Coimbatore	67	25
6 Andhra	54	55
7 Tamil Villing	13	3
8 Shrikalahasti Villing	14	—
9 Hyderabad	15	8
10 Madras Villing	8	—
11 Tanjore	168	—
12 Kerala	101	49
13 Karnataka	18	25
14 Maharashtra	30	2
15 Bombay	11	—
16 Gujarat	54	5
17 Madhya Pradesh	10	—
18 Nagpur Villing	11	38
19 Chander Villing	18	8
20 Chhatrapati Villing	15	35
21 Narmadapur	6	8
22 Madhya Bharat	13	57
23 Rajasthan	33	36
24 Punjab	23	5
25 Ranchi Villing	—	3
26 Other Pradesh	4	19
Total	732	470

To begin with, the Sangh has proposed the following programmes—

- 1 Spinning for self-sufficiency in cloth.
- 2 Personal cleanliness, cleanliness of the surroundings and the transformation of all dirt into useful nature.
- 3 Mutual mutual co-operation.
- 4 Weaving of cloth for household requirements.
- 5 Self-sufficiency in food and cloth for making the village self-sufficient.

Deogarh, 15-5-51

H. K. SAWHNEY

HARIJAN

June 2

1954

HELP WITH DISCRETION

I am glad to find that the suggestions made by me in my articles for Co-ordination of Handicrafts and Miscellaneous Industries are by no means novel and the first of their kind. In fact Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta had drawn up a full scheme on these lines several years ago at the suggestion of Gendun himself for being placed before the then Government of Bengal, under Mr Curry. As I propose to place before the readers his latest views on this subject, I shall not say more about it here.

I have also received a letter from Sri C. A. Ayyanathan, Honorary Khadi Advisor to the Government of Madras and now a Secretary of the Tamil Nad branch of the A. I. S. A. Among various matters discussed by him, he comments upon my suggestions as follows:

"With regard to your suggestion in the *Strijper* dated 22.2.54 to fix one rupee rate for all cloth produced with different weaves I am glad to say that it is a new idea. I think along the same suggestion some twelve years ago Rajaji was then the Minister of Madras. The mill cloth was sold at three annas per yard, the loom cloth at 4 annas and khadi at 5 annas. The total production of mill cloth in the province of Madras was then eight crores of yards. I asked Rajaji to levy a 'Khadi-tax'—a contribution of six paise per yard on every yard of mill cloth produced and give it to the Charita Bazaar. All the three types of cloth viz. 1000 looms and khadi should be sold at one price viz., at 4 annas per yard. The total production of khadi in the Madras Presidency was then about half a crore of yards. The levy of six paise on mill cloth would come to 15 lakhs of rupees. The tax of selling khadi at par with the price of mill cloth will be six lakhs of rupees. There will be a surplus of 25 lakhs per year. I asked Rajaji to continue this plan for a period of five years while which time the surplus will amount to the 125 lakhs and with this amount he proposed the Charita Bazaar would be started in other collected and marketed oil to the spinning wheel and that would be efficient and popular. This suggestion of mine appeared in a 'Khadi Book' a monthly journal, then edited by me. Rajaji notified me with an assured sincerity and great air of ease of rupees and the market called at that. You have now come forward with a more or less similar suggestion, my present feeling is that the Government is incapable of utilising any such scheme. The reasons are obvious. The experience of the past decade have made me lose faith in the capacity of the Government and the honesty of our people."

Under such conditions your suggestion though well conceived cannot be worked. It will create another opportunity to unethical elements to exploit and abuse. Experience has shown that more State protection the way industry brings about only bad results in the absence of protection there is competition, and competition proves the will and the way for improvement. In the means, technique and quality of things produced, but where there is protection, the tendency is for exploitation of the state for profiteering instead of improving the quality and cheapening

cost by greater technological efforts. So your suggestion to fix one price for the crude cloth made by any process has this danger. The quality instead of improving will deteriorate every day because the price is fixed and guaranteed by the State. All the efforts for improvement will be short and useless.

I do not share his pessimism. Honesty and desire to improve may have gone down to a very low level just now, but they are not extinct. Indeed they cannot be as long as human life exists in the world. When the monsoon sets in all sorts of seeds put, sown or lying in the ground grow with intensity. They include useful crops as well as weeds. If conditions are made favourable useful crops thrive and weeds become almost extinct. Under adverse conditions, you see nothing but weeds densely spread everywhere, and you discover a useful plant with great difficulty. You cannot say that it is as easy trying to clear that field, regarding it as a hopeless task. You must begin from a corner and go an inch by inch. That is how our industries, undoubtedly much less in numbers than we are now and with cruder instruments than those available to us, cleared the thick forests of India and made a garden of it. Nor can you say do not give any protection to the useful plant. It will not be as strong as it would be if it is allowed to fight its way against the obstructing weeds with its own strength. In the same way, you cannot give up your effort of improving the economy out of despair, nor withhold protection to the physically weak industries out of fear that they would lose incentive for improvement. At every stage a wise minister must use his discretion to find the proper measure of help, which will enhance growth without killing the incentive to improve.

Wardha 12-5-51

E. G. HANIPOTKALA

CONTROLS AND BLACK-MARKETS

"In your article on Controls and Black-markets the remedy suggested for the economic ills that we suffer from is 'to put a voluntary control on the Institute of Capitalism and Intelligence and Individualism now of life. We must work for all this for all, and suffer for all.'"

"What to say of the black-market of our daily make economic world or political, world markets and we could only throw power and plenty. If we could use to the heights controlled by you. But the trouble is that the world is plagued with whole and diverse goals and diverse energies and civilized men, barbarians and semi-civilized, but creature in all stages of moral evolution in between the two extremes. It is said that the biggest enemy change the spots, then why expect a people to turn out a moral majority, or even in a *Utopia*? Nations are the products of repeated experience in international contact, and man is consequently selfish against them even if he had the will to put up a type, which is problematic. They are harder than the diamond, are used in the same brutal body to beat, and most potent with the chains of discrimination and the light happens one with the failure."

"So we should take the world as we find it, and propose a remedy that the patient would take. The doctor can achieve nothing without the co-operation of the suffering man."

"To my mind there are only two alternatives before us: an individualistic individualism, narrow, and directed to the market, or a totalitarian society of the Soviet pattern. There is no half-way house. This struggle is both inside and above the one or the other. Each one has, like to the inner end of the line. No human institutions were ever perfect, and none will ever be. To live in the work-a-day world and in further after perfection, is a contradiction in terms and a source of misery for the mass. — Dostoevsky."

This is a curious non-de phrase for one who pleads for a realistic approach to the problem. Whichever of the two alternatives suggested by the writer is adopted, let it be realized that none will work for even a moderate degree of happiness, unless the process expected to implement it have an adequate support of integrity, honesty and sense of civic duties. It does not require men to be gods or saints to observe strict rules of honest dealing and sense of conscience. Indeed honesty as such is hardly a rule of a very realistic moral code. It is just a piece of wise policy, i.e. a rule of conduct suggested by intelligent self-interest. It is wrong to entertain the belief that leading honest life is too difficult for ordinary men.

The writer's reference to the doctrine of incarnations and deterioration of the akasha etc. is an instance of what Gita has called *prajnanasakti* (philosophical nonsense). To the plain, very all the base propensities in man as 'products of repeated experience or incarnations unfold' or lethargy and complacency and want of effort. There are doors of good and noble propensities in man to a few bare ones. It depends upon the nature of efforts and surroundings, whether the good or bad ones will develop. The present downward trend in morals must be regarded as the outcome of an epidemic. However serious a disease might appear at the time, it has a short-lived character in an immune and all-pervading form. Even if it cannot be totally eradicated, and might persist in an endemic form as a few exceptionally bad spots, its highly destructive character can be quickly controlled by suitable measures. In the same way moral degeneration of the present type is not the nature of man. It is just an infection, and we must, in the words of the writer, "take courage in both the hands" and determine to destroy it. Try with determination and it will be seen that it is not so difficult to be good and honest as it seems. There is no need to take a rebirth to be just fair and honest.

Wanda (3/3/51)

E. C. HARRISMAN

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SARVODAYA — PRACTICE OF EQUALITY

(Wanda's Speech at Kharwad on 24/3/51 freely translated from Sanskrit)

Village and Townsmen

Wanda was glad that he could speak to the people directly, as they all understood Sanskrit. He came to Kharwad on account of their growing isolation. But generally he studied in the village because it enabled him to enter into intimate contact with the people. In a village it was possible for him to visit almost every house in less than a couple of hours. That was impossible in a city where a person did not often leave even his immediate neighbours. He distinguished between a townsmen and a villager not by knowing his place of residence, but by regarding whether he knew who and what his neighbour was. If he could give satisfactory answers he was a villager, otherwise he was a man of the town. People in the towns developed the habit of being for themselves and making no account in the lives of their neighbours. The towns where they seemed to meet together and with a common purpose was at the corner of a hotel or shop where they would stand in queue for some time or long without exchanging a word or experiencing a feeling of responsibility.

Town as Abode of the Wise

Wanda did not wish to suggest that this was a divine request of God. Modern men like it was perhaps in even in ancient times, the sainted have the story of the Brahmin who a king having heard the fame of a pious order of monks, with a desire to meet him asked the Brahmin to find out his whereabouts. The Brahmin made inquiries in every town and corner of the capital, but could not satisfy, who were enquiring about the who had. He reported the failure to the king. The king enquired where he had tried to seek for him, and on hearing the details said "You are a fool to seek after a wise man in a town. Go into the surrounding forest areas and you might find him there." And the Brahmin went back and returned successful. The king thereafter went in the forest and was pleased to acquire knowledge from him. "We in this generation might find wisdom," Wanda said, "but the Brahmin says did not expect to find any wise man in a city, while we in our own times have always opened our schools and colleges in towns. Has the Culture of Learning degenerated for here for the sake of some houses and a small band of wooden chairs and benches? He did not think so. There is no more learning and wisdom in towns and cities in the present than there was in the past.

General Education

Indeed we had village-people in towns. But they were not given adequate advancement of true knowledge, but for the education decayed. The schools and colleges gave nothing to the people, which would help them to live. They added to the number of unemployed and brought about their demoralization. Earlier Vaidikshala had desired this education to be given, but he could not stop it. Wanda had long about advocated the closure of these so-called educational institutions. He knew what to do, if all these closed for a year or so. Then it is seen the schools and colleges had hundreds of lives in its months in the year, and the villages had to be educated only a little longer. Parents would be far more benefited if their sons and daughters received education if they had received the right type of education than by giving them the present training of demoralistic exposure to keep at the end would an army of demoralized and dissatisfied and fruitless youths. The present educated man were a burden to the nation. Wanda said "The right education developed an healthy personality and brought no satisfaction to the village."

Recent Trends

He did not, however, despise of the modern youth. Wanda said, in spite of the surface looking through which they passed he was actually surprised to find

about the "Grand National Assembly," to continue to work there, to do all those things in which outstanding individuals find their strength. They believed that a man who would show them how they could actually share responsibility to work for their noble goal. They were attracted to Khomeini, Com. Chairman, not because they were in good contact to seek a solution for the present ills of the country. No when Khomeini placed before them his programme of political reform they responded to it warmly. This was a great ray of hope and Khomeini saw in it the evidence of faith that men have for the people of India. He has not desisted at this and our country could not go to India with such a weak position first.

India's Motion and Rise

India was a Marxist country going with you & — "Back to Russia is now... our goals have always rung. There was something peculiar in the history of India's effort for human progress, an element of which is a type of her disorganised nature she was looked upon by the troubled nations of the world as the pathfinder. Khomeini thought that the reason was that India's leaders early produced great goals which transcended the limitations of work, race, caste, creed, race etc. and looked upon the great Kark toward — and not upon any limited region thereof — as their motherland. That made India a people there — land of martyrdom.

But India was also a land of ideas. And in spiritual according itself, and she was not set off against each other. It was not that if there were two measures of good and three measures of sin, you would have to give credit two measures of good. The parliament for its part is not a national assembly and independently of the sacred for work. And India looked to this law too. They had assimilated the idea of universalism, Islam, foreign and Muslim. They had founded honest labour and looked upon it contemptuously. A business would not work a company could not work — as they as stated that, it was not, a god's man (divine). In short, every one was used to shelve himself from the responsibility to work. Those who failed were looked down on (ignored), while the respectable men live and outside. For this the India had been punished with catastrophe for several centuries. It was possible Khomeini considered, that the period of her existence was also over and that who was always that even in his parliament, had decided to give India an opportunity of having a new lead in her history. He could not otherwise explain the easy statement of independence in which Khomeini was made to play the part of just an Iranian agent. It was not, inevitably by our own strength that we had achieved independence. Khomeini could not have done it, unless that which we should achieve it. That was why the man, who we did not show any sign of radical change in our lives in spite of this remarkable statement. And except by assigning it to divine because he could not explain the burning desire in the hearts of men such as our students and college to divide themselves to fight with. He failed this question and looked upon it with great hope.

Message to the South

The word which Khomeini wanted to give to the south was message — practice of equality. He spoke about it in Congressmen's. They had a duty to set up a great spirit of their faith. It was an organization based by the efforts and sacrifices of some of the greatest men of our country. He uttered the most words in the South India who has more his friends. He himself marked his political intent. If they could not give up their — let them remain there. But let all work themselves for progress — practice of equality.

Harmony could not come through propaganda and speeches. It could come only through labour. Every man must perform labour according to his strength. For the weakest, Gandhi had suggested the shawl. He asked people to select any work of labour they liked in which all might join hands — the rich as well as the

poor, the educated as well as the illiterate, the urban as well as the village. At Hyderabad as well as the low caste. If all took to a programme of labour, all discrimination and conflict would be removed. There would be no conflict even between Hindu and Moslems.

DISHONESTY AT HIGH LEVEL

The following news-item, appeared in the *Frederick Times* of May 15.

"An extensive campaign to run out the profits of subletting Government quarters has been launched by the Estate Office of the Government of India. A large number of Government employees who have been allotted quarters by the Estate Office have not let them at abnormally high rents in violation. For one room they charge a rent of 20 or 30 a month. In better locations the rent is higher.

In this connection a thorough checking of these flats was at the recently built colonies for Government employees near Warrington Airport, was recently undertaken by the Estate Office. A report of 18 offences had been made a house-to-house inquiry to find out how many of the tenants were outsiders. Fifty cases of subletting were detected by the authorities and criminal action is to be taken against them."

This practice of subletting Government quarters, of course deserves severe punishment. But there hangs a tale. I understood on good authority that a similar malpractice exists among the members of the Parliament. A member of M.P.'s sublet the bungalows allotted to them and receive a substantial portion of the rent payable by them to the Government. When the law makers set such an example, it is no wonder that the middle-class Government employees outside the "tricks of trade" of their masters. I suggest that a thorough inquiry be made to find out how many honourable members of the Parliament have been making money by subletting "outdoors" in their bungalows. These gaily of malpractice and illegal behaviour must be severely punished and should forfeit their seats in the Parliament.

There is also another malpractice prevailing among the M.P.'s which is much resented by the people. Members are entitled to first class railway fare when they go to or return from New Delhi for parliamentary work. But many of them do not travel first. This means considerable saving to them at the expense of the poor tax-payer. Some time ago, a suggestion was mooted in the Congress Parliamentary Party that members should be given a first class pass which could be used by them when travelling for the work of the Parliament. This measure could have successfully checked the existing evil. But, for reasons best known to the Congress Party, the proposal was, perhaps "talked out." It is essential that members of Parliament should behave better. The people are, and right, by very critical of the actions of their leaders and if there is a class of Members which brings out these facts in a sensational manner Government must thank themselves for it.

THE VANASPATI MENACE

It is indeed tragic that our responsible leaders do not realize that the menace of vanaspatis in village economy and health. Considering for a moment that the use of vanaspatis has no deleterious effect on health, the advent of vanaspatis has spoiled the rural life and oil company restrictions, making these essential articles of food both scarce and dear by taking away the manufacturers from the villages, for whom they are a vital subsidiary industry.

It is necessary to examine these facts in detail to convince any unbiased person how the vanaspatis manufacturers by buying up large quantities of groundnut as soon as, or even before, the crop is ready, have raised the price to almost up to an extent, where it becomes impossible for the village-brother to even a small amount to buy and stock it. The price of oil has consequently risen to a level at which poor people cannot afford to buy the essential and only source of fat. It is not that the vanaspatis manufacturers buy up the whole crop, but by too high buying he creates a shortage and raises the price artificially. He can very well afford to do so because he sells his product at a very high price compared to all other his 500/- per ton more! Not all the extra price of groundnut goes to the farmer, the middlemen and agents get the lion's share of that inflated price.

Now about its effect on the glass industry it should be remembered that glass is made by our farmers as a subsidiary product on a small scale and not by a few big dealers. The farmer has some by-product of his crops, on which he can manufacture a few useful articles at a small cost. He makes glass from the milk of these animals. Hitherto he was able to sell his glass, either in the village or the nearby town, either by himself or through a village trader. He could get some cash, besides what which is a very essential article of his diet since the advent of vanaspatis, it has become almost impossible to sell his glass at a fair price. In order to compete with vanaspatis with vanaspatis has become common. Thus, while on the one hand it has become difficult to sell good glass at a fair price, on the other it has become equally difficult to get unsalable inferior glass. A vicious circle is formed, where an honest producer can not get a fair price for his product and a buyer cannot get pure glass. The main cause of this is the easy availability of vanaspatis for adulteration. The effect of this vicious circle can be seen in the villages. Less and less farmers are keeping cattle for glass-making and rearing crops useful for fodder and food. They sow cash crops, and whatever milk is produced is sold away to the cities. Formerly anybody could buy good glass easily in any village, but today very little glass is available there, and the use of vanaspatis is spreading in the villages.

If this continues long, we shall soon reach a stage when the farmers will be growing cash crops, buying vanaspatis and those who can afford milk powder for their needs, and gradually depleting the soil fertility, for want of manure.

This is the logical result of the Government's present policy of drift, delay and hesitation in dealing with the now universal adulteration with vanaspatis.

Thus, on the one hand vanaspatis spoils rural life and the villages and the keeping in the villages, and on the other it takes away essential articles of food such as oil, glass and wheat from the diet of the poor people. How can a Government claiming to serve the poor contemplate this state of affairs with equanimity passing comprehensive.

PANDARAJ JAYENDR

NOTES

Earthworms in America

The following note is taken from *American Reporter* of May 2, 1961, p. 14.

"American agricultural scientists have found that earthworms are an ally and for farmers in making soil more productive by eating and fertilizing it. Earthworms work day and night in all kinds of weather, loosening the earth and making it more porous so that it will absorb water and air."

"The earthworms also take whatever is in the soil and leave rich brown deposits underground in the root zone of plants and trees. These deposits contain magnesium, chlorine, phosphorus and potash that fertilize the soil. In turning up the surface the earthworms also make whatever valuable minerals are already in the ground available for plants to feed on. It is estimated that 40,000 earthworms will turn over 1 cubic yard of earth a month making 1 ton (2,000 lbs.) of rich topsoil."

"Earthworms are also considered economical, since some just live the ground they multiply rapidly. Raising earthworms for sale has developed into an enterprising business in several parts of the United States. One earthworm hatchery now sells and ships worms to Norway, Denmark, Australia, New Zealand, the Great West Canada and Alaska—Last."

What a good thing it would be if we imported earthworms instead of ready-made American shirts, which sometimes cost over thirty rupees each!

T. G. D.

Shikri, Marathi and Gujarati Shortland Classes in Wardha

Shortland classes in Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati will be conducted under the auspices of the Central Board of Secondary Education, Wardha, from the 15th July, 1961. The correspondence course will be conducted within six months and the working course within two months. Resident students will be treated in Shortland Typewriting. All the students completing their course will be awarded an diploma will be awarded by the College in the ceremonial conditions. All those who are interested in the course should apply to the Principal stating their age and qualifications before the 15th June, 1961. Printed application forms can be had from the College after an initial stamp worth 5 paise.

The fee for the correspondence course will be Rs. 20 and that for the working course will be Rs. 120.

Accommodation for a few students is available in the College hostel. There will have to be reserved by paying Rs. 10 in advance.

As the Government officers provide facilities and resources are readily in need of Shikri, Marathi and Gujarati shortland, it is hoped that students will take full advantage of these classes.

The course taught in the College is recognized by the Committee appointed by the Government Assembly of India. During the 1950-51 session 1949-50 and 1950-51, students from various parts of India such as Assam, Bihar, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Madras, Coorg, Mysore, Punjab and Gujarat were admitted in these classes and have received the diploma (Diploma) from.

THE PRICE OF GLUE

The very high price of glue is often given out as a reason for the manufacture of mosquito Shm Ruchakrations. Dago made a study of the prices of various articles of food during recent years in comparison with glue, and has arrived at the following conclusions:

The rate of buffalo-glue in 1947 varied from Rs 1 to Rs 1/4 per seer, the present price is Rs 5 to 6/8 per seer. An amount thus the equivalent of one seer of glue in the years 1950 and 1951 respectively is as follows:

1950					
	Quantity	Rate			
Luxurated milk	one	25 to 30	Rs. 75	per seer	
Onion, small	50	40 to 50	Rs. 10	per bunch	
Pulses (dried)	100 to 120	Rs. 2	per hundred		
Oil	one	4 to 5	Rs. 1	per seer	
Wheat	one	20 to 25	Rs. 25	per 100 lb	
1951					
	Quantity	Rate			
Luxurated milk	one	35 to 40	Rs. 100	per seer	
Onion, small	50	40 to 50	Rs. 20	per bunch	
Pulses (dried)	100 to 120	Rs. 10	per hundred		
Oil	one	5 to 6	Rs. 3	per seer	
Wheat	one	25 to 30	Rs. 30	per 100 lb	

The above table shows that the price of glue has indeed shown a comparatively less advance than other articles needed for cattle or human food. In fact it has advanced only to the extent luxurated milk and fodder have advanced.

The raw-glue has always been and will remain a little costlier than the buffalo-glue. This is unavoidable until we are in a position to improve the cow-breed to a considerable extent. This will take some decades even with intensive effort.

Consumers of mosquito need again and again to be told that the glue-like substance which they put on nothing but refined ground-rice or other oil. It need not be frozen. Freezing makes it less easily digestible, and more costly. It is the premium which they pay in order to deceive themselves into the belief that they ate glue. They not only deceive themselves but also encourage the fraud of adulteration. If mosquito was not poisonous, a great and easily available substance would disappear.

Wardha, 2-6-51

K. G. MADHUKAR

SECURITY IN BALLOTING

Shri K. Narasimhan, an Engineer at Salem Junction (Madras), has designed an ingenious box for preserving secrecy and preventing frauds in voting.

The box is said to have been examined, among others, by Shri C. Rajagopalachari (then Governor-General of India), Dr. Patilkar Narasimhan (then President of the Congress), President Rajendraprasad and several other ministers, provincial leaders, officers etc. All of

them were much satisfied with the invention, and registered with the patent office. They find some persons today have all congratulated the inventor and several of them have recommended its adoption for the coming elections.

But now the question is who will adopt it? The Election Commissioner's office is said to be feeling nervous about it, as it has never been tried before. It has been before leaders in Government for some years, and could have been tried at any bye-election or Municipal or Local Board election. But where is the leader or an authority who has the interest and the leisure to try, or through the trial of an engineer, of no influence? And so an admirably good and ingenious invention is lying untried for, while costly boxes of less merit are being prepared.

I do not know why it should be impossible for the Election Commissioner and his staff to examine it thoroughly, hold a demonstration through a mock election of necessity, and see if it cannot be tried in a few districts at least. How will Indian genius be encouraged if those who run the show, will shy off at it when it comes to actual practice?

Shri Narasimhan has obtained excellent certificates from about 50 men of importance. But in the absence of active help, they are like certificates of men who confidently assert that there is no more than knee-deep water in the river, but at the same time for fear of some croak and that no one walks through it.

Wardha, 17-5-51

K. G. MADHUKAR

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TWO ANNAS

HANDLOOM PROBLEM

Policy for Handlooms

Several points of a memorandum written have been raised in the article of Shri Mahesh Indu Narayan 2-8-60. But I shall confine myself only to the important ones. All quotations below are from his article.

1. In the first para of his article, Shri Mahesh is not correct when he says that

It is now estimated as all kinds of handlooms are not sufficiently linked up with hand-spinning.

I do not know how he has gathered this impression.

2. At no less than three places Shri Mahesh has shown his disapproval of the self-spinning programme, with somewhat of a thrust. I have not been able to appreciate its relevance to the main subject of the article. Mere depreciation of self-spinning is not enough. There is ample literature on the subject. It should be studied and the flaws if any, in the reasoning which led Gandhiji and the A.I.R.A. to emphasise it should be pointed out.

3. Shri Mahesh says

"There are about twenty-five lakhs of handlooms in India and the number of handloom weavers is about 100 lakhs. There is no doubt that if yarn is made available more handlooms can be brought into operation."

One handloom can easily be taken to support a family of at least five members. Taking into consideration, "more handlooms can be brought into operation", the industry can be a means of livelihood for about a score and half of the population of India. The question is whether or not this industry should have an abiding place in the economy of the country and the consequences permissible secured to the handloom weavers and whether circumstances should not be brought about whereby its goods can be easily sold and whether or not the mill weaving, admittedly its enemy, should be controlled to favour of this valuable cottage industry. Let the Government declare its policy in this respect on unambiguous terms. If that policy is favourable to the handloom and is earnestly pursued the various difficulties arising now and then will be easily resolved.

4

The countries which used to consume Indian handloom cloth have practically banned its import in order to help their weavers. If yarn is not available in India they might import it from other countries but they are not to help their own weavers.

Now, then not a lesson for India? Our yarn is being increasingly exported when the handloom is starving.

5. Again

The weaver must agree to pay the price of 100% for the yarn to the mill spinning factory."

As a matter of fact the prices are actually high and inferior stuff is in the market. The consumer is putting up with these disadvantages. The question of cheapness and dearth in terms of money is a matter of wider economy and has been answered many a time. It applies to all cottage industries. The question is whether they are to be therefore abandoned.

6

If mills are to be called upon to back their weavers, the question of subsidisation of labour has to be borne in mind.

This contention equally applies to all other large-scale industries which compete with the cottage industries producing useful articles. On the one hand there is the problem of retrenching a small number of factory labourers in the city, and on the other, that of the unemployment or under-employment of millions of village workmen. Let the Government decide it once for all. Really speaking it should not be difficult to provide some other work for the small number of factory labourers. In the particular case of the weaving industry a very small number in the weaving department may have to be retrenched, but many of them will find a job at the handloom.

7

Power-loom. Is power-loom not a miniature mill except that it is a decentralised unit of production? One power-loom, if efficiently worked, displaces about 8 hand weavers and even if inefficiently worked displaces at least 4. If the number of power-looms grows uncontrolled, will it not entail unemployment amongst the handloom weavers? The power-loom competes as much with the handloom as the mill-loom. We find in the market mill cloth apparently stamped as power-loom cloth and sold by the merchants at higher rates as there is no control on the power-loom. The Government's policy to encourage the power-loom as well as the handloom is self-contradictory.

8

Why should not organisations like the All India Spinning Association take up the work of producing yarn by means of improved hand-spinning as has

HARIJAN

June 3

1961

CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS AND POLITICS

The reader will see elsewhere in this issue that J. C. Kumarappa's article "The Next Move" is reproducing a I apologise to him for having omitted one or two expressions, which appeared in no bolder than necessary. My own attitude as a constructive worker is that while I believe that every citizen—and a constructive worker is a citizen—must take intelligent interest in politics—that is, in the right government of the country, every citizen need not be a member of any political party. And it will do good to constructive work, if constructive workers in general keep themselves aloof from every political party. There might be a few exceptional workers, whose participation in a political party might be unavoidable and for the benefit of constructive work. There might also arise an occasion, when almost all constructive workers might have to plunge into a political movement. This too must be regarded as an exception.

Let us understand the difference between party politics and politics. Individually, there are several Congressmen—even in the several colonies—who are as earnest believers in the Gandhian constructive programme as any of us, who have given to themselves the title of constructive workers, including San Prasad, Karmal, Ghosh and other dissidents. But as forming part of a political machine, their individual efforts do not count much. The same might happen in the case of the rival political organisation headed by the last mentioned leaders, particularly where there is not much ideological difference between the two.

Hence it is difficult for constructive workers to identify themselves with any particular organisation as such. They can decide only on the merits of the individual candidates. It would be a happy thing if either no political party is allowed to run contested candidates and every candidate stands on his personal merit, or if the voters get a chance of selecting from a panel of party candidates as explained in detail in a series of articles by me in *Harems* of 19th April and 2nd May 1948 respectively. But these wishes of these suggestions are likely to be accepted in my opinion under the present set-up of political parties, constructive workers should not identify themselves with any.

I have been asked by several correspondents to express my opinion on the dissident step of Karmal and company. I think they have taken an honest course. They felt themselves to be in a condition of self-dissatisfaction and ineffective political existence. Their discontent was well known. They had neither the freedom of an opposition party nor the satisfaction of working in harmony with the leaders of their own. Their step has been more too hasty.

Wardha, 20.5.51

K. D. MARRIWALLA

THE NEXT MOVE

Over three hundred years have rolled away since Gandhi pronounced that the "Congress has outlived its use". But a few led by Shri Prasad, Dr P. C. Ghosh and Ashwari Kripalani have now decided to leave that organisation with a view to creating a new one to breathe the breath of life into the Nation. What will be the means taken to bring this about is dependent on the minds of most of us. A convention of the Nation's well-wishers is being called early in June at Patna to consider this question.

Gandhi had suggested that the Congress should foster into a nation-building constructive organisation "an atom social, moral and economic independence as terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns" and leave power politics alone. Shall we have the vision to seek his guidance yet? Or shall we still run headlong towards the gradients of our own sweet will and pleasure?

During the British regime even constructive work had a political favour. The chariot itself had its roots in a fight against Manchester. All this has to change. Our efforts should be turned towards village reconstruction based on agrarian life. Village social and economic life should be so moulded as to afford a real base for democratic life. Village life itself should afford a training ground for the nation's service through politics. We need not archive politics. Our politics should be the handmaiden of economic life and not the boss. Even in the highly industrialised United States of America, Mr. Truman, the U. S. Secretary for Agriculture, states in his report: "we believe that it is in our own nation's interest as well as in the interests of the world's political and economic stability to work for improvement of rural living conditions everywhere and to encourage land-tenure policies favourable to the democratic ideals of human justice and dignity of the individual." In our own country, much more so than in the U.S.A., the agrarian reconstruction lies at the base of all our problems.

Nothing much can be done presently. We may organise village industries including khadi, we may work for the improvement of rural sanitation and hygiene, we may introduce day-schools and night-schools. All these will be good, but they will have no permanent foundation if the economic condition of the villages, as represented by a sufficiency of food and clothing, is not attacked through their efforts. The exporting of millions of tons of food-grain does not touch the problem. It is just patchwork. Hence it is imperative that at least now our leaders should turn their attention from power politics to constructive work.

The present Government, with all its pomp and show, has proved to be merely a stop-gap affair. It has initiated no new device for the betterment of our villages. Where some attempts were made it has only worsened the state of affairs because it looked the might into local

problems and attempted to mend matters from a distance. We need a Government in close touch with the life of the villagers and their pressing needs.

Will our leaders, who will foregather at Poona soon, grapple with the situation courageously and single-mindedly, on the lines indicated by Gandhiji and thus relieve our country from what seems now an inevitable doom?

A. C. KUMHARJI

MALTEATMENT OF HARIJANS

Shri D. Rangappa, Working Secretary of the Bharatiya Adhikar Sevak Sangh, writes:

"A conference of Harijan Adhikars was held at Mahilal, at Chhatrapati, Hyderabad Pradesh, where they discussed their common problems pertaining to work and to law. The President of the place—Mr. Mani Rajgopal, by name—made three deliveries by about 25 persons with Jatis in their hands, rounded the Harijan Adhikars back from and caught hold of other important persons from the audience, tied them up with ropes and confined them in a small prison. They were cruelly treated during the night. One of the most persons escaped and reported the incident to two Congress workers of Nalgonda. The staff of prisons were in indifference for 3 days. The evil menacing feature of this episode was that the tale of these mistreated persons was heard and reported very near to their heads.

The incident was reported to the Inspector-in-charge of Police who deputised a Sergeant for enquiry. As nothing came of it till the first week of April, the matter was again brought to the notice of the police and it is said that the Police Inspector of Nalgonda was exposed for investigation. The Harijan Adhikars—the Harijans of this area are also Adhikars—are justifications and they fear that nothing may result out of this enquiry. Descent is in a Calcutta of 22 miles from the nearest Police Station.

"Shri Sharmadhi, Member of the Assembly at Adilabad, Adilabad District Hyderabad, met the officials of Nalgonda in this connection on 24.4.51 who assured him that justice would be done. He arranged to get some working materials distributed among Harijan boys of Nalgonda Taluk and he is intending to start a Harijan Workshop at Chhatrapati.

"The Mani Rajgopal of Chhatrapati Pradesh claims to be the descendant of Rajas, and the other Rajgopal of the place are afraid of wearing shoes and carrying umbrellas before them. The Harijan Adhikars dare not wear white clothes, their women cannot wear saree, and they cannot even sing 'Aun Aun' in way of salutation to the presence of Mani Rajgopal."

It is currently hoped that the Administration of Hyderabad Pradesh will take a serious view of the incident, and if the complaint is proved, will effectively deal with the culprits. At the same time, our workers should endeavour to create an atmosphere of goodwill between the Harijans and the Kshatriyas. Let it be understood that worked in the act of the Rajgopal is they are as ignorant and backward as these villages, and have been brought up for generations in the belief that caste distinctions and privileges are Heaven-made. When we have still learned people who subscribe to such views that is not to be wondered at.

Wardha, 28-5-50

K. S. NARAYANWALA

NOTES

Vinoba's Tear

I regret Sarojan has fallen far behind in reporting Vinoba's tour through the Hyderabad State. His important speeches at the Servodaya Conferences, and the still more important and interesting account of his experiences in the distress of Nalgonda, Telangana, Warangal etc. have yet to be reported. He makes seven balls per week, while Sarojan is hardly able to give an amount of three. As his mission appears to me to be very important, I am unwilling to give quite dry and short notices of his tour, and it is not also possible to give frequently double issues. Other important topics and contributions are also on the waiting list. All these facts explain the delay. I repeat the patience of the readers.

According to the latest information, Vinoba has by now been able to get donations of more than 4,000 acres of land for distribution to the poor. It is all brought about without the help of law or force. It also shows that mankind has not fallen so low as we are apt to feel in our moments of depression. We must not despair. Harboured in an atmosphere of the appeal of non-violence, so even, if made by an apostle of love God willing, Communist-ruled Telangana might well turn into a very successful Sarvodaya area. I understand that the attitude of the Government to Vinoba's mission is helpful and appreciative, but not always, so that of Congressmen, who are in some parts quarrelling among themselves by forming rival groups, each trying to make what the other tries to achieve. This is regrettable.

Wardha, 28-5-50

"Dadaji" Rajaji

"Dadaji" (Grandma) Rajgopal, mother of the late Shri Jannabai Rajaji, died at Wardha on the 21st May 1950 at the ripe age of 82. Jannabai owed her religious bent of mind, largeness of heart and gentle disposition, philosophy and love for fellow-beings to her, and developed his inherited traits further to a remarkable degree, so as to convince people of all caste creeds and countries in a spirit of equality, even suffering a certain amount of criticism by his kith and kin.

Gandhiji, while offering her his presence would jovially catch hold of her ears. "You are a bad son," she would say, "to catch hold of your mother's ears. Now I shall pull your ears," and she would pull Gandhiji's ears with both her hands. This had become Gandhiji's usual practice whenever he met her, and both enjoyed the fun every time.

She had become almost blind and deaf, but was very fond of spinning, and spent hours on her charkhi so long as her hands allowed her these movements. Her yarn must have produced hundreds of yards of Aash which she liberally presented to relatives and friends. She was wrapped in her self upon ear, when combed.

All her time having long preoccupied her, she was looked after by her grandsons. Like a

age but she has dropped off in the fullness of time. Her downy hair can't be recovered. Her eyebrows and cheeks—her usual places of residence—suffered for her a long time, and her hair will be much like her two daughters in particular. As to her old she has rested in Peace.

March 10/51

L. D. M.

Wanted a Botanical Garden at Jeddah

What shall we have an experimental station at Jeddah like the one at Salt Water in Tripoli? This was proposed by Sir Richard Childer in 1905 against the Dar-el-Gezira Al-Jeddah, p. 76.

"To see the real possibilities of the so-called 'desert' one has to go to Salt Water. It is a 140-acre botanical garden, with an endless variety of trees and plants from all climatically significant parts of the world. Here they are tested and adapted to the rigours of the sea and the climate. They are watered by eight wells with tall windmills to do the pumping, and one can see the miracle wrought by water. Ordinary desert sand without treatment even with fertilisers will give large crops of properly selected barley and hundreds of tons per acre of lucerne. Here they have introduced Spanish cactus from America for several fodder. From Tunisia they have introduced 'Florence' sugar wheat" as an early growing disease-resistant high fodder. They are trying out various varieties of wheat which hold themselves to natural lodging and in windbreaks. There are great avenues of eucalyptus trees from Australia. There is the manna-tree, also from Australia, which with its vine-like branches and iron-wood can be an effective break on the winds. Egypt also has an excellent desert research station at Borg el Arab (Op. cit. p. 180).

Crops out of the Desert

At the Weisman Institute (Tel-Aviv), Israel Mr Childer was shown 'just three trays of soil. There were lamps when I looked at a vast expanse of sand and thought, "This at least is together" But in those three trays I had the answer. They were all from the same plot—a sand-dune. The first tray contained sand as it was as it used in an egg-beater, the second, a year later, contained lumps—it was becoming soil, in the third tray, at the end of the second year, the lumps were bigger and contained some humus, decomposing vegetable matter—the sand was becoming loam.

"Now the soil treatment the sand had had over 2 years was irrigation with water which contained ordinary artificial fertilizer" (Op. cit. pp. 180-7).

Lessons from Cyprus

Mr Childer also tells us how 'in Cyprus making has been speeded up by one of the most spectacular health campaigns in history' (Op. cit. p. 172).

"Before the war more than 14,000 cases of malaria a year were recorded in Cyprus. Out of

every 1,000 cases 180 used to die of malaria every year. Today there are no new cases.

The Great Liberator was Mr Mohamed Amin, a Cypriot who had worked under Sir Donald Ross. He organized a staff of 750. He divided the island into six districts, sub-divided into 34 sections, 111 routes and 36 blocks. Every single mosquito-breeding place in every one of these blocks was sprayed with D.D.T. once every 12 days until there was no trace of the enemy. An island was freed from deadly malaria at a cost of £103,000—just £10 per head of the population."

In Cyprus again 'trees have been planted—thousands of them. They have been planted round villages so what are known as "village tree oases"'. In a few years the villagers will by proper management and cutting, have their fuel and wood as well.

Trees have been planted on the barren hill-sides which were stripped bare and which drain off the rain into these horizontal gullies through which the soil sweeps to the sea. The trees have been planted to check this erosion' (Op. cit. p. 173).

Guru Gokuladash's Equations

When Hindu-Muslim brotherhood was at its height, Gokuldash included the following verses in his poems, prayers:

महामाया ईश्वरः ।

शिवः शिवः ईश्वरः ।

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

'O God, Ishwar and Alah are Thy names, temples and mosques are equally Thy places of shade. Give to every one of us the right mental attitude so as to be able to understand this.'

So also in an equally critical period of Indian history Guru Gokuladash wrote:

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

'Erie (the Creator) is the same as Eerie, Eerie and Eerie, There is no difference between them.

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

'Temple and mosque are one and the same thing, so are gods (Hindu worship) and goddesses (Muslim prayers)

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

महेश्वरः ईश्वरः ।

'Alah and Allah are one, so are the Puranas (Hindu Scriptures) and the Quran.'

For these quotations I am indebted to Sardar Gokuladash Gokuldash, the author of *The Alah Studies*.

3075

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TWO ANNAS

OUR FOOD PROBLEM

To The Editor, Harijan

Dear Sir

I have read with profit and joy your thoughtful and incisive article on "Our Food Problem". Our Food Problem is a very old one, but it has become increasingly acute since the second global war for three reasons: (1) the rapid and unhealthy centralisation created by the British Raj for its own benefit to drain easily war agricultural resources; (2) the creation thereby of huge urban centres of vast populations, either not directly employed in agriculture or wholly clerical or parasitical, but with a much higher scale of wages as against unskilled agricultural labour; (3) the rapid promotion under British Raj of exports of commercial crops, especially oil seeds, to the detriment of our rural welfare and ignoring local needs. If I am asked to prefer between starvation and minimum clothing, I would prefer minimum clothing. Our commercial crops grown at the sacrifice of our food-grains are sent out to get the sterling and dollar required for motor cars and appliances and luxury articles. Since we don't manufacture them ourselves, we are not entitled to enjoy them in the face of the starvation of the millions.

Our food problem is the most complicated of our major problems and without solving it permanently, through increased food production throughout the country, none of our problems can be solved and we are bound to die as a nation with a white cap on our head and Gandhi on our lips and a heart with black-marketing paleohunts for selfish gain.

Our food problem may be solved only if there is a total change in our mode and mode of government. We may not have as many appliances and motor-cars whether produced and bought in India or elsewhere, but we may have well-organised and well-built human bodies. Contiguous villages should be grouped together into a rural unit and invested with an efficient and virile local administration under the charge

of an executive rural officer, helped by a panchayat. This rural unit should be blessed with seven institutions: (1) the Basic School, (2) the Industrial section, (3) the Dairy, (4) the Agricultural Farm, (5) a Health and Sanitation House, more preventive than curative, (6) a multi-purpose Co-operative Society, and (7) a Panchayat under the control and guidance of a Rural Officer. It should be more or less on the lines indicated by me in my book, *My Address Plan for Rural Uplift*. There must be active and complete co-ordination among the seven institutions under the rural officer. This may seem on paper a huge affair to the urban-spectacular reader but it is easily and completely workable with a realignment of our Union and State Budgets on to other lines. The States are powerless today to initiate and execute on the higher scale any reform because of the paralytic influence on the village governments by the British Raj. Food must be made the major objective at least for five years of this rural unit. I am confident that self-sufficiency for the country is possible even without the help of the Damodar Valley Project, which when achieved may well be utilized for making us prosperous. As it is, we may even fail to carry out that programme.

Then, the present system of controls, a British legacy in war-crisis, should go and a new system of controls on a general basis suited to our temperament, character, culture and civil evolution should be planned not by our members of Parliament but by people identified with villages.

Our India replying will achieve nothing but chaos till we learn to concentrate on our many basic problems, administratively and with vigour. The importance given to foreign affairs and news is disproportionately great, and is even massive. For foreign policy is the father of the state bank and global wars. The emphasis is inherent when you gaze on with envying eyes lured by the newspapers and "scholarships" of your neighbour, forgetting your own duty to your home and self. Then war is always in the air.

Shrivatsan Ashram,
Raveripetnam K. S. VISWANATHAN

BASIC EDUCATION *

He who holds very radical and comprehensive views about life and has a desire to know things as they are and has the capacity to pursue his ideal cannot but have a definite philosophy of education. Gandhiji was such a man, though he did not express his educational philosophy in the particular length of the educationist or the psychologist. There is, at last, no difference between true education and the western half-disciplined one practices to attain the goal of one's life. The question is one of making school training a part of western or education for life. Gandhiji had been making experiments in this direction throughout his long and eventful life. His experiments with truth by which name he preferred to call his autobiography were in a sense, experiments in education for life.

Gandhiji has written profusely on topics pertaining to education. His speeches and writings addressed to the student world in general on the various aspects of student life have already been published in the volume *To the Students*†.

What is known as basic education or nat- ural was formally placed before the country by Gandhiji in 1937, after the establishment of responsible government in the provinces. As a result of this political reform, the Congress had come into power in eight out of the eleven provinces in the country. For Gandhiji this was not altogether a new idea, just conceived. The beginnings of this system can be seen in the education which he tried to impart to his wards on the Tolstoy Farm in South Africa, in the Seiyagruha Ashram at Sabarmati, and also in some measure in the institutions of national education founded under his supervision and guidance in and after 1920. Whatever differences there were in the latter were of the nature of consequential changes needed by the surrounding environment and immediate objective. In 1920, the immediate objective was the attainment of Swaraj—freedom from foreign yoke—through an expensive programme of non-co-operation with official education. In 1937, it was the consolidation of the newly-won, though partial, freedom.

Gandhiji was perfectly aware of the difficulties that beset the path of the new education. Every revolutionary measure has to face these difficulties. They arise from the hold which the old traditional order has on the people's mind and the values and interests rooted in it. Speaking to the Ministers of the various provinces Gandhiji said

"I know your difficulties. It is not easy for those who have been brought up in the old tradition to break away from it at a stroke. If I were in the Minister's chair, I would urge broad distributions that hereafter all educational activity of the Government should be on basic-education lines. If your inspectors and other officers of the Education Department have no faith in it or if they are unwilling loyally to work out the new policy, I would give them the choice to resign. But I do not think that it would be necessary if the Ministers knew their jobs and put their shoulders to the wheel. Mostly senior critics would not do the trick."

But a greater difficulty faces us now in regard to the fundamental idea behind the scheme. It is, how shall we teach the craft and impart knowledge through it? Craft, besides being a means, is an end also, and it should, therefore, be taught systematically and thoroughly as an end. Then alone can it show its potentialities as a means of education. The old system has an abhorrence for body-labour, the sense of high and low has entered into it. Consequently, it became difficult to carry on craft-making in accordance with the desired end, on the other hand, it developed queer forms under the educational people who wanted to use it as a means only. It was linked with the activity school and the proper methods. But even with this, actual education did not improve. Craft began to be taught as a laboratory experiment followed by some informative talk on it and a course of book learning. Again a routine course of studies must needs be finished, and consequently craft was subjected to only a few noteworthy things. Gandhiji has nowhere used the word *correlative*, he always worked on education through a craft and if that is done with understanding the curriculum that will emerge out of it will be the true and natural curriculum. In the present system the curriculum does not occupy this place. It fixes a particular course of studies for a year and believes that the meaning of the Wardha system is to carry it out by correlating it to the craft. Moreover, the old conception of education is still there. A study of Gandhiji's writings on this subject will be very stimulating and helpful in correcting these ideas. According to Gandhiji, the Wardha scheme was not a mere method of education. It was more than that. It was a way through education to solve the nation-wide problems of the country. Hence it was that Gandhiji called it his best gift to the country.

The national system of education of every country grows on a particular kind of faith outlook on life, and aims and ideals in conformity with them. Its educational system takes shape according to these. The present system took its shape after the aims and ideals propounded by Macaulay. The purpose then was to cater to

* Taken from the introduction to the collection of Gandhiji's Gujarat writings on Basic Education, the Gujarat Government is hereby published under the title *Basic Education for the Western Publishing House Limited*. Price Rs 144. Postage etc 4 rs.

† Published by the NewJeevan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs 7-6 Postage etc 12 As.

the needs of our British rulers at that time. It was never intended to serve national interests. That age is now past. With the advent of Swaraj and democracy, a corresponding change must take place in every institution including education. Democracy is now anticipated and absolute. But somehow its form still persists and thereby we see the safety of their interests in it. In short our educational system is like a body from which the soul has flown away. Basic education was conceived by Gandhiji to infuse life into the body. It was due to her genius that a new system came into being just at the proper time.

As stated above, the Wardha scheme is not merely a new system or method in primary education. Through it has been laid before the country the national programme of reconstruction of the whole education. Only if we take it up from the start may we find the necessary atmosphere and a way in due course. It was for this reason that primary or basic education was considered first and in detail. Even when Gandhiji put forward his proposal to bring about a revolution in the matter of education he had done so without losing sight of the whole education. He had divided education in two parts:

(1) Universal education that can be had by all the nationals in a country. This was called Basic education.

(2) Higher or special education.

Of the two the first, i.e. primary education, according to Gandhiji should extend at least to seven years and should include the general knowledge gained up to the Matriculation standard less English and plus a substantial skill in craft. This education should be the charge of the State, which should impart it in such a way that it would develop the mind and character of the student and make him self-dependent.

The other type or higher or special education Gandhiji would like to leave to private enterprise. The University people were very much startled at this suggestion of his. All the same it was an organic part of Gandhiji's whole view of education. And looking to the present condition of education in India the so-called higher education has become an top-heavy that no solution of our educational problems is possible without effecting radical changes in it. The place of English in Gandhiji's scheme, his thoughts regarding the foundation of new universities, his emphasis on the mother-tongue as the natural medium of instruction, self-help and body-labour and national language, all these touch the so-called higher education and are an essential part of it.

Gandhiji did give a full outline of his education in 1937 as is clear from the following:

"My propositions refer both to primary education and college education. I ask you have to address yourselves to a consideration of primary education. I have included secondary in primary education because primary education is the only education so-

called that is available to a small fraction of the people in our villages. The moment that primary question is solved, the secondary one of college education would also be solved."

The work begun in 1937 was almost closed when the Congress Ministries resigned in 1939. But when the time came for its resumption after the Quit India campaign in 1945 and onwards Gandhiji chalked out the outline of the education of the whole mass, from his conception to the grave, placing Basic education in the centre as the sun in the solar system. If we could really give that place to Basic education, he said, it would help solve many other problems before the country. Having given his last message thus he departed.

R. P. DESAI

(Translated from Gujarati)

MESSAGE FROM THE KODAIKANAL INTERNATIONAL PEACE SEMINAR

A group of young men and women—students, poets and others—stayed in public service, studied from many parts of India and America (America, Canada, China and Great Britain, representatives from India, U.S. and groups in Thailand, Austria, Sweden, Mexico, Portugal and the Pacific) met together at the beautiful Ashram from the 15th to the 25th April and there at Kodaikanal, Attankal, I. I. R. for three days for the purpose of working to one of the International Peace Seminars, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

We are all grateful for this opportunity for to all have gathered with the various products of modernity, life and have come to know and studied more deeply, we have known much and only too sharply to a deep unity of fellowship beyond the religious and national barriers, but that the very differences that each brings into the group contribute to the richness of the fellowship. We have become convinced of the rightness of this form of relationship and during our discussions and study to prove we have tried to discover how this can be applied to the world situation where divisions are becoming more pronounced and where differences of nationality and ideology are creating the causes of conflict and strife.

Our life together has taught us the value of patience for not all grow into true understanding at the same pace nor do all have the same sense of calling to witness and service. But with the approach which recognises that in the human family all convictions, values, faith and of value these need not be leaders or followers.

We have found it of great value to include in our studies not only questions of economics, sociology and philosophy concerning the world in which we live but also the actual problems of the life of the village in India. This not only focuses our attention on certain aspects of service to which the need is as great, but brings it to new heights into the nature of service and the conditions in which mankind may grow into an integral life. This in turn helps us to see new hope for the building up of a new world in which peace and harmony may prevail, and in which men may share the good life.

We are grateful to the American Friends Service Committee for valuing this programme of students and we continued to students, professors and youth leaders in North India. The technique which is adopted in these seminars is in the hope that they will carry on experiments in their particular areas. During hours of the experience and studies of the Path High School movement in England, we have faith that the development of the seminar movement in India may bring new inspiration and new vision to the people.

RALPH R. KENNEDY

HARIJAN

June 16

1961

THE PRINCIPLES OF HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

The reader will have noticed that in his reply (Harijan, 2-6-61) to Shri H. K. Mahab's article on the Handloom Problem Shri Shrikishnaswami Jaga has used considerable restraint. Shri Mahab's logic, I am afraid, is more likely to confound the reader than help him think about the problem more clearly. Maybe, he himself is not clear, for some of the arguments advanced by him go to show that either the Government or he or both have no clear idea as to where out of the various rivals in textiles they should choose to give priority, and hence the only policy they pursue is to try to please the one who makes the greatest noise at a given moment. One can understand a government not bothering in handicrafts at all on the ground that since the invention of the power-driven machinery, all handicrafts must be wound up as uneconomical, and the artisans occupied in them asked to find other jobs. Government might give them some dues now and then, but they must not expect to get the raw material for their handicraft if that raw material is required for a power industry. But Shri Mahab is not prepared to say this and wants to shift the responsibility of finding sufficient raw material for them upon the A.I.S.A. And he finds fault with it for not doing so. But he does not seem to be conscious of the self-contradiction in the first and the last paragraphs of his article. For, in the first paragraph he asserts that since the time of Gandhi, who held "that unless there was universal hand-spinning as a large-scale, the problem of the handloom would not be solved," the situation has so much changed that the problem of the handloom can be solved even without widespread hand-spinning. If so, how does the alleged failure of the A.I.S.A. to extend hand-spinning come in the way of solving the problem of the handloom weavers? Rather he should have advised the trustees of the A.I.S.A. to wind it up and create a new organisation for spreading a big net of spinning mills. If he had said that he would have been consistent and earned high tributes from some of our pseudo-socialist organs like, say, the Mail of Madras, which are keenly opposed to the Khadi scheme. But the concrete suggestion which he has made at the end is "individuals and private organisations should come forward and take up the production of yarn by hand-spinning and bring about a regional self-sufficiency, so far as supply of cloth is concerned. This is the effective solution of all the problems, which I have listed above".

Shri Mahab refers to the change of circumstances in a result of the Partition. But whatever those might be, they do not affect the following propositions:

(1) that only hand-spinning will solve the problem of large-scale unemployment, by providing partial employment to the masses and full employment to handloom weavers.

(2) If power-loom, whether mechanised or demechanised is prohibited, and mechanisation is confined to spinning, it may be possible to find employment for the handloom weavers, but the problem of the partial unemployment of the masses will remain unsolved.

(3) That neither hand-spinning nor handloom weaving can succeed if either of them has to face the competition of the mill-industry.

(4) that hence, the mill-industry should either entirely stop, or it should be coordinated with the Khadi industry, and its scope should be limited to fabrics made for export or to such cloth for special purposes as cannot be made on the handloom.

(5) that nothing is surlier to the nation than having to keep its hands idle, while its muscles which are constantly multiplying have to be fed.

(6) that humanly speaking, there appears to be no prospect of finding sufficient employment for even a part of our people, if articles are produced as much as possible by power-driven machines, and large numbers of men and cattle must be systematically killed off annually so that mechanisation might prosper and the standard of living of the survivors might rise.

(7) that the killing would require the employment of one or more of the following violent means: starvation, taxation of the mill-owners, forced expropriation, compulsory sterilisation, killings on the ground of race, religion, sex etc., conquest of territories for colonisation, total wars.

(8) that if this is to be avoided the responsibility to find full employment for one's nationals must be regarded by every government as more important than increasing the volume of foreign trade and encouraging businessmen living in the name of raising the standard of living.

(9) that the test of cheapness is not the difference between the unskilled money price of mill cloth, handloom cloth or Khadi-cloth, (or mechanically produced and hand-made goods) but the total national difference between the total values consumed by the people and those returned by them in the form of produced articles.

These propositions are good now as they were before Independence and Partition. They are matters about which the Government has to make up its mind. The question is whether

Kari Mahajan has his faith in power-operations and power-houses or shorkhas and handlooms. If he has it in the latter, as a duly empowered minister of the Central Government he should be able to do much more than what he would be able to do as a Secretary of the A.I.S.A. If he has in the former he has greater faith in power-operations and power-houses, how else he expects the A.I.S.A. to successfully carry out the policy of khadi in the face of an actually hostile industrial policy of his own? The A.I.S.A. would be actually wasting the public money which Government wanted to throw away for just playing with khadi, village industries etc.

Wardha, 21-5-61

S. G. BHAKTEWALA

ON WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLI

(A DIARY OF YOUNG MAN HARJIAN)

XI

March 30th, Narayangpur (Twenty-third Night, 17 miles)

Before starting at Narayangpur (Wardha) and looking at Balamoor for last an hour. He had worked in the morning fields in fever and now began to prepare Group. This brought them the newspapers a little but in this very week, Group was an effort. Usually he is a fast worker, and a walk of twenty miles does not fatigue him much. He was all equipped like an inviolate, the journey of Balamoor but he finally decided, "God is a witness to all our passions—change in a moment comes. Unconsciously he says: Decision after failure has got to be fulfilled. This march is a witness here. It will eliminate the fever." It was said to argue say more. We prayed and hoped that God Who gives strength in the time to think a moment, will protect him. He was God's own handmaid at Balamoor, while Vinoba addressed a few words to the people who had gathered to listen to him. In his brief speech he comprehended the people the surrounding a good and able worker in that Narayan field and hoped that he would be inspired to establish Khadi-ops in that village and the people would strive to let the necessary requisites.

The British Habit

The village was very clean and that British habit was much loved by the people. The most of them were educated in drinking. Vinoba referred to him and asked them to get a map to the town of Wardha. The idea of which was up to thousands of people. It made them dull. It was against religion and it was the duty of the good people in the village to educate the public and put a map in the wall.

Narayan Field

And Narayan Field had been a victim of the British warship. In an attack upon the life he had lost two of his fingers, and his jaw had become distorted by one on both the sides. Much of wounds could be seen on the hand and shoulder also. His offense was neither of Khadi nor sympathy with the Congress. The Man had lost his life only when they thought he was dead. His recovery and marriage had won for him the attention of the public. He played himself to carry on Khadi-ops work in the village interior.

We left Balamoor for Narayangpur. We were with one and a half miles away when our car began to see the out of a population of 4000 about a distance had come to greet Vinoba with garlands in their hands and singing Karamdhun. It was already eleven and by the time we reached our destination. It was already twelve. Vinoba had gathered sufficiently and so he looked and slept.

In his post-prayer speech Vinoba spoke to the people about his fever. He was not sure he said whether he would be able to finish the tomorrow's journey of three days. But in God's name they started and by the noon had arrived there. He arrived there that he was free from suffering.

Power of God

And narrating his experience about the strength that is in the name of the Lord he said:

"Divine power is inexhaustible. You can draw as much from it as you like. It has not happened till now that you have asked it and not got it. But asking is not art. You must know how to establish contact with the Lord. To establish such contact is the very aim of human life. Don't we see that the life of the farmer is full of such contact? If it rains he is grateful to the Lord. If it does not, it is God whom that he remembers. That is why the farmer's life is the picture of an eternal. In spite of the burden of labour that he puts in, he is never tired that the crops were due to his efforts. For him it is but the Lord's grace. At every step he feels so grateful about Him."

Work and Abuse

And then giving the example to understand the gift bestowed by the Lord Vinoba said:

"We are these small ones, all around us. There are God-given gifts, but we have abused them. The land which we could utilize for grain, to make vegetables and other and the water which could supply us for our needs for almost drink, that killing both soil and life."

We gave also other illustrations of how we abused God's gifts of water as one of them. For instance growing tobacco for the good of money was abuse of land, not growing any other at all but making all expenditure to grow tobacco in the same category. For making use of water and was an instance of abusing wealth. He wanted the people to understand that all these could be utilized for human welfare and should not otherwise be abused. Servitude was not possible unless they worked for it. If they asked for it without working any effort, God would simply be laughing at them. For certainly He did not create them to make them unhappy, but if they spent but among themselves, He could not help them. God's gift was to take the name of labour (God). Why labour He associated the name of other also. But we are busy with money. But the wisdom returned this. That is how man operated among themselves, in the name of God His gift. For servants could come under such circumstances. They must all find the children of the same father and have one mother.

In India, Vinoba said, people complained of the growth of population. But if they could only properly utilize the gifts bestowed upon them by the Lord, India had sufficient resources even in the present, for a peaceful and prosperous life. Instead of employing wild animals, people submitted to laws of the number of children. Instead of various means of abortion was an impossibility. That child state is happiness (Sukh) which is the result of self-reliance. Such a good world for a devotee of the Lord. It would not be a burden to mother earth, for it was not the burden that was burdensome in her but the evil of man. Let us conquer our passions. Let us have to make the best of the God-given gifts. Let us overcome ourselves for each other. Let us remember Him in happiness as well as in sorrow, and just like the Lord, let us join every action of ours with Him. It is only then that, servants will have fruit, and making but servants will have fruit.

Discussions

After prayer Congress workers sought clarification of their doubts in their day-after work. Narayangpur was self-sufficient in food. Due to the famine from the Bham Nagar it had been turned from (for food) to a self-sufficiency. The public farms presented a delightful sight. It was up

given right up to the horizon. The production had increased immensely day in, day out, day after day. The food problem had to be solved. There were a few tanks but they had their limitations. Rubber shoes were rare and the workers had also complaints against the Government itself. The Indians also had approached the workers, that the crops had failed. And it is not two men had got to be paid. Should we not make agriculture in Kerala?" One of them asked, "You should," came the reply. "But when can it be? We alone is qualified to offer assistance. Who is engaged in the service of the people. Congressmen are more busy with their constituents than with service. Whether service they render is not, without some ulterior motive. The Christian missionaries were the depressed classes, but in their heart of hearts they hope to be able to convert at least a few more day or another. Their service also is not entirely selfless. Congressmen do not accept cooperation. It is to me from the Indians because I would add to the philosophy of the letter and may otherwise affect the election. This is said to have happened in Bihar at the time of the Gandhi Memorial Fund. The people have to be convinced about our freedom. They must feel that working for service is our reality. Much Congress workers are very few. People are attracted to the work and have Congressmen provided even for persons to give up drink." Christian missionaries have described to this effect, "Why would they not find any meaning in Government? They would not, because people have not followed and followed. Institutions such as the Christian Church, the Muslim Church, Hindu and the Hindu Church have founded their religious institutions. How many Congressmen take in terms in their institutions? They think that it is not their work but of other people."

Q. Is not the Parliamentary programme equally essential for the country? Would you call it service if Congressmen contribute their energy in that field?

Prasad: They cannot go out to do parliamentary work. That is exactly what I said. You have then no reason to complain if the people and the Government both look upon you with an eye of suspicion. Can't you yourself study the behaviour of others when they meet that staff?

Q. What should there be done with the Congress organization?

Prasad: It should engage itself in the work of service. And the workers engaged in doing, when there is no possibility of immediate work? And what real work have Congressmen in the present? Recruitment of members who could pay no regard towards membership, maintaining registers, organizing elections and carrying on administrative work? This that all I and look to their way of work under the cloak of selfless membership. Hundreds of defective institutions were also created. Is there any place left for the poor in the Congress after the accumulation of power by it? And what a cheap practice in recruiting and in distributing membership forms and delaying the elections. Is it of service?

Q. When then must we do, Prasad? You agree that we shall we have the Congress? This thought is their constant one, isn't it?

Prasad: Do not have the Congress. It is a great organization, when a large part, its defect is that its workers have no programme before them. Let them accept a programme and engage themselves in it without delay. The Government of Madras and Bombay have introduced Publicity. Why should not Congressmen take up that programme and make it a success? It is unreasonable that the direction coming from the leadership to the subordinate committees make an analysis of any subordinate programme. Now is it possible to introduce its prestige without service? You have been explaining old prestige but that won't help you long.

The workers looked with great interest. Nobody had spoken to them so candidly.

Some of the workers had come across Marjorie in Bombay and they also wanted their doubts on that subject to be cleared.

Q. It is Marjorie takes to violence done by her?

Prasad: Marjorie would tell you that it is the worst in her. He was an Indian man. When you have your own Government, a lot of energy will have to be devoted to restoring the violent and unsteady elements in the country. That will leave no time for service. And the Marjorie who want to serve will get an opportunity to do so. Owing to lack of service and due to their violent activities, not only will they not succeed in the elections, they may not even get a chance to contest the elections. And let people who have got to contest and why the elections, is it not?

Q. Do you think that the Congressmen movement can be brought under control by the present policy of the Government? The Government has been trying for the last five years to bring the Communist situation under control. But neither the Government propaganda nor the repression has succeeded.

Prasad: But it is not only the Congressmen that are involved in these activities. Gandhi and Gandhi have also showed it. The people are increasingly alarmed with this latter element, and with the people alarmed and supported by Gandhi the Congressmen are limited. When Congressmen and Gandhi join the same programme of that movement, the rate of the deaths will increase and that of the Congressmen will decrease and one has moving the Congressmen will find themselves badly affected.

Q. The present situation is like this. The leaders, however the Government. For years a door kept on to close. The usual reason people with the leaders is to refer to the Government. The Government of India, it is also clear with the Government. What is to be done under such circumstances?

Prasad: Another and right path must be shown, namely the path of isolated service and propaganda with economy. But you must remember that a lot of gold before obtaining the proper means even are lost. Let about this. Gandhi could handle it because every one had that confidence in him. He who has such confidence can show that word that word.

At night before going to sleep I saw that a batch of armed men were posted in the gate of our residence. They had come under instructions from the D. D. P. I requested him to remove the guard at once. The D. D. P. I had instructed for our refusal to accept their protection but insisted the guard to be removed. I could not resist. Visiting to be his safety too. I hope that he who had completely surrendered himself to the Lord would be protected, for to him every being was but the Lord himself.

D. D.

Shivarampalli Report

The Hindi Report of the Proceedings of the Sarvodaya Sangathan at Shivarampalli is now available from the Secretary, Sarva-Sara Sangh Sangathan, No. 1. It has also been published in the May number of the Hindi Sarvodaya.

Witcha, 1-6-61

K. D. K.

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PANNAI ASHRAM

Although the cultivator is the basic producer of wealth, especially at the head most of us need — raw materials for food, clothing and shelter — yet we know he is always poor and neglected. What is this phenomenon due to? Who gets him out of his dirt? Or is he inefficient? Or is it the fault of the land? These and other questions have been answered times without number in innumerable ways. But they have nearly been done with by academicians. We need to tackle the problem directly by living on the land and by eliminating enormous disturbing factors so as to be sure of the purity of the details sought.

For this purpose the Pannai Ashram has been formed by the Ashai Namas Sarva-Sewa Sangh. It was inaugurated by Asharam J. B. Krippland on the 19th May, 1951, at Solich. It will work under my direction. "Pannai" is from Tamil and means "farming."

Solich the village where the Ashram is located is an ordinary small village with a population of about 700 persons. It is 25 miles from Nagpur and 30 miles from Wardha. It is the last village in Wardha district on the Wardha-Nagpur Road. The nearest railway station, Solich, on the G. I. P. Railway is about 4 miles away. It is served with a weekly mail from the Solich post office. It has an elementary school run by the Jajapeda Sahas. There are about 80 children on the register.

The village has about 1,800 acres under cultivation. Being at the foot of the Sahasra Range there is an ample supply of water and plenty of vegetation. The land is naturally undulating.

With all this the village is poor and dilapidated, though it lays good claims to close connections with Shri Nageshji Bhamburda in whose time it seems to have enjoyed its heydays.

The population depends mainly on agriculture, all the occupations having died out in course of time. There are still about 40 houses of rich but there are no shops working. There is a sprinkling of Gandharvas.

The main crops are jowar and cotton. The latter being a money crop.

The cattle are also in an equally pitiable condition.

Within a five-mile radius there are about four more villages much in the same condition.

The Ashram proposes to take up balanced education as its central activity along with the usual agro-industries to support its members. Its life will be dovetailed into that of the village and it will work their full cooperation in rural reconstruction work. There is need for a Bal Mandir, a Basic School, a Dispensary and an organisation for the rural welfare work. The villagers are willing to render their share of help in all these activities.

The Ashram will consist of (1) members, (2) associates and (3) citizens.

1. The members will be whole-time workers carrying out any chores assigned to them.

They will get the materials needed for a balanced diet (they may have their own cooking), raw cotton needed for their clothing and house accessories. They will be given a small cash allowance. Their children will attend the Basic School. They will partake in all Ashram activities.

2. Associates will be such of the villagers who wish to take part in our programme other than the one connected with our cultivation. They will be part-time honorary workers.

3. Citizens will be those who come to us from outside the village to share our life for a period of two years or more to observe and study our programme by actively taking full share in it during the period of their stay. They will be given their balanced diet, cotton for their clothing and shelter but no money allowance. In effect they will function as temporary members.

It is hoped that the Ashram will get into full swing after the monsoon. In the meanwhile those who are interested in this new experiment and would like to join it are invited to get into touch with the writer at Hapurwadi, Wardha.

J. C. BHAMBURDA

REPEATED VACCINATIONS AND INOCULATIONS

I protest against the decision on January 17 of the Bombay Municipal Standing Committee as the suggestion of the Health Officer to revaccinate every three years. Municipal school children for small-pox and inoculate them for typhoid fever every year. It is a great pity that no member of the Bombay Municipal Standing Committee had the knowledge or the courage to ask the Health Officer how it is that millions of British children who have never been vaccinated at all during the last forty years are free from small-pox. It is said that permission of the children's parents will be taken. But the story will be different in practice. When permission for permission will easily be cranked on the poor ignorant parents of Municipal school children. But the very idea of repeated vaccination is outrageous. The health of children cannot be guarded by injection of poisonous vaccine. The proper thing is to feed the poor children well and educate them on clean living from Mahatma Gandhi's excellent book *Key to Health and Guide to Health*. Cleanliness alone has obliterated plague, small-pox, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, cholera, dysentery in England and U.S.A. One often reads in letters, in newspapers from intelligent correspondents who lately complain that streets in which they live in Bombay are extremely filthy and unclean. Members should therefore be taken by the Health Officer and Health Minister to clean these filthy and unclean streets instead of resorting to vaccination and inoculation. Mexico, Italy, Japan and

*Health in India, the older book, was withdrawn from circulation long ago. It was replaced by the later *Key to Health* which is the best book written by Gandhi. Published by the Sarvagana Press, price 12 Rs with postage.

Portugal which are poverty-stricken and insular countries and in which vaccination and re-vaccination are compulsory every three years suffer from frequent terrible epidemics of smallpox. I, therefore, request the Congress party in the Bombay Municipal Corporation not to approve the Health Officer's plan to revaccinate Municipal school children every three years when the matter comes up before the Corporation.

SHAMANT K. SHINDE

Győr—I am in agreement with the writer's view against vaccination. But unless the affected people are prepared to put in their effort, no reform is possible. It is not difficult to resist vaccination if the parents of the children do not want it. But if they are willing to submit who can help them? What is necessary for Anti-Vaccination Associations etc. is to educate public opinion, to make parents write to the authorities that they do not wish to have their children vaccinated or inoculated, and to take steps against officers, if their written notice is ignored. The Associations must also organize at the same time movements for proper removal of filth and dust from houses, streets etc. The writer cannot escape the punishment of epidemics or in the alternative a milder epidemic and less effective punishment of vaccination, and inoculation, if it does not lead a clean sanitary life, and is not able to take a nourishing balanced diet. It must be realized that no government or Municipality can maintain ideal cleanliness and sanitary conditions, unless the people cooperate with them in the work. Thus we do not blame the authorities for not adopting the crude and swift measures of vaccination inoculation etc.

Wardha 30-1-61

K. G. M.

THE USES OF MANGO KERNEL

Inquiries have been made about the manner in which mango kernel may be used for food and other purposes. Shriwant Likant Munde has sent me a fairly exhaustive report prepared by the Division of Chemistry of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi dealing with the subject. Further investigations are in progress at the Mysore Technological Research Institute also. I regret want of space prevents me from giving Shriwant Munde's note in early publication and delayed publication might not be of use during this season. I hope Shriwant Munde will see to it that it is made available to the public through other channels. In the meanwhile it may be sufficient for the ordinary citizen to know that

(i) It is not suggested that people should take to eating mango kernel to the exclusion of other cereals. It is not a substitute for cereals, but when the latter are not available in sufficient quantity, the diet can be supplemented by mango kernel.

(ii) The easiest way of using it appears to be to beat the kernel into small grains and boil it with rice or grind it to flour and mix it with other flour for preparing chapatis etc. Raw kernel has a somewhat astringent taste, and may not be relished by or agree with sensitive people. But if the kernel is broken into small grains and washed with water and slightly boiled and a part of the water is removed, the astringent taste and the tannin materials would be removed and the difficulty of tolerating it would disappear.

A more perfect way is "to wash the whole kernel overnight in water and then to grind it to a paste, which is to be washed until the astringent taste is removed. The washed material is finally dried and used as flour" (Shriwant Munde's note). This would be very nearly making it into malted (white) flour, and could be used in the same way as other cereals.

(iii) Mango kernel contains more fat, and calcium, phosphate and other materials, and has a higher caloric value than other cereals. Some of these will be lost in wastage, but if it is used in the raw state, it would be a good corrective to deficiencies in the normal diet. Indeed, it is believed that the evil effects of mango pulp are removed by the kernel.

The conclusion I arrive at is that it may be safely used along with other cereals to supplement the latter. Even as it is, however, large quantities might appear during the season, it is surely not enough for being used as a cereal by itself for a long period.

(iv) As an animal feed, it takes two or three weeks before cattle begin to relish it but their effect on their health is reported to be satisfactory. "During the observation period of three months the animals gained an average of 20 lb. in weight and also developed a healthy appearance and fine condition" (ibid).

If normal cereals are available in sufficient quantities, mango kernel would be better employed for preparing starch, oil and for non-cereals and medicinal purposes. In any case, it is an article of value, and must not be thrown away. It is capable of becoming the raw material for a small seasonal "cottage" industry both in towns and villages.

Wardha 5-6-61

K. G. MANDREKAR

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HARIJAN

16 Pages

FOUNDED BY KASTURBA BAKSHI

EDITOR: E. S. HANNOOTWALA

3675

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Wardha's Telegraphic Fear

The "Official Note" of the Hyderabad State dated 5th April 1950 says:

Wardha's Vinoba Bhave, who has been leading 'telegrams' on foot since April 18 1950, concluded his tour in Maharashtra on June 1 1950. During the whole tour he camped in 21 villages, studied the conditions of about 200 villages and addressed more than two lakhs of persons. 'Telegrams' is a better alternative to 'Conferences' he said whenever he went.

Whereas Vinoba Bhave arrived in the course of his tour more than 500 village disputes were referred to him for the parties themselves. 'Aharwad' has received about 2,000 acres of land for distribution among the landless. A Government committee of Shri Sir B. K. Ramakrishna Rao, Mr. P. V. Narayana Swami, M.P. and Mr. P. V. Narayana, Member, Board of Revenue, will arrange for the distribution of these lands among the deserving.

Vinoba is expected to arrive at Secunderabad on the 23rd instant and reach Patidar on the 28th. Wardha, 12-6-51.

The Waste of Secunder

I received letters from correspondents who challenged the official statement that as rationed articles were used in feeding the guests at Secunder and alleged that there had been an enormous waste (more than three-lakhs) of leaves and other food prepared for the occasion.

I made enquiries and regret to find that though the letter of the law may have been observed, it was altogether broken in spirit. I am convinced that the lakhs were not made of rationed articles but of grain, which is not a rationed article and that though the quantity of 'unused lakhs' was 'substantial', it was not so great as my correspondents had alleged, and that they were not wasted but were distributed among the people of the neighbouring villages. One cannot but deprecate this special pleading. Grain may not be a rationed article, but being cheap certainly forms a substantial part of the poor man's food and serves as a substitute for cereals. The quantity which went to waste could have fed at least a lakh of the famine-stricken people of Bihar. Moreover lakhs do not mean merely grains but almost an equal quantity of sugar and a huge amount of ghee or confection (whatever was used). That they were distributed among

the neighbouring villages (who did not need to be fed) is hardly a consolation.

All this cannot but bring dismay to the Government. But nothing better can be expected to take place in a Yashwantrao

Wardha, 14-6-51.

The Bureaucratic Machine

Early last month the Prime Minister made a stirring appeal to the country to come to the aid of the people of Bihar and Madras. A few young men in Wardha with the permission of the Food Minister Madhya Pradesh, took up the work immediately and began to collect grain from the neighbouring villages. When they had collected some, they requested the Deputy Commissioner to remove it. But the Deputy Commissioner regretted that he had received no authority to do so, although he was expecting a very day. The volunteers made enquiries day after day, but the authority would not arrive. Where should the volunteers store the collection? They approached me. I wrote to the Food Secretary of the State at Nagpur and wrote to the Food Minister at Panchgani. There was no answer from the former. But after nearly a week, I was informed yesterday that the D.C. had now been authorised to receive the grain.

The Food Minister explained that the delay had been caused as the Secretariat as such instructions could be issued only through the Chief Secretary, and not by the Food Secretary. Evidently the Chief Secretary's machine had stopped functioning somewhere.

Imagine how Lord Luckhnow or the Governor of a province would have dealt with a delay of more than a fortnight in the despatch of food during the war! Could their Secretariats have dilatorily despatched their instructions from one department to another at the proverbial 'bureaucratic pace'?

The last war showed that the bureaucratic machine was not altogether incapable of speedy action. If it does not do so now, the inference is that either the popular ministers are as helpless against the bureaucracy as they were in the British regime or that they, too, are not quite anxious when they say that they treat the food problem on a war basis.

Wardha 14-6-51.

E. S. M.

The Devil at Play

1. From report in the *Washington Times* of May 25th reads as follows:

Taipei, May 23. A new weapon perfected only a few days before the latest Chinese advance in China helped to check the Communist onslaught.

The American commander gave the 2880 and 4th Chinese advancing towards a U.S. defense line near Fuchien valley (disappeared in a swirling mist) a lesson.

The flames seemed to heat into the air and visibility of 100 square yards of ground. No sign of the men—remained on the devastated path of retreat.

The new weapon is believed to be the ground development of the Napalm (jetted petrol) bomb which 4 "V" planes have used throughout the Korean campaign with good effect.—*Philadelphia*

What difference is there in this and the "Munster" mentality? None at all! Methods have become more efficient and with more cold-blooded, that is all. Crimes and crimes of rapine are being spent throughout the world as "persecution" over there and under "new weapons" and what is man achieving by this? The slaughter of his brethren and devastation of his Mother Earth, while in so doing he sells his soul to the Devil.

Oh India! keep clear of this hellish game! If there is any virtue left in that of the ancient faith and culture, then no one knows better than thou that the material body is of no account and the soul is all in all. Whatever the future may hold is more sold not thy soul to the Devil.

MHA.

Seven Prizes

The Wetumall Foundation of USA has announced prizes varying from Rs 3,000 for the first to Rs 100 for the last three for an essay on *Populism in Control in Britain in Food in India*, in English to be submitted on or before 15th August 1961. For rules and conditions apply to Mr J Wetumall, Editor Building, Kalladur Road, Bombay 2.

ON WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLI IN DEATH OF VANDAR OTTARANI

XII

March 11. Pondicherry (Sah Sah, 12 miles)

Visitors to Madhavaram in Chidambaram District and Chidambaram in the other districts are passing the spring festival of Vandan. The following table shows what have been said and told later about the three villages.

	Madhavaram	Chidambaram	Total	Percentage of Vandaners
Residing	300	900	1,200	80.4
Chidambaram	10	20	30	2.1
Chidambaram	10	40	50	3.5

Visitors and students of the Hindu classes at "Vandan" came to see Vandan and what for a reason. Vandan said: "Give up your own faith. The young men took the message like a wind and returned to Vandan, thinking it is a dream of the night."

At Pondicherry it was just up to a Christian Church which has been doing the work for the last 50 years in this area and has been able to convert about two thousand people to Christianity. Vandan which is about twenty miles from here is regarded as the second largest Christian establishment in India, Calcutta being the first. The Vandan point looked the small Hindu people who came to receive Vandan. But in the distance and the Vandan which were long, the name of Vandan of Pondicherry.

was quite prominent. This was rather surprising for Vandan is in the heart of Chidambaram. Vandan people of this place go to Pondicherry every year in pilgrimage to some extraordinary place here at once since Vandan this part and introduced three times among the people. In fact it is long, today they had enough that a man who represented not only the popular view of Christianity but of all religions.

Christian people were called at the prayer time. In his past prayer speech Vandan expressed his pleasure in being able to visit at the Vandan house.

From central there he said, several miles have been born in India. Christ, the guru of the Christians, was also a great saint, Mahatma, the teacher of India, was equally great. Saints and messengers were born in every community every country and every language. But gradually appeared every new and then, just now to guide the people. Mahatma Gandhi was one such great saint of our age. All these great men belonged to the same category. They all belonged to one community and had one religion. Devotion to God and love for humanity, that was common religion.

The Christian prayer which they had then heard was that God is Love and that men should work their hearts pure and full of affection through devotion. Such was the teaching of Mahatma. But it was strange that the followers of Mahatma, Christ and of Mahatma did not have similar relations among themselves. It was good to note the name of God and not a guru. But to make a particular word for God and the name of God's guru as object of special prayer for remembering seemed to be a mistake. Instead of putting his people the teachings of their master, people took in empty pride for the maintenance of these teachings and with a vain system connected to him. When it was with him, then Vandan taught that all life was one. And yet, they had created thousands of names and words which the Hindu society and generated hatred, hatred and distrust. Finally Christ had given the message of Love, but in the name of Christ, Christian nations began war after war everywhere in the world, and within the last forty years two great world wars had taken place. Christ had preached non-violence in the same way as Mahatma Gandhi. But the progress and development of arms and ammunition for Christians had no parallel in history. In the same way Muslims called their religion Islam that is Peace. When they proved Islam they said "peace Islam" Islam is with you. But the general behavior of the Muslim people created a doubt whether Islam had any message of peace to give in this war. People transformed their teachers into empty enemies and did not practice their teachings. Life continued as before in war.

When people got mostly deteriorated teachers appeared in their midst to reform them. But instead of improving and reforming themselves the Christian people looked upon it as their religion. Every one was anxious that the number of his devotees should increase. Religion was a thing to possess, Vandan said. It was not concerned with numbers. "I have heard that 1,000 villages of this and the neighboring region have embraced Christianity. If this act of faith has increased and returned their life I shall say well, a good thing has happened. But if this life has not improved or deteriorated it is the same whether they call themselves Christians or Hindus. If they continue to drink, to smoke and to do things that are against the law, but have only changed their religious denomination they have changed nothing. A man who speaks lies and takes others to neither a Muslim nor a Christian nor a Hindu" he is a man without religion. If a Hindu commits one of sins, he is a sinner, for the moral condition has not deteriorated. But Hindu take pride in such a sin, thinking that if a Muslim or a Christian commits similar sins, Muslim or Christian is the one who is, take pride in him. Owing to such deterioration, many men of the present time say that they do not want any

religion. This, too, is a wrong attitude. If people belonging to a religion do not act according to the principles of that religion, the fault does not lie with the religion but with the followers.² I think, also, that good religious teachers had been here to advise people and religious sects of India, and it was not necessary that a teacher from another sect or religion should go and teach religion in a particular place or sect. Thus it was not necessary that a Muslim should go to teach religion to the Hindu people or a Hindu should attempt religious knowledge a Brahminization. He would advise that they should act according to the teachings of the religion who were born in their neighboring region. If people belonging to every religion had the tolerance of every teacher improved and reformed their lives others would go to India and learn from their lives. If the people belonging to the various religions acted according to the principles of their respective religions and only would that to helping one another but would not disturb the common happiness of the world. They must not make religious comparisons between a Hindu, a Muslim and a Christian. When we start talking that we shall not be asked whether we are Hindu, Muslim or Christian, but we shall be asked whether we have performed good deeds or bad ones. If a Brahmin considers bad deeds, he will deeply himself in the eyes of God while if a Christian (these words) offers the devotion to God, I will be wrong, I will die. So, let us love each other and let the right path. All the teachers in the past have told us these things and we have to learn these things from them. I tell this same thing to you today and say that as I have some time left at least this week, advantage of me, I hardly spend the teaching of Christianity. I spend every good thing in every religion. I will spend a Christian among Christians, a Hindu among Hindus and a Muslim among Muslims. Now to find the worst of every religion and try to disturb human and religious life. There is no difference between a Hindu and a Muslim. They are synonyms. In the words of Hindu, Muslim and Christian were good men. That is the very meaning of these terms. My message to you all.

April 1: Tugayir (20th Hall, 8 miles)

The damage which the recent storm had done to these parts could be imagined from what we had witnessed at Nilambur and other places. The wheat of the seeds on both the sides from Karamadik to Nilambur, Karamadik, Nilambur and Tugayir was covered with green leaves which had dropped down from the mango trees. Thousands of green mangoes had fallen in the ground at Karamadik the roots of several houses had broken in places. For about seven to eight meters there was a shower of leaves as big as a brick. They had preserved a place for two days. Nearly two hundred and fifty roofs had been destroyed. Thousands of trees had been broken. Some old houses had completely collapsed.

Tugayir is a small town with a population of about 4000 people and 3000 acres of land. At least two thousand out of these four thousand people can be put to work. This is at the rate of eight hours per day and this for 300 days. Vinod explained to the workers. He asked what was the work which could be planned for these sixteen thousand hours? Agriculture did not exist all that time. All of it was wasted. Do you ever meet together to think of the village, to deliberate about profitable work in all the villages?" asked Vinod. "We must organize ourselves to think about the village as we do about our families. You are the reason for the finding of Providence that prevails among Christians. What else is possible? Have they engaged themselves in any work of service in order to avoid this devastation? Nearly three-fourths of an acre one has in the space of every village here. And you say that there is no other way rather than would employ the villagers. You must look for those four thousand people. If there had been other occupations to meet this target, I could understand that

you have not the means to prepare your own cloth but it is not so. Why should you not prepare your cloth? And there there is the market, which is wasted. Why should it not be utilized? Why should not Christians, Muslims and the people look in this respect?"

He gave the same suggestion. "There are fifteen households in the village. You should go there in the end when the programme of the Ministry is finished. The village programme can be discussed."

A few questions followed.

Q: We badly need a hospital here.

Vinod: It is my intention again for visiting in all cases. And in the future will naturally result in death before the hospital is completed ground will also be necessary.

Q: The Congress has its programme tonight in the hall.

Vinod: I have not come to discuss what Congress has and what it has not. We are not in just of programme. We know our things in present and I have thought there have with me. I have come as I mean to speak to you all as men. What is most essential for every village is to begin to think of the village as a unit. That is why I want the Karamadik Road to be opened tomorrow. You will then begin to think also a new programme of the village in two villages of this people, there must be at least a hundred and with me so called their concerns. Before any financial work can be carried in the form of night and morning schools. Then there is the output measure. Let a day begin the 1st in their homes and others will follow. Their very crop will make the programme in 2. There is also a question of some state and all good. There are two a few suggestions or remarks. Every thousand men and only 2000 acres of land? What a waste of your depend! The population has increased, the land per capita has decreased. A hundred years ago people killed every land they own per head, and even then they were not satisfied. It does. There should be no comparison between night and the village. Every word of which that is prepared is an answer to the programme.

THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THAT ROAD THAT a local worker a committee was formed. Acknowledging a few words of advice in this committee Vinod referred to the following letter and said that both of them were needed. There were only few policies in the work. They would not be able to supply all the food. So young men should manufacture them. They could help the nation. If the young men of Tugayir engaged themselves in manufacturing then the damaged roots of Tugayir, there would be a revolution in the life of Tugayir. Was it not indeed a time for that last?

And then Vinod suggested a programme that could run as

He who can contribute labour should contribute labour

He who has contributed labour should contribute money

And the party should suggest a plan

Let them think an alternative in that area. It would lead them to go to villages on the service.

According to the news conference Vinod said in his programme speech that the committee was formed for constructing service. It had its rights. The members of the committee would not belong to any particular group nor would they have any connection with any political party. It was a right to think. Vinod wanted that every one from within the village would come and serve them. They must train themselves to think about their village and go beyond their family. That would introduce a whole village into a family. And the committee that like the mother who is only after satisfying herself that every member of the family had been served would see that not a single man starved.

KARNE KATA SAMMELAN (NATIONAL UNITY CONFERENCE)

The following is the purport of the resolutions passed at the Karne Kata Sammelan, which met at Lucknow in the last week of April 1935 under the Chairmanship of Mr. Banerjee.

Resolution 1 affirms that India being a vast nation occupied in the course of centuries by people of various religions and races living together has necessarily developed a culture. They are all Indians and on particular points of it is common to all or may be regarded as universal to India. In the name of one or another religion, a section of the people wants to suppress the aspirations of the masses by forcing upon the mass a particular type of it. The Conference feels that this will lead to division and destruction, and is not in the interest of democracy and not really religious freedom.

Resolution 2 relates to an Indian in the individual capacity towards the State.

Resolution 3 calls upon all religious representatives of every community to uphold the sacred character of the State by comprising the followers of all religions in the country as fellow citizens entitled to equal rights, opportunities and privileges and by not indulging either by word or deed in any action which would amount to its subversion or damage for another. The resolution is of opinion that only by maintaining the secular character of the State and by acting as such can the nation secure stability and progress and enable the citizens to develop their personality and to render their best in the service of the country and towards its development and progress.

This conference is further of definite opinion that no party which advocates a national theory on religious basis and renders its membership to followers of any one religion or claims followers of other religions from becoming its members stands in gross violation for purposes of setting up conditions for Parliament and State legislatures.

This conference calls upon all citizens to share religious inheritance and promote harmony-peacefulness in national spirit and in their relationship for all religions and communities to a national duty.

Resolution 4 relates that in the long course of Indian history it has often happened that different religions have sprung up from time to time and gained political meanings and the bigotry of the accepted religion have prevented the followers of others. This too often resulted in the hindrance of the peace of religious diversity of one religion for the followers of another and of creating their work in the place of the former. As pointed there are numerous places of worship which originally belonged to the followers of other religions but these have been in possession of the followers of a different religion. There are some who are of the opinion that such places of worship must be returned to their original owners. But this conference strongly feels that such a thing is costly, impracticable, undesirable and of no importance. This will lead to a unending series of disputes and one, that which has to place at all in the modern world.

It is our aim that we country should worthily accept the good democratic goal to strive to construct a society free from colour and religious prejudice.

From historical experience therefore we have arrived at the conclusion that we should maintain status quo with respect of religious places which existed in 1858, i.e. which the people enjoyed till the personal liberty denied by the position of India ended its ugly head.

This conference demands that the representatives amongst of each community to change the character of religious places be at once abolished. This conference further appeals to the Government and the Indian masses to make efforts towards the realisation of this unifying task.

Resolution 5 emphasises that in order to maintain the principles and programmes decided upon in the National Unity Conference the united and able work has to be the virtues of communal class and create real spirit and soul in the Government and the people for National Unity. A person like Gandhi is being considered, which shall have nothing to do with any political faction and which shall be open to all those belonging to any party who believe in National Unity and consider communal hindrance dangerous to the country and the nation.

The resolution also demands the appointment of an all-India Committee to take steps to establish the unity.

A COSTLY BARRIER

In the life of every nation, and particularly in that of one which has just achieved its political freedom, there arise many an occasion when it has to face the poignant question, "To Be or Not To Be." We in India are being confronted with such a dilemma, such a crisis, in more respects than one. The one that affects all and is felt most by the man-in-the street is the shortage of food.

This long-drawn crisis has made us ever-suspicious and also ever-sensational. Be it in the Press, on the platform or in conversation between friends or family members, the most common topic is the one relating to the shortage of food-grains and the organisation of controls and the rationing system. There is a painful irony lurky in the opinion, the general outlook and the approach to the problem. The general tendency is to criticise and find faults, real or imaginary with those who are shouldering the responsibility. The cry of those who try to stand a different and realistic note is a cry in the wilderness. Their opinions are discarded. They are treated as propagandists of those who are bearing the brunt.

There is, however, nothing surprising in this sort of mass attitude. It will continue to be so, as long as the principal agent continues to remain the one of finding out, whether or often, the solutions of immediate problems and difficulties. This does not mean that attempts should not be made to solve immediate problems.

Problems like food shortage do call for early and urgent solutions. The question, however, is how it shall be solved and what we, the people of India shall, as a nation and as individuals, do to solve the problem apart from and in collaboration with what the Government does and off the governmental level. If it is true that immediate problems must be solved as quickly, perhaps more, true that such solutions cannot be made our ends and our pre-ordained objective. The consequences arising out of such a tendency would be bitter rain and disaster.

Unfortunately, this tendency has crept in far too deep. We look to others to supply us our requirements and the worst part of it is that all our attention and energies are concentrated only on this aspect of the problem. We are more given to muttering those who cause delay in solving

the surplus stock of foodgrains even when we are deliberating to take out some 574, which may or may not be conditional, we still have reserves for such behaviour of them and in our disgust and desperation we even go to the length of suggesting and actually advocating that we should get the foodgrains from those who are willing to oblige us. We usually take such an attitude which most often our political ideologues and advance such arguments which would corroborate our notions and not 'mine'.

In all this trouble and fury, we almost completely fail to realise the true significance of the fact that, more likely than not, we are being worried like demagogues and pawns in the political chess of the cold-warrior power bloc.

Let us remember that our political freedom, though it sounds necessarily pleasing, is almost worthless as it is not accompanied or followed by economic freedom. Let us realise that economically we are almost the slaves of the West.

A political game is being played which aims at outgunning us, in a manner altogether different from the one in the past, by smothering our stomachs with a heavy load. Whether this 'load' is the Imperialism and the capitalist one, or the communist one is an altogether different matter. Let us not waste our energies to decide which way it runs. The last stands it ought to be enough to open our eyes.

Now it is too late, we should make up our minds that politically free India shall not be economically ruled by any power on earth, that we shall be prepared to face the heaviest odds to defend our hard-won freedom, that we shall willingly pay the heaviest price and sacrifice to the utmost to win economic freedom, if not for ourselves then at least for our children and grandchildren.

India is a democratic country. There is an opportunity for us to prove that democracy does not simply mean the government run by the elected representatives of the people but, truly, by the entire people. In the administrative set-up there are some Food Ministers and Directors of Food and Agriculture. Let us provide an example to the world that every farmer in our fields and every individual in our homes is a Food Minister outside the administrative set-up, that every politician and social worker in our country is a Director of Food and Agriculture, and that every citizen of Free India is a devoted and faithful member of the staff of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. This is how we should tackle and try to solve the problem of food shortage. We should not devolve our responsibilities but should share them. Let us realise that:

If we have to, we are prepared to face even death but we shall not barter our freedom or our honour for food. If otherwise, would it not be a costly barter?

PROHIBITION—A REAL BLESSING

It is significant that most of the opposition to the Prohibition policy of certain State Governments appears in English papers. It indicates from which class the persons of the bottle come from. As this class is comparatively negligible, one can safely presume that the heart of the general public is sound, and it is rightly so. A critic in Bombay told me that in Bombay even lower is a distillery of illicit liquor. I told him that I knew that at least the house of my host in Bombay was not so and I could vouchsafe for a number of such houses. That that is by the by.

The opposition to the Prohibition policy from these 'educated' people is not a new phenomenon. I was connected with the anti-drink movement started by Gandhiji as a part of his Satyagraha activities in 1930. Even then there were prominent anti-prohibitionists. If the policy of prohibition is meant for making poor people a little more happy both economically and socially, I can say with confidence that the Government is successful, being connected with activities for the welfare of the backward classes in Gujarat for more than 25 years, I am convinced that the disappearance of public sale of alcoholic drinks has totally changed the whole social outlook of these people. I had reasons to conduct a hostel for backward-class boys in a town in Barod District for ten years. The hostel premises were surrounded by lots of backward-class people, all living on manual and unskilled labour. Before the enforcement of Prohibition not a day passed when there were no quarrels all around in those lanes. Wife, husband and children all created a row, at times accompanied by physical violence, and the people were very unhappy. I feel today that the same people are as peaceful as their Afghan neighbours.

Last week I attended a meeting of the Vaghars of Gujarat. The Vaghars are usually backward and the percentage of primary education among these people is very low. On the subject of Prohibition a Vaghar speaker said in the open meeting that before Prohibition, marriage gatherings among these classes often broke up without the marriage taking place. "The ceremony started with drinking of liquor freely, and 'marriage' was usually forgotten," he said.

Once on a railway station in the Panch-mahals in Gujarat I was waiting for a train and I saw labourers one by one going to a shop and returning after having some drink there. I could easily see it was a liquor shop. My heart wept within me when I saw the poor, ignorant labourers thus parting some part of their hard-earned money at the feet of the god of wine. I was paying, aside them for the day when the open sale of liquor would be a thing of the past. I am now thankful to God that I have been able to see the miracle. I remember the occasion when the late V. K. Shinde, the veteran old Marjari

known in an open meeting of Harijan workers in Aurangabad said in 1928 that he would "not fall in the foot of Shri B. G. Kher Khod" (refugee) for maintaining the prohibition policy. He remains the movement from the bottom of his heart.

All members of the Merged Area Committee welcomed by the Government of Bombay last night. I took it a special point to ask the backward class people at every place during our long tour in the interior about the effects of the Prohibition policy and with one voice they welcomed it. One of our witnesses, a caste leader, said in the Merged Area, informed us, in connection with introduction of Prohibition there was a rise in the sale of silver in the bazaar and another where it happened that all available stock of silver in the bazaar was exhausted. A trusted Harijan worker in Banashankar quite liked a change of habit women as to the effects of the Prohibition policy and with one voice they said that it was enough a article and brought peace in the town.

Such incidents may be multiplied if collected from various sources. The free sale of liquor has quickly turned into a large number of the backward high-caste people and we have stories of women who had given up all hopes of keeping the lot of the family on account of their husbands who had gone astray. In the Merged Area I met a young leader of Harijan community who is all in drinking. We tried to get him out of that state of being helped himself. On the occasion of the last Hindu New Year's festival on great stages, I saw with a postcard of a leader quite unexpectedly washing his face with water. I grasped to him to give him a glass of water and confidence in himself. He was very much of a cultured family from Kerala who had been with me in the train. He was a Hindu and in spite of all the admonitions of the Government as an interval of every few months that he could not but drink. I wish to see him later to enjoy the blessings of Prohibition.

In the five or six hundreds of such facts where prohibition has changed the whole outlook of people which is a movement, one wonders how long it will take when the whole systematic dissemination of the policy of prohibition of the Prohibition policy of Government. The talk of moderate and such other remedies to drink in the country is a poor ignorant people, who are subjected to all sorts of pressures, legal and otherwise, and are surrounded by various temptations. The Government shows ignorance about the state of affairs in the country. One can only say that the Government talk about it better. The talk of prohibition comes out of the whisky trade in England and our country but confidently say that the Government of Bombay deserves thanks from the backward people for holding on to the Prohibition policy at such an obvious sacrifice.

When Government have, perhaps, lost in money has been spent in greater proportion to bringing peace and unity in thousands of families which were then lived by sweat and which are an important part of the nation. I am sure their property will make the Government more prosperous than ever from drink ever ran.

The Prohibition policy has indeed hit a small section of the people to reveal to their distillation and sale. But its extent and volume is very much exaggerated, and even if the illicit trade is large it is certain that the liquor has ceased to be an article of sale in the open market and has therefore saved a large number of persons from temptation. The creation of a new generation of drunkards is, let us hope, a thing of the past, and future generations should and will thank the Government for it.

F. L. MATHURAN

THE DUTY OF THE STATE TOWARDS KHAM

(By Sahasrabudha Deshpande)

I. A Brief Introduction

When we had been struggling for obtaining Swaraj we had set some ideals before us. One particularly marked among these was in respect of Khadi. We perceived that the cotton mills were created by the urge of making profit by taking away the means of labour from the millions of our people, bringing unemployment. We perceived to remedy this by accepting Khadi as the nation's only wear.

This process in its negative aspect banned the use of mill cloth, and in its positive aspect provided employment on the charkha and the handloom to millions of men, women and children—in fact all who wanted some secondary occupation.

National Planning Committee

Putting a case on the mill and equipping the pole of mill cloth was one of the means of bringing Khadi and to bear on achieving the universal production and use of Khadi. At one time, those who are now at the head of the administration, particularly Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, brought into being the National Planning Committee. Of the various matters, planning for cottage industries was the work of one. I happened to be the Chairman of this section. All the meetings were held at Wardha under the virtual Presidency of Gandhiji. In two meetings Shri Nehruji was present.

In three meetings held on the 16th April 1940 and on subsequent days and occasions, the central topic was Khadi, and it was naturally so. On one occasion for days, Gandhiji discussed the economics of Khadi. He gave the assurance that if at the discussion it transpired that Khadi was not an economic proposition he would take off Khadi from the national programme. He was attached to it for other values besides the economic value, therefore he would keep Khadi to

himself and those who believed in those other values. But then he would not make it a national programme. This created a great stir and heart-wrenching amongst the economists who were on the Cottage Industries Sub-committee. For several days there were discussions on the economics of khadi from various angles and ultimately it was the agreed opinion of all that khadi was an economically sound proposition. There were in the Sub-committee those who stood for capitalism and the capitalist economic programme. They were probably in the majority.

It came to a unanimous decision on some other matters also and a small committee was appointed to draft the resolutions in view of the agreed conclusions. The drafting committee could not complete the work before the country was plunged in the 1942 movement. But Shri. Gubarnaiah Nanda, who was a member of the drafting committee, presented the draft to the Secretary and it appears in the published Report of the Sub-committee for "Rural and Cottage Industries" (N.P.C. serial, pp 71-72).

Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Draft are given below:

7. Considering the appalling poverty and helplessness of the people in the villages, on the one hand, and the vast amount of unemployed time available for casual employment, on the other, the major industries concerned with the satisfaction of the primary needs of the rural population, e.g. manufacture of clothing, processing of food articles for the purpose of which the people are equipped by long traditions, which engage large numbers in seasonal and which are capable of absorbing employment to much larger numbers should be expanded and developed by the State, as cottage or rural industries irrespective of considerations of comparative cost, in relation to the competing methods of production.

No addition to an extension or replacement of plant in large-scale mechanised industry, producing goods within the scope assigned to village industries should be permitted by the State till full employment and satisfactory living conditions have been made available to the rural population as a whole.

The use of mechanisation promoted under power should not be extended in any field of industrial development in which use of the available man power and natural power has not been made.

8. The national plan should provide for the adoption of all measures necessary for relieving the existing or proposed cottage and rural industries from the stress of competition of machine-made goods and for facilitating the expansion of such industries in the desired size while providing a living wage to the workers engaged in these industries.

In this connection it is of the utmost importance that the State should arrange for the training of artisan and skilled workers who would take charge of groups of unskilled workers in the villages and improve the latter to the requisite level of skill and discipline as rapidly as possible.

While every possible step should be taken to strengthen the economic basis of the village and rural industries, by supplying the requisite finance, providing facilities for securing and storing raw materials, reducing freight, improving marketing facilities, improving implements, organisation etc. such measures taken as they relate to the matter of the price of

khadi will promote a flourishing industry and will also shed the economic and economic atmosphere which has been created by an unbridled capitalism. The State for the industry should be created in the form of a tax on the competing articles which the industry made producing such articles.

"The a living wage can be obtained in the village the rate paid for the purpose of the industry would be such as to cover a wage which would be less than those paid in the case of the other workers on the basis of the cost of living in the village." August 1942

A Scheme for Bengal

Following On Case. In 1941, at the request of Mr. Casey, the then Governor of Bengal a scheme was made and presented to him by Gandhi. He was staying at Seclugur at that time. The essential feature of it was to make Bengal self-sufficient in the matter of cloth. The mills of Bengal were making 14 crore yards of cloth, the handlooms were weaving 18 crore yards of cloth and for the rest of the total requirement of 71 crore yards Bengal had to depend on supplies of mill cloth from outside which was not coming at the time. The proposal was to make up the deficit of the 50 crore yards by home-spun and hand-woven khadi.

The price of mill-cloth and khadi in normal conditions was estimated to be 7 annas and 12 annas per yard respectively. This meant a difference of 5 annas per yard. The Bengal mills were producing 14 crore yards.

The Scheme wanted to provide for the following:

- (1) Imposition of an Excise Duty, on Case of 5 annas per yard on Bengal mill production and correspondingly on yarn importation yielding a revenue of 8 crore annually.
 - (2) This will lead to the raising of the price of mill cloth to the level of 12-12. People would then spin for themselves and those who would not spin would pay for khadi at its just price.
 - (3) To spend the 8 crores in organising spinning, weaving khadi industry and providing for necessary capital and other facilities.
 - (4) Banning of importation of mill-cloth from outside the province at the rate at which khadi was being produced.
- This was in December 1941. But nothing came out of it. The Scheme was published in the Khadi Jyoti (Khadi magazine published by the AISA) in 1942.

(To be continued)

AN ATHEIST WITH GANDHI

With introduction by Shri K. G. Maheshwari

By Gure

GG Ramachandra Reddy

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RESPECT FOR WOMANHOOD

Very noble sentiments and ideals in respect of womanhood have been expressed in parts of our scriptures and classical literature by South writers and poets. Some of our famous saints have looked upon women with uncommon reverence and tenderness. In some of the stotra God is not addressed as 'Father' but as 'Mother'. The names of Sita, Savitri, Durgamati and several other great women are uttered with the same reverence as those of Rama, Krishna, Radhikathin and other male heroes. In ordinary day-to-day life in spite of heavy ignorance, distrust etc. and occasional quarrel relations between husband and wife, mother and son, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are, taken broadly, not devoid of peace, unity, mutual understanding and goodwill. The home is not generally unhappy. In the government of the home, woman has often a sphere of action in which she rules supreme. Nevertheless there is an ugly stain in our religious and social outlook and moral values and in our actual behaviour towards women, which at a moment of time reveals what our subconscious estimate of her is. According to that estimate the actual place of women at home and in society is below that of an undamaged cattle child. Many people will risk their life for the protection and defence of their field, house and property but not always for that of their cattle or women. There will be some who will do so for the cattle also, but not for their women. If they have to fly for their safety they will collect as many articles as possible and take them even on their heads, but they will not wait for their women if it means risk to their own persons and property. When put on his knees, man is often found to be a failure. The life and honour of women is not quite safe in his hands, often not even in his home. She takes a risk, if she travels or visits here or crowded gatherings. Danger often comes to her even from persons to whose care she has been entrusted by her relatives. The late Anandiben Kaver has related in her interesting little autobiography a few incidents from her own life showing how trustworthy even close friends could be. There are several women who have had similar experiences. This danger is becoming particularly great some years since. During and after a great war or any campaign of human killing men seem to get so uncontrolled that even tender baby girls might become victims of his passions or cruelty.

Recently I received in rapid succession, a series of reports of such misbehaviour with respect women and girls.

In one a village teacher of less than 20 had committed a rape on a girl less than 16 years old. In another another teacher—a man with wife and children—was found guilty of subjecting a timid girl of 13 or 14, living in his house as a maid to his repeated aggressions. In a third a girl of about the same age sought protection of a neighbour's wife against the notorious advances of her own father, a man more than 35 years old and father of several children. In a fourth a young village worker of about 20, placed in charge of a new Kusthar's Trust centre, was reviled by the village leader, who was also an office-bearer of the local Congress and Janapada Committee and was recommended by the District leader as a reliable friend. The incident has naturally made young lady workers as well as the Congressing Secretary of the Trust nervous. If even the elders and leaders of a village are so depraved, to whom will young unexperienced girls look to for protection? To whom care and guidance may they be assigned in a village, which they may never have seen before?

Perhaps these will be regarded as individual cases. It may be argued that in a vast country like India, such accidents will happen in one place or another. They do not mean that the society in general is depraved. But the following incidents give a picture of the mass mind towards women.

The incident is alleged to have taken place in East Punjab. A restless Parsi youth attempted to molest a refugee girl. This enraged other refugees, who caught hold of the young man and lashed him severely. Not content with that they—having become a crowd of five handed by them—marched upon his place, beat his relations, drove his wife on to the street, took her clothes and procured her naked through the house to the accompaniment of various noisy gestures. Not one man or woman raised his or her finger by way of protest.

Perhaps these people will be dismissed as uneducated unchartered refugees, whose moral health has been exceptionally spoilt on account of their own sad experiences, and who had been provoked by wickedness of the victim's husband. But the diabolical incident which took place at the Jyoti Vihar Exhibition in Nagpur has no reason in relieving feature of even that type. There the simple fact was that an advertised musical performance was announced as cancelled after making the audience wait for it for a long time after the appointed hour. The entertainment consisted of a large number of college and high school students and other persons, and several young women of middle class society. Upon learning that the performance was not to take place, these so-called persons of art and culture lost all sense of decency and became gangsters and brutes. They took photos, photographed the lights reflected upon ladies, and laughed with them in a manner, which would put

beasts to abuse. Order was restored by the police with difficulty. This was a wicked act.

This sort of mischief is becoming a common feature day by day. Schools and universities have become breeding centres of depravity. They are capable of cowardice in meetings, masterfully insulting their professors, rival students and girls who reject their courtesies. They acquire little knowledge and the dividing influence in the atmosphere of these institutions is still less. Girls find themselves pursued by huns on the roads. Only a few girls are plucky enough to give a lesson to the aggressors. Others have to use tricks to avoid them. The conduct of the boys is sufficiently far from certainly better behaved than they.

For some years past we have been talking too much of culture. We held cultural conferences and cultural programmes accompany almost every public gathering. We speak with pride of our ancient culture and talk of its revival. We have urban culture, village culture, Advan culture, Arya culture, Hindu culture, Muslim culture, Sikh culture, Gujarat, Maharashtra and other provincial cultures. In fact culture of every denomination. I frequently ask what is this culture which is endangering the safety and honour of Indian women throughout our country? Where has come this devilish propensity in India's make? Three or four thousand years ago Yama sang the incident of Draupadi and our ancestors have treated with emotion her pitiable prayer to God to save her against the wicked Kauravas. But neither the student seems to have become stark nor the song become an anthem. Helpless Draupadi and the wicked Kauravas seem to be not only perpetually alive, but multiplying every day.

Individually there is no dearth of men of very high and pure character in India. But so also were Krishna and Drona. Their individual purity is not sufficient to remove gross social evils. Goodness is good for nothing if it does not combine and actively rise up against evil. It is good for nothing if its total effect is merely to control the evil or speak of it only in suppressed tones so that it becomes a gossip rather than a remedy.

Women must also be better than what they are. There are undoubtedly hundreds of women of very high character. But they too are often weaker, as it, by the very reason of the purity of their character than prodigious women. The latter are not afraid of men, and unhesitatingly defend themselves and their words if they will. They also befriended women of more passion with greater sympathy than chaste women. The latter are afraid of being men, and do not always befriended women of men's evil acts. If the victim is one whom they cannot forgive they rather think of suppressing the incident, than raise a hue and cry against the culprit. This goodness is lost of much worth. It does not arise out of non-violence, nor from regard for truth or char-

ity. It is a pretty bad passing, a kind of thing to be strictly told. It cannot remove the evil of their sex and establish respect for it.

I understand that Home Guards are organised in all important places. How do they benefit our women?

Mumbai, 20-5-74

S. S. Jadhavkar

A HOPEFUL SIGN

One of the hopeful signs of the Shastriya Vyavastha (Hindu Law) movement observed by several of us is that it has set people thinking. Those who have heard the call have been examining minutely the moral nature of their various commercial transactions. For instance, some have to purchase special articles which are under control prices, but are not available without payment of a premium, and it would entail closing down of their concerns if they insisted on sticking to the letter of the law. Some have to back their goods, sometimes of a perishable nature, and the railway employees simply neglect them until they have been tipped during delivery time, worry constant disturbances etc. Some are retailers and have purchased goods at the then market price from another trader or producer. By the time they have to take delivery controls are suddenly imposed, and the control-price is considerably less than what they have paid. It is a curious loss, whether they take delivery or refuse it. There are private firms from less scrupulous dealers to purchase the assignment soon at a small margin of profit. Then there are public servants who do not wish to take any illegal gratification. But they form a link in a regular chain of bribery from the man at the bottom to a very superior officer at the top. If they do not fall in line with them, they are harassed with constant threatenings, punishments for small or even failed mistakes, even false cases are fabricated against them, resulting in dismissal, degradation, compulsory retirement or suspension through sheer inability to stand all these harassment.

What is their duty in such cases? They ask.

There are real problems. Their presentation is welcome. It is not impossible for some people to tackle them even individually. But I saw that it is difficult for ordinary men to find solutions individually. But if several such men pledged themselves to honesty, established their reputation, and worked in combination, ways could be found to meet most of the situations. They must meet together and discuss their difficulties and problems frankly and freely. I feel that they would be able to deal with their difficulties one by one. We see that it has been made possible to establish a chain of corrupt officers and employers and of unscrupulous producers, consumers and traders. It should also be made possible to build a chain of honest producers, traders, consumers and employees. Persons and concerns working in various fields of life who are anxious to practice honesty in their dealings

should come together, and know and support one another, and resolve to deal with one another in preference to other members of the same profession. They would then be able to create mental sections, which could not be ignored even by corrupt people. No doubt, they would have to make some sacrifices, and obviously put a restraint on their vanity. But a simple honest living must be made possible at any initial cost if the world is to be fit for human man's habitation.

Wardha 8-6-51.

S. C. MATHURWALA.

THE HINDI OF THE CONSTITUTION

What, according to the Constitution of India, is the form of the language which is now known as Hindi, and which is to be taught in our schools? It is also to be seen whether it means any change in the language accepted by the Government of Bombay—still now under the name *Marathi*.

For examining this question let us turn to Part XVII of *The Constitution of India*—"The Official Language of the Union." This will chiefly require us to closely examine arts. 343, 351 and allied.

Art. 343 lays down that Hindi in Devanagari script will be the official language of the Union.

Arts. 343-36 contain matters regarding the use of Hindi in various ways and lays down the manner of changing over from English to Hindi. As this is not relevant for our purpose here, we need not go into them.

The most relevant art. is 351* which gives a directive to the Governments of the Union and the States regarding:

- (a) promoting the spread of Hindi;
- (b) developing it "so as to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India"; and
- (c) securing its enrichment by (i) assimilating "the forms, style and expressions used in Sanskrit and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule" and by (ii) "drawing whatever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

It is obvious from this that the Constitution of India acknowledges that:

- (a) the Hindi of the Constitution has to grow and develop; it is not a readily available language like English, which can be adopted forthwith as stated. Hence the limit of a transition of 15 years, provided in the Constitution of India.

* Art. 351. It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it can serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius the forms, style and expressions used in Sanskrit and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule and by drawing whatever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages [The Constitution of India].

(b) And hence the law of its growth and development is laid down that it is to be a vehicle for all the elements of the composite culture of India, or it is not to be exclusive but all-inclusive of all the elements in the composite life and culture of our land.

(c) And the assimilation is to be from Sanskrit and the other languages of India enumerated in the Eighth Schedule.

(d) And the vocabulary is to be enriched, "wherever necessary or desirable", by drawing on Sanskrit and other languages—i.e. not exclusively Indian. The chosen is to be as wide and broad-based as our history and culture demands; there is no bar against any language as such.

Sched. 8 gives the names of 14 languages†. These with Hindustani are the 15 languages as the great treasure-chest from which Hindi is to be enriched for its forms, style and expressions. These 15 languages are named as defining the present language map of India, for the specific purpose of the growth and development of Hindi, which is to be the all-India expression of our composite life and culture.

Let us now see what these 15 languages are. 'Hindustani' is one. It should be noted that it is not one of those enumerated in the Eighth Schedule. Clearly enough the word connects the national language as it was generally named in the country and was accepted by the Government of Bombay previous to the passing of the Constitution. As we know, Hindustani also had to grow and develop as a common language of our people. Art. 351 clearly acknowledges this great fact of our recent history and lays down that the work of spreading and developing Hindi or Hindustani is to continue even though under the name Hindi and in the Nagari script. Thus we conclude that the policy regarding the form of the language does not materially change in any way.

We now turn to the 14 languages of the Eighth Schedule.

All of them are the great literary languages of India and are our noble and rich heritage given to us by the history of our people. Except Sanskrit all the others are spoken and written in various States of the Union, more or less in compact areas. Hence they are sometimes termed as regional languages also in various other connections. Hindi is one of them noted by the Constitution of India in the 8th Schedule. Let us see what the Hindi of the 8th Schedule is. Is it the Hindi named in art. 351 or in part XVII of the Constitution? or whether what is meant by the Hindi of the 8th Schedule is different?

We should note that the Constitution of India directs the Union, in art. 351, to secure the enrichment of Hindi by assimilating the forms, style and expressions of among others Hindi of

* There are: 1. Assamese, 2. Bengali, 3. Gujarati, 4. Hindi, 5. Kannada, 6. Kashmiri, 7. Malayalam, 8. Marathi, 9. Oriya, 10. Punjabi, 11. Sanskrit, 12. Tamil, 13. Telugu, and 14. Urdu.

Thousands of the common people has become homeless, friendless, and starved to death. The price of every commodity is increasing very high day by day and it has become very hard for them to lead an average life of peace and contentment. Most of the revenues and taxes collected from the people are being wasted on the preparations of all kinds of destructive weapons like the atom bombs and hydrogen bombs. Most of the people, though they know the truth, cannot do anything, as they are under the domination of dictatorship. But we must find a way out so that the unanimous voice of the common people who hate war and free peace should be heard all over the world rather than the wild cry of the rulers and politicians who boast that they represent the masses.

The greatest truth that God has ever given to man through various religions is, "Do not do unto others, what you would not see done to yourselves." Unless and until each individual, each country of which is guided by this most important principle, our hope of world-peace will never be accomplished. Let us therefore promptly work and strive to achieve this.

[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

17th, collected in 1891, as article in the *Reader's Digest of March 1911* by Leland Page and Clarence Hall
1891-1911

On an April evening 16 years ago a young mother took William's place and pulled out of a deep sleep by the sound of large drums and voices shouting. Only that day Henry Howard, with his bride just arrived at this remote spot in Southern Rhodesia to begin work. He was half-wakeful, listening across vastness and silence. He knew what a child that about him to his attention.

Over an area of thousands of rolling acres of African
rice and wheat were growing and stretching towards the
blue hills of the north.

Alford realized, in his own native agricultural, he had been told that it might, on the long overland journey to his station — 7,000 miles by ship, six days and 200 miles by train into the interior, and 200 miles and 174 miles by donkey wagon to Mt. Elmina, — old lands had wanted him that Niger and something the African farmer had no idea of.

[illegible]

Working back to his mission, he scribbled out a programme which he entitled the 'Gospel of the Plough'. He was, indeed, a most accomplished horticulturist.

Today, after 30 years, Alvin's Bill is the Father of Domestic Violence sponsored legislation. Under its guidance they have literally changed the face of the

In 1945 the idea of serving meals by serving still was comparatively new. The intention of Mr. Ottobro is to study 1945 to see if the idea was greeted by students majoring in Christian education and hominoid. Agriculture was not chosen. When Mr. Ottobro discussed the failure of their mission, Alfred asked: "What else can you expect? You can't build a good society, let alone the Kingdom of God, on a system of evil and capitalistic greed."

He promptly laid out 2 demonstration plots. At the first, Larrini asked he looked the florists to use the main plants in two high cutting 12-inch pots—some a specimen with the entire plant 2 or 3 feet tall with pots no larger than 1 foot in diameter.

Nevertheless, Alfred expanded the works of his past efforts. He presented the *Wanted* to not let

menstruate to work on their own place, ... in Ayuda
we taught about the need properly water it, because I
was, local women were being warned, about the steps
the invited money the people as a follow water supply
to help. More and more women volunteered their land
for his experiences. They found that place properly all
it would yield less than as much as before. Even the
water had blossomed under water there...

The attitude of Robinson's new brother Alfred is like a job as Government agriculturalist. He still is accepted, and during his first year he stopped up sewage pollution, started on dam-erecting plans. His first task took him behind the wheel of his small car because a familiar party acquaintance.

Now, shared success is in everywhere in our—improving scores in schools, setting up demonstration plots and experimental stations, arranging shows, increasing new diversified products, making and carrying, directed brigades, laying out model villages. By 1960 demonstration plots had been set up on more than 100,000 acres and the average yield was even more than it was on adjacent fields.

The all-India schedule listing how a required subject in all schools for children, is taught in different parts of the country. Almost half of all Indian students are working under the guidance of trained Qazis—many of whom have been trained in the madrasas. Several large madrasa centres are now offering secondary and higher secondary education.

To ensure this programme reaches the whole of the Republic, the Department of Health has set up a staff of 70 Inspectors and 400 nurses spread in the Department of Health. Twenty-five years ago, almost none of the people in the country.

A husband told his wife one day of the witness that he had been to the village. She said she was in the kitchen and saw the construction of pits and ditches. She made her husband's wife, the husband of the witness, to go to the village. She said she was in the kitchen and saw the construction of pits and ditches. She made her husband's wife, the husband of the witness, to go to the village.

Next he started teaching a group of young men in each village the art of bookbinding, stenciling, and construction. Finally, considering the monks were giving a Buddha's Confession, they in turn became initiators and masters of others. Today more than 10 per cent of Bhutan's native population live in improved houses designed by Dorji and built by the native class alone.

Upon his retirement, in 1956 Alfred sat through the midday speeches, obviously ill at ease. But when a witness told him that Khrushchev stood up and said, "Dear Khrushchev! This country has thrown big theory about how peaceful a world — sorry word, inadequate

Table 1

On the one hand the daily papers report that women are arrested and sent to prison because they ask the Government for pay in a motherly business fashion which is understandable as no pay exists for food, no education for them and their wives and children. On the other hand we find pay being reported to Palestine and Ceylon. Strangers indeed see the ways of that country. They reveal one of a flagrant poverty, you were left out of government and (The children live the hell-stone while the Jews go even to the female school)

SRINIVASA AT SHIVARAMPALLI

I

FIVE-FOLD PROGRAMME OF THE NEW AGE

(Summary of Sri Vinoba's speech at the 1952 Sarvodaya Conference, Shivarampalli, on the first day, 24/5/52)

The New Conference

Sri Vinoba commenced with expressing his joy to meeting the audience after two years since the 1950 Conference. He thanked Sri Mahatma for the inspiring ideas that became fuel for his strong advocacy. He was so much moved to go to the Conference that at that time a plane which appeared to him when he was at a small station a week for the company of the great Mahatmashree, the Prime among philosophers, and said that the company of the great even for a moment was like a beam to cross the sea of life. Good company is itself brought peace and happiness and if God's, it has been received in personal effect, the peace and love go, because mankind as he would hardly himself after having made a strong personal effort by working more than many hundred years for the purpose.

Vinoba recalled some of the ideas expressed by him at the 1950 Conference, he observed, he had moved over about a half of the country. The travelling had to be done for the first time in his life in the upper class. This created a state of change in his mind. Was it proper to wear this hat? Would it follow the state of mind? Was the new way useful to a caste which had made it hard to the main object? Whence did the money come for the travelling costs?

New Age and Its Means

He also thought of the Gandhi Memorial Fund which was being raised in those days. He had said at one place that he was not interested in the Fund. Then, Gandhi came to him about the manner in which donations should be run for the future. "Obviously I came to the conclusion that a new age has now set in. The task that we have now to achieve is far more difficult than the achievement of independence. It is capable of being achieved only by the abandonment of money and the power. Therefore our work should be carried on not on the strength of money but of physical labour."

Money they might be able to get, and they might be able to render service some service too. But there would be no life in it, and it would not furnish the revolution which they aimed at.

Large funds could not be spent all at once. Large labour which remained had to be harnessed in banks and societies. These organisations were not sufficient for helping village industries but rather for developing them which were hostile to them. Thus there was a risk attached to such funds. Vinoba made it clear that he did not consider this as means any more. They followed precedents laid down by Gandhi. Sri Vinoba stated that Gandhi should not become the foundation of their policies and principles. They must develop Gandhi's ideas further.

1. Physical Labour and Freedom from Money Power

That he was not to add, to the principles of non-violence and nonpossession from money when he was hearing it, that time he did not know how he should undertake the effort in the light of the new principles he had discovered. But God came to his help. He said and asked him with a vision, a man of complete detachment and equanimity must be free from money. His dream meant that there was some defect in his mental equanimity and thought. He took the dream as a command of God expressed in his greater language, and he decided to disagree with himself for the time of the dream. He worked down at Ponnur and gave up teaching. The dream, Vinoba believed, was not just completely true; it was, however, constantly repeated.

He started his new experiment of physical labour in his Ponnur Ashram. If he could create, he thought, a way to test the institutions working under his guidance from the slavery of money, that would itself be a place of important service to the nation. He selected agricultural work as way of physical labour and gradually he came to do this in his house work job day. Vinoba said that sustained attention was not paid to agriculture in pre-independence days by conservative workers. It could be carried on, but it was not imperative to cross the field of agriculture in order to identify themselves with the life of the agriculturalist.

Earlier in the matter Sri K. K. Pillai had posed the question whether constructive workers saw the necessity of making a change in the form and methods of constructive work after the attainment of independence. Vinoba offered two answers. First, faith in money should be replaced by that in physical labour. And secondly, conservative workers should now become reformers. There was through the necessary even before independence there had become legitimate slavery.

Vinoba was gratified by the results of his experiment. It had its effects on the members of the Ponnur Ashram also. They realised that they could not accept money donations and decided themselves to accept, detailed shaped only by physical labour after the end of the summer year. Emphasising the importance of this resolve, Vinoba said that if the Ashram was to continue to say that after Gandhi's death they were to progress the way, it is to be achieved and should proceed in the world according to that, the world would move. Their highest task should be practised there. With this aspiration the Ashram has made their resolve.

Village Self-sufficiency

However Vinoba observed some misapplication of constructive institutions from money was not their aim. The institutions were only the guarantee to free the life of the village. Village life was meant to be freed from the money as much as possible. Of course, it was not possible to completely eliminate the money. But it would be a great thing if village self-sufficiency could be achieved in regard to food, cloth, houses and ordinary simple instruments and tools. In it, the remedy for the money life that hampers the particular life of the people. These might be better place and manner for obtaining property but to Vinoba it was the only one which came to his mind.

He urged the old and physically tired workers to co-operate in this task. It did not matter if their body could not co-operate. But they should remain positive in faith and spirit. He first addressed to the conservative workers old and young was to refer to his instructions on the principles of nonpossession and physical labour.

Vinoba pointed the difficulty of creating freedom from the bondage of money. Money had been inspired by a misconception to God. It was an unqualified evil, and it was to be free by doing the power as to deny the goodness of God. Indeed, while God was infinite, He could be denied but not money which was present in every direction in which you cast your eye. The doubt expressed by the conservative, namely suggested that it was necessary to work with discrimination and moral cooperation. Only if constructive workers showed their conviction and in this direction would thoughts begin spread and a successful revolution be wrought. But that there would not be a revolution by other means. But, he said, "when we are plunged in nonviolence the revolution will not then be achieved through us. It is therefore our imperative duty to work for nonpossession and from money. God inspired nonpossession in us. He gave us an opportunity, to work under the rule guidance of a great man. It is therefore up to us to add to the rich legacy that he has given man has left on working with the residue of us or his? It is not for us to

worry about the exact nature of our effort. To do so would be unnecessary in itself.

Vinoba pointed out that the experiment in agrarianism had already started at Warfona and other people had not been alerted to it. He saw a way of help in the fact that YOUNG MEN, without any previous training or facilities had succeeded by the programme and came and worked with him enthusiastically. It indicated that there was concern for the people of India. It was therefore the duty of all to immediately join in the task.

2. Peace Brigades

Vinoba next referred to the Peace Brigades work. One of his duties was to visit to the areas of strife which is distributed India and that was a duty in its own right. There was the another part of his duties which was constructive and peaceful work. Along with the various centres of constructive work, there should be a few Peace Brigades centres distributed among them. The duty of the Brigades members should be to systematically move in constructive areas. They might visit a village only once in a week but visit it they should and have contacts with the village people. They should meet and counsel people who were restless with poverty oppression, caste discrimination, or who were too much mentally disturbed, like the refugees. The workers might meet together once in a month, exchange their notes and start again on their itinerary. This was Vinoba and the conception of a non-violent army.

Non-violent Organization

Vinoba did not wish to go into the details of how these Brigades should be organized, and the exact programme for them. Like Tolstoy who declared that "no nation there was more peaceful than Russia himself" he also believed in the power of the word. The word here, was ahimsa—peace. They should like that word and live, on their own programme and create a proper organization to implement it according to their own spirit. They might use their names in the Sarvodaya office. The office might use the advice which they would be free to accept or reject in their discretion. Thus was his idea of a non-violent organization. Vinoba said, it did not involve compulsory carrying out of instructions issued from above nor any disciplinary action for failure to do so. It was only friendly advice and the implementation of a programme, which the members approved. That was, he said, the way to build a non-violent organization, an organization that was not strong. It presupposed however that the members would be men of wisdom, and in happy healthy feeling as there was advice and aids in every direction in which the desired result seems to be dependent on these lines.

3. Tithi Offering

Vinoba referred next to tithi—the third item on the fivefold programme. He looked upon the offering of a tenth per cent of the income of the Sarvodaya office by the public, though he has not obtained in the membership of the Sarvodaya Scheme people had not joined it in large numbers. There were some who accepted the Sarvodaya ideology and worked for it but did not care to have their names on its register. That, too, belonged to the Sarvodaya Scheme. It may be somewhat to be said "that that all aspects of the Sarvodaya idea include in truth and non-violence, with courage and persistence of all that definitely worked and could be and does their inspiration from him. Vinoba added that if all such persons offered annually as a voluntary tithi of their resources a tenth of whatever part of the Sarvodaya work and popularized this manner of offering as widely as possible throughout the country it would prove to be a source of immense strength. It would bring them into contact with millions. Virtually there were no money values of the Sarvodaya way. "We would have their assistance, and it will be the duty of the Sarvodaya workers to maintain contact with them. With their help and through them, they could further spread their work."

Speaking of the tremendous possibility of this programme, Vinoba said that it would release immense social energy and hence would be of work which would revolutionize society, and do it so imperceptibly that people might not be aware as that it.

The idea of year-long tithi to the land from the old tradition in our country which prescribed that pilgrims should not go to a place of pilgrimage without taking with them some article by way of offering. Let such men and women, be educated, after one week of years so that there would be as many leaders as the number of squares of the Sarvodaya Scheme. The idea released him immensely for he saw great possibilities in the popularization of this practice. It was not matter if the value received only thousands and not lakhs. In that case, one method of work will be of an incentive type. If the programme spread among, city, a lakh of people and work would be partly automatic and partly incentive. Dependence or identity of any activity depends on whether it is able to take out earnings of a lakh or so each.

4. Sarvodaya

The fourth item Vinoba spoke about was Sarvodaya. It was necessary to create conditions which would do away with the need of a separate class of people for the life work. Sarvodaya, which implied everybody should be done by the people themselves. Vinoba said he could not adequately describe what Sarvodaya post that stage would do in the country. Besides putting an end to unemployment and for all it would make available work and everywhere an employed manner which would help to give more food, one of our practical problems at the present moment. It was a vision in which Sarvodaya Government officials and all bodies would and should join irrespective of their position or ideological differences. It would be an achievement of national application and importance.

5. Internal Purity

Next Vinoba referred to the form of internal purity, —purity in our everyday social dealings—for which the suggestion had come from Sri Kishorechandra, Maheshwari and cooperation were complete. The question was how could an individual maintain himself free to change. The movement aimed at equipping people who would be ready to pledge themselves to the elimination of all dishonesty and dishonest practices from their dealings. Individuals might find it very hard to make these vows but people collectively and within certain limits determined Sarvodaya should be able to do it. If people who were so pledged gathered and formed themselves into groups it was sure to make the impact on the social atmosphere of the country and elsewhere. Vinoba said that the whole society as such could never be wholly corrupt. This must be the basis on which of fundamental fact. Most people were driven to it voluntarily by the vicious economic order which was in fact creating the order by which they were besieged on all sides. It, however, was a handful of people who set up to their responsibility and showed it to the world that they had reached them in the midst of that raging storm of dishonesty, and corruption, the change would begin to take away and the nation would change. All violent changes. But the change could not depend from Sarvodaya nor could there have, however wide be going to reform the Government, if it was not reinforced by individual and individual effort. In the interests of effort it would only reach to the strength of their power of initiative and propaganda the plans of disaster. They should all therefore devote themselves unreservedly to this "lowest life movement."

The Power of the Sarvodaya Scheme

Winding up Vinoba asked the workers to remember that they were a life revolution though not in its usual sense. "It may be that you are not big as far as numbers are concerned. Though there are no obligations attached to it only four thousand have had their names registered.

P. L. N. 402 "The church has people come in & after a good deal of deliberation and confusion of what it means." The Hawaiian Bible was like a drill in the path of down that to God. "The Lord has said in the Bible," "Even if the kind of men themselves in life with unbridled desire, that he must be followed in lightness, he has made a perfect decision." It was the same with the Hawaiian Bible. "Even a biblical decision could give it to be a sound choice that he had made up his mind to leave the Bible. The size of the Bible might be small but it had a purpose. People looked to it with hope. Hence they had the support of not only of their own will-power but, 'and if that of others.' "Look at it in this way and you will understand that my prayer is for no reason more, for, 'all things that are further our work. There hath the Lord our God no just intention to tempt us to exceed the it is intended by the Lord'."

Karmaveera Sangh

Virade was referred to the Karmaveera Sangh and expressed the opinion that though completely not well understood it was fairly strong. The workers were to be found throughout India. It was true that relatively with the real basis of service in our country the workers were actually lost. Even so, it is accepted in the other members of the world, the workers in India were quite numerous. There was therefore no room for despair, since, in the contrary it should inspire us to look to our work, even more devotedly.

The Hidden Stream of Love

He continued in a contemplative feeling of depression, in the way they contacted themselves in the feelings of the Karmaveera Sangh. It would seem that there was too much darkness and doubt in those very people, and that they did not work in nature, but, it was a wonderful feeling for he was convinced that the center was definite, as in the depth of the heart there flowed to each one the stream of love. "People as we are, boys and women, his thoughts as each one of us had made every one of us work. His name and his work have a glow, and 'because on our work, and that will keep us bound in this center'."

II

THREE DANGERS FACING BRAIN

However, at the speech delivered by that Virade on 14-11 the second day of the third Karmaveera Conference.

That Virade commenced with a reference to a discussion he had had the week that P. L. N. 402, who discussed the intention of the Government to increase land production. His first article in the Government, Virade said was that they should take whatever action they contemplated in the matter without waiting time to develop and construction. He pointed out in the course of several weeks would give a more correct perspective than any method of discussion. There had been considerable delay in the matter.

When regarding the importance of independent thinking and using Virade desired them to realize the need of taking into account the experience of the masters of a subject. Gandhi was the master who had discovered himself and his technique. If Gandhi had not discovered himself, Virade, regarding as an ordinary man, did not believe that it would have shown these things, surely the world was not the same about and violence that Gandhi was aware with it. It was possible that possibly they might have done as before, as violence had become a universal necessity only the particular act of circumstances then prevailing. There was no alternative to it. The next could not be said of itself. It was Gandhi's unique imagination, genius and strength which gave him a personal shape. Gandhi was no more other than the full players of his life and character and ideas was Indian men. A collection of his ideas about life was available to Indians. Virade related conversation

concerning spirit then substance. While they would determine with themselves on it to find this, they must have been a few months before they themselves understood the truth about it, that was of itself.

Virade gave a brief resume of Gandhi from the time of his death to 4 months. He pointed out that personal character was not a factor even the distinction between a teacher and a spinning wheel. The whole episode which they employed in the beginning was his attempt to be first in a kind of weapon. The above might they go made for professional property positions concerned about 2 feet long. The property could cost 1/16 of dollars per day. Some of them spent just a great many in gold and the same was of 1/16 of dollars. The whole result of even that was placed then and was work with great enthusiasm and pleasure. Virade's personal position during was the last picture among them, and he would with very little more nearly at 10 months that of the year they got across a pair of dollars of Indian weight, and presented it to the Government. A consequence was that Gandhi was to come about displaying that effect, and finding the spinning and weaving industries they were then carrying on. Such was the result of their power, of looking knowledge about itself for nearly twenty years.

"Gandhi had now reached a stage" Virade said when it could be looked upon from the point of view of economics. The result for all this belongs to the people of Gandhi. If he had not suggested it, the whole idea could have been struck out at once. Because it was so completely against the purpose of the times that it would have been ridiculous to think of it. After all he was intelligent men, who had received western education and had gotten economy. Hence, it was impossible for a thing like that to occur any further. Hence it is that I recommend a thorough study of Gandhi's thought, on the subject of itself before or along with studying our own ideas on it."

Charles to Agriculture

Virade then desired to draw the attention of the society to certain learned stages which had appeared recently in the work of Gandhi. The first danger, he said, originated from the front, which is not preparation to derive of agriculture. Some of the workers felt that such action was more important and self-sufficiency in itself might not be too much stressed. The time had come to encourage the picture in place of the character. Indeed, he himself said that unless agriculture received their attention it would not be rescued from its present danger. However it was the only way to achieve identity of impact with the villages, to obtain self-sufficiency and to do away with money. The value of agriculture was that good. Nevertheless if he was able to suggest in agriculture the place of the character he would say that he himself had not understood the character that way. Paul was important but it could not replace what which had to be seen separately over time. The relation of the character to agriculture was the that of what in Paul. Virade said that Gandhi's was placed against the prevailing trend of things in every field. It represented their relation against the prevailing order. Agriculture could not be an adequate symbol of that relation. The character alone could symbolize it. This was the distinction between the two. And the world would do well to know it in order that it might encourage their work. Virade warned those who were not to emphasize agriculture at the expense of the character. That he said, was a last, great error.

Charles to Sangre Sera

Virade closed with the last from a hypothetical representation of the idea of progress was total confusion. The world would have been providing for some time. There was a tendency to believe that the many things at a time with the result that the character was unable to emerge in due place in their industrial time.



HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

DR. VINOD AT BHUVANESHWARI

III ECONOMIC EQUALITY

In summary of the speech delivered by Dr. Vinod on the 16th April 1936 the 10th day of the Harijans Conference.]

Dr. Javaharlal's Message

"I read my last address to the Harijans in Gandhinagar, Madras, some time ago. I have received all the world over at present, in our country too, the old light has gone dim, and there is darkness everywhere. Economic problems loom up in all all sides. In such a critical time over, we all in should endeavour to seek the light. In this attempt, Harijans can help a great deal and definitely our eyes turn towards it."

Dr. Vinod commenced with a reference to the above message of Dr. Javaharlal in that latest message Javaharlal had poured the whole of his heart with characteristic candour and honesty. "We are underwhelmed what he talks of when he refers to the old light," Vinod said, "he also states that at the present critical time the country looks in darkness, that is in this Harijans' hour. From my last contact with Javaharlal, I have been impressed with one constant emphasis to walk along the path shown by Bapu. Even when Bapu was alive he did not accept all his ideas. And perhaps it is in this day that I have always felt that Javaharlal's path was in what stands as the core of Bapu's teaching namely that all Harijans should live in harmony. There should be no rivalry between them, they should work for the common good in mutual cooperation, there should be no feeling of racial inferiority or hatred, familiarity should be put these principles into practice. And I feel that in this path he feels perhaps a sense of loneliness." Vinod explained how the reason why Javaharlal had expressed this in Harijans was that they were actually engaged in carrying out Bapu's revolutionary programme. Hence if there was no light elsewhere there should surely be a flicker of it with them, and they must be always seeking it and succeeding in getting some at least. Vinod assured him that they were working in his efforts to establish peace in the world and harmony and unity among nations. His message was a reminder to the Harijans, Bapu to be watched and rhythm in their work. Vinod professed to wish he had pointed to those the direction in which they should proceed. The direction was "Dark Light search after Truth."

An Unfortunate Incident

Vinod then referred to an unfortunate incident that had taken place earlier at the meeting. One of the speakers at the Conference had been made to retire without finishing his speech. Vinod expressed his disapproval of this conduct of the audience. It could not always happen that every speaker should give them a new thing to go on with. If that was the case to be applied to us was necessary on the part of the audience that they heard Vinod patiently, not out of a hundred words that he

uttered hardly one might give something new. But they listened for 20-30 minutes to the note of that one, and there might be many who might feel nothing new in my speech. But we have the words of great men with respect and love. We have if we don't always get new ideas we have each other to work together and we develop mutual love. If we get something new in a speech we should take it up. If we do not get anything new we should get the consolation of having the benefit of an exchange of views. While there might be depression in some cases. Dr. Chatterjee was there to regulate it and if the Chairman intended if the audience should assume that he did not consider it worth while to interfere. Vinod could share another remark by that a member of the audience did not feel interested in a speech. He could resort to this. The fact could relieve him of the burden of hearing. Vinod hoped that such incidents would not be repeated in future in the Harijans' hour.

Development of Harijans

He had been asked, Vinod said to express his views on the subject of economic equality. It was a wide topic, but he would try to place it in brief before them. The economic history of man did not extend to more than ten thousand years in the most advanced more than a million years but changed three thousand. It was changed on the earth. During that period man had recorded a continuous progress and had developed around himself an ever wider circle to each age. The development took place first in individuals, and gradually then became a heritage of the whole society. After our view, had developed in a self, after humanity's expansion his further steps took root in the heart of man. And there began the work for the development. Vinod's survey of the history of man of the last three thousand years as he felt him to conclude that in every society which pursued whether in the sphere of politics, sociology, education, family or any other he had provided all through the need of developing the quality of Harijans. All the great nations were very kind. All our nations the British and others were Harijans provided. All our great nations taught that Harijans was the root of all diseases, they and religion are. Thus, we have all along been after the development of Harijans. Even in the various empires, that reached the university of developing kind was was recognized. Vinod had viewed history from the standpoint of the development of various qualities and he felt that the history of man of the last three thousand years showed that humanity made a continuous of good and bad qualities, had been all along evolving the quality of Harijans in the end.

Economic Equality—The Need of the Age

Gradually man had to come to believe that the development of equality was the great need of the age. This idea had begun some two thousand years ago. But that the world equality was altogether new. The truth is that as I told earlier on that, however good in the whole present history of man, had given any word (philosophy), which was altogether new and unknown

HIMALAYAN LESSONS

IV

Shensi, Szech, & Wuchow

A second night of the land was out of the question. Some place had to be found. The previous evening matters had been made by someone at a lonely little shop on a mountain ridge about 2 miles away, called Shensi Szech. So the first thing in the morning Shensi and Khawang-singh went off with local friends to look at it. They returned with a promising report, and the weather had now improved, so we bid farewell to the truck which was to return to Panchuk, packed our luggage on mules, and set off. I had hoped to get a horse, but none was available.

The path in places was stiff and steep, for we had to reach an altitude of about 8,000 feet. Clouds were down and we could see no view only the steep grass slopes and short pines with all their lower branches cut off and looking at a distance more like palm trees than pines.

Hope again was carrying us on her wings. Obviously the water of the snow mountains from this ridge would be glorious when the weather cleared, and the scent of the pine trees would be interesting when the sun came out. And here were cattle grazing all up and down the mountain sides, and little hats and cow-dungs dotted around. "An ideal place," we said to one another, "for a branch of Panchuk."

We reached the lonely shop. With stone walls and plastered and stone slab roof it stood there all by itself on the top of the ridge with an open stretch of grass and a little cattle-pen in front. We were all in a mood to make the very best of it. The front part of the shop formed a sort of common room, and the back part with its rows of shelves, accommodated our luggage as well as afforded some space for sleeping. The rest of the room at the main building was surrounded with hawker—old tin, iron, wood and the rest—the dilapidated remains of a once flourishing country shop. The building also had a wing of two little empty rooms with very low doors. One of these became the kitchen, and the other had to accommodate the local school consisting of a jolly Brahman village teacher, who busied over all day with Sanskrit verses together with his little pupils, who previously had been using the shop itself.

News of our coming had preceded us, with the result that local peasants began turning up, and what with them and the little school children, who all sat around gazing, there was hardly any room left for ourselves. We had reached a completely rural atmosphere. This was the real Himalayan life, absolutely different from the hill-stations which at all times so many outsiders ever see of the mountains. I felt very happy, but after some hours of sitting and talking to those delightful people my body began to protest. Gradually our visitors melted away, and we had time and space to look around. We now noticed that the floor was awfully damp

in several places, and that the walls were more too dry. The rain had begun again, first of all gently, and then heavier and heavier. Soon enough the roof started leaking and all the damp places on the floor turned into puddles. Shensi and Khawang-singh had a hard time as the Indians tried to make rots—the wood was all damp, and water kept dripping from the roof on to the mats which lay with rhythmical regularity. Nevertheless they produced a bed sheet for which we were all thankful, as that day also we had had to go without food since the early morning, like at Panchuk. Now came the question of sleeping. There was one small bed with which I was indulged and, to make it long enough, I added the school teacher's wooden chair for my feet. The rest of the party gathered together old wooden planks, of which there were fortunately quite a number, and that managed to have something dry on which to spread their beddings. All night long it rained and on into the next day. One of the party went down to Chawke Khel for the post, and came back with the news that the motor road over which we had come from Kharadungar was again blocked, that our truck was unable to get back to Panchuk, and that no post had come through. All that day the rain continued, and all the next night and all the next day. By that time we were literally washed out, and on the fourth morning all bedraggled and exhausted we returned to Chawke Khel with the realization that nothing could be worse than the house we were leaving behind us.

Floods!!!

Seeing our plight the inhabitants of Chawke Khel hurriedly did what they could for us and kind friends of a nearby village put at our disposal two rooms in a *Maik-chak* (*Maik-chak*) half-way between Chawke Khel and their home. At that time the herdman was out cutting grass, and when he returned in the evening to find me sitting on his bed, and the two boys cooking food in his kitchen his rage knew no bounds. The kitchen bullock even came in for a taste of his fury, and the poor things became quite nervous, staring at him with large, bewildered, bloodshot eyes. If I had not been there, I am sure all our luggage would have been thrown down the mountain side, and the boys probably kicked out of the kitchen. Gradually his temper subsided, his bed was restored to him, and his kitchen outfit fixed up in the next room. Now we began to study our new abode. The roof did not leak, that was a great thing, but the space was very limited—one small room with all the luggage piled up in a heap, and a slip of a kitchen. The bullocks we discovered though kept in doors all the day, were tied up in the open at night, just outside our rooms, thus appeared to be on regular rotation with which we did not dare to interfere. A small bed was brought for me from the village, but for the rest of the party there was nothing for it but to sleep on the rather damp mud floor. Paper, and

Between breakfast and just enough time before my bed and the milk, mangoes and Gwalior and there stands like in the bare kitchen with their hand on their hips. The owner had the oil-lamp flickering, deep curls upon me than those legs sweeping over my body. All night long the words of singing and being, and the love of it. One voice no better off as I could live by this singing and stretching in the morning when we all composed notes we heard that the two in the kitchen had paid equal—corrected. This condition of things we observed was due to the proximity of the buffaloes. I did not know before that buffaloes had heard from but now I do and shall not forget it.

Meanwhile we began to hunt for some other building but none was to be found. As to the weather the man had at last subdued but the minor road had become so badly bricked that all communication with the plains was cut off and we were told it would take a whole fortnight before motor traffic could be resumed.

(To be continued)

MMA.

HARIJAN

June 30

1951

WRONG APPROACH

The following is taken from "Datta Pradeep New-Jersey" of the Times of India, dated May 22, 1951:

Two men, who have not given us the their Ethical Organisation. This year their number rose to 170,000. And in the coming year I may reach — to the educational authorities estimate — 2,00,000.

And in the number of under-graduates last night, it will be a jump, their "price" always.

How much is a university graduate worth these days? Let us ask high school boy who works as a "water-sprayer" answer.

He says, "It is Rs. 10 a day during summer and more during the rest of the year. Because that is what I earn by spraying water in these fields during the summer months."

And how much is an under-graduate worth these days? If you put this question to one of the little boys has just secured the job of a chamber boy reply will be, "Possibly it was Rs. 25 a month, now it is only Rs. 10. I was then a clerk and now I am only a chamberlain."

But there are not so many like this to spray water on the fields are all high school boys without work, nor is the job of a chamber waiting for every completed under-graduate.

What is the outlook for the Indian last? There will you look at the disappointing falling of at Lucknow's employment exchange. On an average 1,000 men people crowd the queue before the exchange every month, and the exchange officials are also in that job for the heavy life of these people. The queue for jobs that do not exist is getting longer.

Meanwhile high school—and intermediate—students—are getting on with their job of producing more high school jobs.

What is wrong here is not that a high-school boy has to accept the job of a water sprayer at

Rs. 1-6 per day or that an under-graduate has to be a chamberlain at Rs. 25 per month. Indeed, if we want education to spread universally, having regard to the present standard of high school and college education no water-sprayer should have less education than that of a high school boy, nor should a chamberlain be less educated than an under-graduate. And if different occupations are deemed to have different scales of payment, the two cannot complain if they receive the remuneration appropriate for their respective jobs.

The present condition looks 'black' for two reasons. (i) because only a few water-sprayers and chamberlains are matriculates and under-graduates, and so a comparison is made on the ground of 'education' and (ii) 'the educated' by their very training are made less efficient and sturdy water-sprayers and chamberlains than their uneducated colleagues. The result is that both the employer and the employee are more satisfied when the worker is uneducated than when he is educated.

What is needed is (i) that the supervisory complex of the educated must go; he must learn to think that a water-sprayer's or a chamberlain's job is not a proper kind of employment for a matriculate or an under-graduate or that it is less honorable than the work of a copying or a dispatching clerk. If there is to be eight years' compulsory education the whole nation will be educated, every boy and every girl, even a road labourer, a sweeper, and a cart-driver will be a matriculate or an under-graduate, that is, will have the amount of education and literary equipment of the present-day matriculate or under-graduate. Since the ultimate goal will disappear, all work will have to be done by 'honest and perfection'. (ii) the education must therefore be improved so as not to decrease the educated person's efficiency and inclination for jobs requiring physical and constructive labour; and (iii) the difference in scales of remuneration of different jobs must not be so wide as at present. Indeed if differences are to be allowed, better remuneration should be paid for more strenuous or less attractive work than for less hard and more pleasant work. Thus a sweeper and a chamberlain are justified in asking for better wages than a clerk, and if all are equally educated, there is no reason why the clerk should receive Rs. 25, the chamberlain Rs. 45 and the sweeper Rs. 20. The order might come justifiably by the other way. We might draw a lesson in this connection from the rules of remuneration and rebates to prisoners in jails, where the sweeper and the hard-work prisoners get more remuneration and rebates than the professors and light-work prisoners. The jail system based on remuneration and adequate provision of prison necessaries of life is more natural and just than a social system based on misery and liberal provision of space, recreation and drinks.

Wardha, 18-6-51

K. S. MADHUSWALI

Abu Hadid Disturbances

A few weeks ago, Abu Hadid had become a scene of popular disturbances which were quelled by police firing and methods of repression usually attendant upon police rule. The acts of the police were severely criticized by district leaders, some having even compared them with the Jahanwala Singh tragedy. Though this was a gross exaggeration, even moderate and responsible unofficial investigators had passed stringent criticism against the conduct of some of the officials and the police in general.

The Government of Bombay held an official enquiry. Though I understood, that an unpopular officer has been removed, the official enquiry has exacerbated the police of excesses. The report has not reached even Shri Sarfati, the most balanced, restrained and impartial of the moderate critics. He observes:

I must confess that the Police have done well, because the impression I had independently arrived that the conduct of some of the officers after the injury in the D.D.P. and during the execution of the earlier order was reprehensible (unethical and unbecoming) [Shrihari Vishwanathji, (24-6-51)]

Besides the usual methods of official enquiries, exaggerations on the part of popular agitators are also responsible for such unsatisfactory results. In this age of publicity and propaganda, reporters of news are not satisfied with their productions, unless they have made them sensational reading. In the false dazzling glow of exaggeration, even the little true light that might have been at the back of the picture is made invisible and disreputable.

Leaders agitating for particular causes on behalf of the people would do well to have a meticulous regard for accuracy. A little understatement is better than a false exordium. In a majority of cases in which persecutions led and the accused go unpunished: it is not that the accused had not committed the offence but in the absence of or along with reliable and truthful evidence: a good deal of concocted evidence is put forth making the whole a doubtful story. My advice to the popular leaders of Abu Hadid is to carefully observe the rules of the Sayya gharis code in their agitation. If they suffer in spite of such observation they must regard the suffering as inevitable and necessary for the success of their cause. Let them observe truth with the faith that it must succeed in the end.

I also request the Bombay Government to remember that they have ordered Abu to a certain extent agitated, or without agitating the wishes of the people in general. It is up to them to win the goodwill of the masses with just justice and measures for their benefit. If the people—the masses—feel, whether rightly or wrongly that they would be happier with their association with Rasthaphur, the Bombay Government must not stand in their way. If they feel that the masses are given a wrong lead and against their true interests, they must be won over by reasoning, persuasion, actual proofs and acts of atonement.

Wardha, 26-6-51.

K. G. M.

COMMENTS AT BOM

an interesting appearance at the National Council in Bombay on 26 May 1951.

I attended the 100th Anniversary celebration of the Praying Mantis Vidyapeeth, established from the Praying Mantis Vidyapeeth, Lucknow. The object of the celebration was to mark the 100th anniversary.

The meeting took place on May 2. The meeting started at 10.30 and proceeded to the hall. I arrived at 1.30 and was welcomed by my friends. The meeting started at 1.30 and proceeded to the hall.

The meeting started at 1.30 and proceeded to the hall. I arrived at 1.30 and was welcomed by my friends. The meeting started at 1.30 and proceeded to the hall.

When I was making the food, I was asked to make a piece of food for my friends. I was asked to make a piece of food for my friends. I was asked to make a piece of food for my friends.

Shrihari Vishwanathji.

Shrihari, the meeting is a gift of two different kinds and to participate in it is a great honor. It is a gift of two different kinds and to participate in it is a great honor. It is a gift of two different kinds and to participate in it is a great honor.

Just what is really happening in the world which led the countries, who mean I believe to be a teacher to India, such an injury as her business conduct as she did. It was a mistake, I think, to be a teacher to India. It was a mistake, I think, to be a teacher to India. It was a mistake, I think, to be a teacher to India.

Shri Saradh Narasimha said that the above note several weeks ago. Before publishing it, I desired it proper to verify the allegations, and wrote to the heads of the Praying Mantis Vidyapeeth, Lucknow and the Rasthaphur Vidyapeeth, Lucknow asking for their comments. Some of them has responded. Hence, I must venture that the young lady's complaint is unfounded.

The Praying Mantis Vidyapeeth is an old institution and I believe, under the control of some of the prominent leaders and men of letters of U.P. The Principal is a celebrated Hindi poetess. I hope she classifies the check which Shrihari Vishwanathji gave her as a receipt. I hope she classifies the check which Shrihari Vishwanathji gave her as a receipt. I hope she classifies the check which Shrihari Vishwanathji gave her as a receipt.

The founders of the institution from which she was sent up have chosen to name it after Kashi. I do not know how they have taken this behavior towards their student. If they

take the most honest, it would be better to drop Vaidya's name. They must not send their challenge for the maintenance of the Mitha Vaidya's religious concepts of treatment and a just mode of administration are assured and proper reports available for the state.

The Government should might look toward it as an attempt to appear that a young girl of religious importance has been dignified by an orthodox qualified but orthodox minister. It must not be made too much of. But the danger lies in this very pretence to enhance it. This seemingly small matter might well become the seed of a fatal disease.

The incident has taken place in the capital of U P. This makes it all the more important. It strengthens the primitive opinion that the leaders and administrators of U P, have been dangerously gravitating towards reactionary conservatism. The communal riots and the destruction and forcible possession of places of worship grow from such beginnings.

The Mitha Vaidya Prayag, would do well to correctly explain to the young lady and make proper arrangements to re-establish her of necessity.

Wardha 18-6-51

E. G. BHAKTAVALLA

MAN ON MONKEY

[The following has been taken from the hand of Major (Retired) of February 1951 p. 12. — E. G. B.]

What is wrong? I asked Tom White.

Nothing. That's what makes me different from a monkey, Tom!

"Baby talk!" queried Tom.

"Correctly put," laughed the printer of doom. "Read that paragraph at the top of the page. It was written by a doctor who was a member of the British Parks Society so he will be lost."

"Have few very much walked out?" asked Tom then. "Have five men the heads of a human being and few others have into the heads of a monkey. Suppose I belonged to you the group of a monkey baby and that of an adult chimpanzee on the same day, probably some of the world's most difficult to appreciate. They are placed exactly the same in the end stage. Suppose however that I made anthropomorphic actions of the two heads and showed them to you, you would make several call groups in the human eyes that are absent from that of the ape."

That's something the British but where is the chimpanzee? something Tom.

"Let me illustrate," said the editor. "Look at my clock and think of it as the head of a chimpanzee of human age. Now I move my eye slowly with my handkerchief. Think of it now as the head of a human infant."

"There was more, Sir that the human baby looks inside in like a green monkey's, but I am an older scientist that makes all the difference."

Finally then the towering layer of call shows over the surface of the human head, which the monkey does not possess. It enters the chimpanzee."

"What is it?" asked Tom.

"The group of nerve centres on the side of the high or human forehead and mental functions—3 opposed outward the area of vision and self-criticism. These things make us different from the monkey."

"That's it! Not so complicated. I'd be like a monkey!" laughed Tom. "I'd better take care of it!"

The clock shows your brain. Read that paragraph at the bottom of the opposite page."

"The first effect of alcohol is small doses is to soothe, or tend to sleep, the cells of the highest level of the human brain. When you take a moderate dose of alcohol in wine, beer, or whisky you are soothing and putting out of action by which or in part the very portion of your anatomy which is distinctly human, the part that makes you at least the head of the third."

"The next with, then, but we'll have to stop. Have some a customer?"

"May I come back, Sir, I want to ask a lot of questions?—Meanwhile I will try to be a man and not a monkey!"

ON WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLI

IN SEARCH OF MITHA VAIIDYAS

XIII

April 2, Kooracham Twenty-sixth mile, 8 miles

A small but ideal village surrounded by hills with big fields and well-kept roads. The hills were not separated from others as in other the way to other places. These hills were also gently rising from within and without to give the hills. Marriage a companion had not come down yet. He had continued his way in spite of fear. He believed that work, preparation, faith, rest, prayer and devotion, change in the way would eliminate the fear. We requested Vaidya to take rest and not mind the poor lady, as the preparation was about a hundred miles. But he could not consent to disregard the second hundred villages that had come all along from the surrounding villages. Though feeling very weak, he insisted the people—that is, the hills and then in village. In spite of the severe hill cases resulting in the destruction of crops and destruction of human and the village's depression and despair of people, he did not want to leave it. I left before reaching home and children of the surrounding villages had gathered to hear the message of Jesus. This, it was, a thing of the hills in God which he deeply buried in the minds of the people and before long, the hills were a man of God come near. The hills was transformed in Mitha who also had himself been led by the light of these things and great human knowledge spread upon a shocking accident characterizing the past people again.

It was not difficult. There was a different good feeling to that a human and many who had good crops. The early the hillside had not been without the hills. I have said that he was lost. Of that I also am not of course, and he felt that God did so in order to see how people helped one another on such religious occasions. He wanted to see to what extent the quality of character which he constantly kept on observing in his presence had penetrated in them. But I found none even nearby. How would we be worthy of his compassion, if they failed to help one another on such occasions.

It was their duty. There was, in fact, to the spirit of charity and under what conditions they could. It was not proper to look to the Government to see to their self themselves maintaining themselves. He asked they, however, had to do their part of the duty. For they must remember that while government had their functions, the strength of the people was unlimited. The people with Government medical aid in order if they shall fall ill. They would of course begin to be wherever they themselves could. The same should be the case in a village when it visited the whole country which was but their extended family. Let them realize that God wanted to test them, and they lost a good opportunity if they did not successfully stand the test.

There should ever think that test of effort on his part would not mean much difference. He himself would be the loser was the proper way of thinking.

Even, then, had to see whether he had paid any thought and performed any act for his country, and his society. That was the sign of being. If they were ready, they would think that way. There was no end to

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TWO ANNAS

KING VINODA AT SHEVARAMPALLI

IV

IMPERIALISTIC VINDICA

(Summary of Vinoda's speech at Shevarampalli on the 23rd April 1931, the fourth day of the Haridosh Conference.)

King Vinoda said that the experience of communalism had been for the last four days at the Conference was an exchange of mutual love. It was a unique feature in life. The crowd consisted of no workers from all over India who participated in the Conference had expected no material benefit from the meeting there. In an age held to be most after profit the presence of such a large number of men who did not seek for profit was an unique phenomenon.

While the three minutes allotted to each speaker, each had spoken on a problem on which he himself had worked. The speeches were not discursive but related experience and problems arising out of them. Vinoda said that he had heard almost all the speeches with close attention and had received much material for reflection.

A unique feature of the Conference was Vinoda said, that they discussed a problem, and left it there, without giving any immediate solution. This was quite unlike other gatherings of this nature. Some might say that there was no need to do this in the discussion if they did not find any solution. In the course of circulating his reply to K. B. D. Vinoda related an incident of Alexander the Great, who had a phylaxer museum, which he showed to his people. The museum had things of several great men with their names inscribed on them. It did not, however, contain an effigy of Alexander himself. If a guest asked Alexander the reason for the omission, he used to say that if his statue were to be placed there, the statue might look for the name of the person whose the statue was supposed to represent and upon seeing the title might ask like the perplexed question who that Alexander was. Hence, it was better that people asked why his statue was not there than they should see the statue and wonder who it was. Similarly it was better, Vinoda said, to leave the discussion as they were without posing questions and straightforwardly begin to work according to one's understanding in the light of the discussion than pose resolutions and then not implement them. The new practice adopted left no room for discussion to any man. Every one felt free to take what light he could.

Talks with Provincial Workers

Referring to the several meetings with workers of various provinces he expressed his satisfaction and said that they gave him an opportunity to focus his attention on the special problems of individual provinces and suggest solutions and take so serious consideration. He expressed hope that the workers on their return from the Conference would try to put his suggestions into practice. The particular benefit of such group meetings of provincial workers was Vinoda continued, that he came nearer to each group. Emphasizing the importance of direct contact Vinoda said, "The flame is better than the flame, Love is better than the flame, but as long as

the body lasts and particularly when we desire to create India in every special manner and therefore not only India but the whole world the necessity of direct contact remains. Hence this step. I have been much benefited by it.

Next Programme

Regarding his next programme Vinoda said "God willing I shall tour the Communist-infested area for about a month or two and I request the Government to help me in this task. I want the Government to allow Communists to meet me undisturbed and without fear. If Government do this work I hope that my tour would benefit not only me but the whole country."

Five-fold Programme

Vinoda then recapitulated his last days' speech regarding the five-fold programme. King Vinoda said that he had formulated a small mental line for it. **वैयर्थ्य**, **अवैयर्थ्य**, **व्यवस्था**, **व्यवस्था**, **व्यवस्था** (translated) meant rational cleanliness, labour peace and education. Several party men for party of heart, that is, the house-life movement. **वैयर्थ्य**. Now he said that this programme was too rigid and should be discarded. Others had said that it was not radical enough and included only the workers without allowing the rest of the problem. When a programme was discarded from two opposite sides King Vinoda said it was an indication that it was correctly conceived according to the rule of the golden mean, and was sufficient for the time being.

Extensive cleanliness should for public cleaning which should be done in every village.

The third was physical labour. This meant not only the doing of physical labour but, upon the idea that the dignity of labour. People did not work, labour out of laziness but they had to respect for it. This then meant the enhancement of the dignity of labour.

The fourth was Peace. By Peace he meant Peace amongst. He advised each of the workers to treat himself both as a soldier as well as a General of Peace. If they worked with this spirit, they could acquire Peace amongst at every place. And they had to overcome everything including the state of 400 to the state of Peace. As a token of it, each one should give a bank of peace.

Freedom and Imperishability

Throughout his speech he worked the rise and fall of nations following the same pattern. A nation declined here and ascended there there on the ruins. People expected their sympathy to the one that was vanquished, and when it struggled for freedom and its labour was rewarded they admired and applauded it. But certainly enough the very next century would see it lead in rising the power of freedom within a few years of its success was bound to run counter again to other nations. Vinoda recalled here when he was young they (the people of India) considered Italy for its struggle for freedom and praised her, for successfully resisting foreign aggression and extending the glory of India. But within a few years they saw that this very Japan

THE DUTY OF THE STATE TOWARDS KHADD

(By Subodhchandra Dasgupta)

II. Forest Policies

It is regrettable to find that the largest part of the attention of the Central and State Governments has gone to the large and mechanized industries. The process of impoverishment created by the destruction of cottage industries by the mechanized ones, has gone on even at more rapid speed, than during the British rule in some cases. The creation of rice mills is one instance. In these few years of independence hand- or dhand-pounding of rice is going down and down. And it may be, if the process is not stopped, hand-pounding of rice would be as rare as khadd. And both these industries flourished in all cottages at one time, promoting employment freely like the free flow of the Ganga.

Khadd vs. Cottage Industries. By the destruction of these cottage industries the mills have created no new wealth. India was being clothed by hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. After clothing India, the surplus was exported. By 1929, the exports were yet the order of the day. Imports were then just coming. England imposed prohibitive duties on the importation of Indian manufactures in England and allowed British goods to come and compete with our cottage-industrial products on equal duty and allowed these industries to be crushed.

When the Indians learnt a little of mechanization the Indian capitalists thankfully bought the capital goods and machinery from England, and carried on the same work that Lancashire and Birmingham were doing merely, creating the ruin of our cottage industries and creating unemployment throughout the length and breadth of India.

The Indian textile and similar industries were doing the work of exploitation of the masses in the same manner as the foreign mills were doing. It may appear harsh but it is true. Capitalist ventures are capitalists and suffer from common diseases. If society is disrupted, if unemployment is created, it is no matter for the capitalists to restrain their activities out of humanitarian or patriotic considerations. They are apt to react to restraints brought on them, outside. Normally grand mistakes the ventures and very often greed has exterior polish to hide its real nature.

I shall give two textile examples here. During the seven years, 1871 to 1878, there was no increase in the importation of foreign yarn or foreign cloth in India, and during these very years there were 9 lakh cotton spindles freshly installed in India. This means that during this period the entrepreneurs of the Indian mills resulted in putting out of action 90 lakh

spindles, or cottage spinning spindles in India. It may be said that by setting up these mills foreign imports were minimized proportionately to local production in later years. True, but these capitalists who invested in these mills could have potentially thought that the deprivation of millions of our fellow beings of their occupations without creating equal employment in other fields was a bad job. They could have thought like this and left this evil to be done in India by the Britishers alone. They could have invested in developing new ventures. They could have exploited our mineral resources and manufactured products out of them and thereby could have created new wealth. But they followed the example of those who looted the poor man of the means of their subsistence, those poor whom the Government did not protect. To speak again of the textiles, when India was taking a heavy toll of life in India in 1918-19, the cotton mills found it convenient to double the prices of mill yarn and clothing and doubled their capital by extra profit in that one year, when ten per cent of the population of India succumbed to the epidemic. The Census Report of 1921 says that the high price of cloth was one of the reasons of the severity of the havoc, because people could not get cloth for covering themselves during the winter days of November when the disaster was at its climax.

It is no good political economy to allow these things happen uncontrolled, on the pretext of non-interference with trade. There is interference with trade affecting almost every aspect of our economic structure, but often the interference is such that it helps the rich to exploit the poor. In that sense it is bad political economy.

III. Suggestions

The Independence Day Pledge. India lost her hand-spinning industries as a result of social and commercial injustices. That injustice has to be rectified. The Independence Day declaration promised that justice by declaring amongst other things that khadd shall be the only wear.

Therefore it is not just that after the attainment of independence, a cess should be levied on those mills that compete with cottage industries and help the latter like corresponding cottage industries by subsidy and by providing technical training in the art or craft, and by providing for necessary capital to be repaid by instalments. The question then arises about the extent to which the cess should be levied and subsidy given. The matter is quite simple. It would depend upon the capacity of the producers to expand and create production. The cess will be gradually increased till mill prices equal cottage production prices. After that there will be no necessity of subsidy. The cess only will remain.

Suppose for example, the cost of Khadi is Rs 2/- per yard (which it is not) and that the price of mill-cloth is Rs 1/- per yard (which it is not). The round figures have been chosen only for illustration. On the above premises there is a difference of Rs 1/- per yard between hand-made and mill-made cloth. If a cost of one pice per yard on mill-cloth is levied it increases the mill price by one pice, and that fetches, say, a crore of rupees. With these a co-oper. an organisation is set up and a crore rupees worth of khadi is sold at mill price. As more and more khadi will be made and the mill cloth cost will rise further and higher, ultimately at one stage mill cloth will be as cheap as or to cost Rs 1-8-0 in place of the 1/- actual cost. Khadi will enjoy a subsidy of 8 annas per yard, and mill cloth at mill-cloth price of Rs 1-8-0 per yard by this subsidy of eight annas or two rupees per yard worth of khadi. In the final stage it will be all khadi and no mill. In practice a balanced stage would be reached where some mill cloth will be allowed to remain in special lots kept out of the khadi regime.

This higher cost of mill-cloth cannot lead to a general rise in prices, for here, in this case, 50 per cent of the people will be both producers and consumers. Today for an illness and also for want of capital or instruments the people cannot open and wear their own khadi. The industry will just provide that anti-illness and people will produce their own cloth and wear it themselves. The country as a whole will be richer on account of juster distribution of wealth. Every one will gain and none will lose by nationalising the production of khadi. Money will circulate in the village and increase the buying capacity of the masses. The mills will not be able to exist. With cheap Indian labour and excellent Indian engineering skill, mill-cloth will be exportable wherever there is an export demand. Care should be taken to see that Indian mill cloth does not create unemployment in the land of its importation. If no such market could be found the textile mills will change their character and cast themselves to the new circumstances and convert themselves to be applied to other uses.

Central and State Governments: The imposition of taxes for protection of cottage industries is a central subject. The States are helpless. Some States have been trying to work up to some formula of production in cottage-industrial form. These States cannot do very much. To save these industries from the competition of cheap mill products the levy of a cess is necessary. The matter brooks no delay. If the rising surge of unemployment is to be checked if unbalanced occupational distribution is to be removed if the situation arising from an insignificant percentage of India's population enjoying 55 per cent of the total income of the country

is to be corrected, then there is no other way but to protect the cottage industries and allow wealth to be created and distributed on cottage-industrial basis.

Today the Governments at the Centre and in the States are striving for inducing investments of capital from the capitalists. To save their mill products and woo them successfully to invest more may not be very practicable. Supposing they do not respond to the appeal to work for the common weal but attempt for more and more accumulation of wealth in a few hands? Will India wait? Why not create wealth by the labour of the millions in cottages and realise that through the co-operatives? All the wealth that may be needed for carrying through the various utility projects of India can come out of newer creations of wealth in the hands of the masses. Winning the capitalists as is being done today has not proved to be of much use. A new method is needed where the State will lead and die for the millions of poor people and approach them also for creating the reserve of capital for the purposes of building a greater nation of healthy, industrious and happy men and women.

The wronging should be reversed. The wronging should be actively and demonstratively to the poor. Not wordy exhortations only. The poor should be put in the way of earning themselves and working vigorously. If all the capital necessary for the large projects is to be had without harming the mass of the poor, then it would be wise to wait and create newer wealth by mass employment and get surplus from them for capital investments on national projects. By the extreme exhortation for the capitalists as is being shown today, disservice is done to the masses and their loyalties are alienated. The signs of the times should be taken note of. The day of retrib for the poor and the down-trodden has come — whether the State favours it, or, on the contrary, attempts to suppress it.

Khadi is a symbol. Let not the Government fail to accept the importance of removing unemployment through cottage industries by levying cesses on the competing mill industries. We have now heard that the cesses by the wage capitalists is a thing of the past and that they are now disclosing amounts of all their secret incomes and investments in India or in foreign countries and that they have lined themselves up for making the welfare State a success. The surreptitious and black markets are indications to the contrary. The Government should look to giving employment to the poor. If one means paying out of the poor man's pocket, it also means putting in more in his pocket by way of subsidy and his own additional income by the employment of unemployed labour.

Sothapur, 7-4-51

(Continued)

ADVERTISEMENTS

The other day I purchased a Madras magazine from the railway book-stall to pass away my hours in the train. I soon discovered that I had not made a good choice as the reading matter of the magazine did not interest me at all. So I cast my eyes on the advertisements. They awakened the statistician in me, and occupied me for about an hour and a half. I took a piece of paper and pencil, and the following is the result of my statistical analysis:

Analysis of matter printed:

	No. of pages
Advertisements	52
Portraits and illustrations of doubtful interest	5.5
Filler, a word and bank notices	8.5
Cuttings	2
3 COMBIC scripts for primary kids	1
5—Articles	15
1 Number of foreign scripts	2
2 Number of Indian scripts	4
Titles, Index etc.	1
Total number of pages	81

Analysis of Advertisements and Coverage

Medicines for depression, Constip.	17
Food, drink and tobacco etc.	23
Sex topics	12
Medicines—continued delay with stress on shorter action	12
Dispensing medicines	22
Drugs Control by and medicines	4
Drugs Control (contraceptives)	2
Medicines to have none	2
*Improving figures	2
*Goods of very doubtful quality	15
and	
Goods for cheating gullible persons (all as stated in the advertisement)	1
* "Moon Island" agencies for money or the friends of child sex	12
* Sex + doctor at home	2
* Miscellaneous	1
* Competition for money, providing Rs 500, 1000—Nagpur advertisement	24
Total No. of Advertisements	161

Notes

1. Cures are for cholera, T B, Hydrophobia, Polio, Hysteria, Piles, Diabetes, Dizziness, Eye-sight, Catarrh, Easy delivery, Skin diseases, Asthma, Leprosy, Snake-bite etc.

2. Normal advertisements may or may not be as advertised, but are otherwise "natural". Doubtful goods are almost certainly of bad quality or a hoax on the buyers. Imitation gold and marked cards are of use more or less for cheating purposes. Circulation of magazine—*not known*.

3. Rates for advertisements Rs 125/- per page, 5 to 15 per cent higher for large space and (under the above rate for advertisements relating to games, contraceptives, food-buff goods, rare tips etc.

Probable income from advertisements: Rs 5,000/- approximately for every issue (fairly high).

4. Incidentally in U.S.A. almost all advertisements except those marked with asterisk (*)

are prohibited by law. All competitions, cross-words etc. come under gambling—but the actual charge put against these advertisements is "lured by fraud." Even those with asterisks must be properly worked, I guess.

U.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN

[Madame Eugenie Curzon, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, in the course of a letter interesting the following appeal writes:]

As a result of the possibility of offering violent escape, men are now in a position to destroy all life on the surface of the earth, and the world itself.

The sporting efforts of humanity throughout the centuries for triumphs of science and art, are in danger of disappearing, and what is still growing children, the world's future, are threatened with annihilation in a total war.

Doctors and scientists who are fighting race to step on that life still triumph, humanitarian workers and artists who want to make that life richer and more beautiful, and finally persons, whose hearts are full of love and fear for the little ones they have brought into the world—all feel the necessity of uniting to protect innocent and defenceless children.

"It is with the purpose of achieving an overwhelming unity that the Women's International Democratic Federation issues the universal appeal."

—(E. S. H.)

Dark clouds of war hover over the world. Peace is in danger. Our hearts are filled with deep anxiety for the fate of our children.

The war in Korea shows us what a new world war would be for the children of all countries.

Hundreds of thousands of Korean children were exterminated during the bombardments of the civilian population, or died of hunger and cold, thrust out on the roads during the freight escape.

In a great number of countries, children already suffer from the consequences of war preparations. Budgets for health, housing and education are decreased while the war budgets mount. Day by day the overwhelming havoc being increased suffering, many families can no longer provide sufficient and nourishing food for their children.

In most colonial countries underdevelopment has given place to famine.

The deterioration of children's health and the growth of child mortality threatens the future generations of a great number of countries.

To save the children, the most precious wealth of humanity, we appeal to all men and women of good will to all organizations interested in children's welfare, to participate in an International Conference on Children, which will discuss the problems of what can be done to assure to all children a happy life in a world at peace, to defend the right to life, health and education of all the children of the world.

Communications to be addressed to:
MADAME EUGENIE CURZON,
President,

Women's International Democratic Federation

13 Unter den Linden, Berlin W 8
Telegraphic Address: "Friedrichs, Berlin."

WHAT IS "SECULAR" ?

I read that H. M. Munshi's letter addressed to me published in *Harilal* dated May 15th, 1933. While I agree with that Munshi that to a secular State, tolerance to every religion will be due to follow their own religious practices unfettered, it strongly differs with him that a State pledged to secularism should "pay out of its treasury money to give help to religious shrines, mosques, temples and churches. Such a State would guarantee all religions due to be treated as equal religions united State. Our Government strictly speaking is following such a policy. I know recently the Central Government spent Rs. 10,000 on the repairs of the Shrine of Qutab Minar in Mathura, the Emperor Government and even the President of our Republic grant patronage to all religious shrines. Thus the policy of our Education Minister is that religious education is imparted to the students who should have a comparative study of all religions. Again this is something against the true outlook of secularism. Hence in my opinion it is not a fault of that Munshi but something basically wrong with our conception of secular State. Such is my opinion is a multi-religious united State not but a secular State.

—MR. KUNIPAL AGRAWAL

Though the word secular has been used in the Constitution of India, its meaning has not been specifically defined in it. Hence, it must be defined in the light of other provisions of the Constitution. It does not appear to prohibit the State from spending money for certain purposes, even if the benefit of the expenditure should go to the followers of a particular religion only. What is expected is that no particular religion would be treated with more favour or disfavour than others. The expenditure for the repairs of the Mahabudh Shrine might have been justifiable as a monument of historical importance, or — for aught I know — as having been damaged during communal disturbances. In either case the expenditure stands on a different footing.

We are concerned with the meaning of the word secular as intended by the Constitution and not its dictionary meaning. And if we have deliberately used it in the sense of "equal regard for all religions" or in the corresponding verb, "multi-religious", we need not feel that we have erred. At the most, it means only that the word has been used in a special and modified sense in India. It does not mean "separation of religious truth", or "opposed to religious education etc." or "profane" as given in dictionaries. There is nothing in the word to prevent us from giving it that meaning.

Varanasi, 15-6-33

K. C. BHAMBHANI

COMMUNAL UNITY

By Mahadev Gauda

Price Rs. 2-0-0

Postage etc. Rs. 1-3-0

NAVJYOT PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AMRITSAR

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT OF CONFERENCE

It may be of general interest, at these days when it is usually considered impossible to hold any meeting, however small without a very considerable financial outlay, to analyse the final accounts of the All India Home Education Conference held at Sevagram in March, which are now available.

The consolidated statement is as follows:—

Receipts and Expenditure Account

Receipts	
By sale of meal tickets	Rs. 1,574 11 0
By contribution from Talukdar for food of students volunteers at 5 annas a head a day	550 0 0
By sale of remaining stock	712 10 0
By sundry proceeds	660 0 0
Total	Rs. 3,516 0 0

Expenditure	
To food	Rs. 4,837 8 2
To wages	" 128 8 6
To sundry expenses	" 444 12 0
Credit balance	587 5 2
Total	Rs. 5,812 0 0

General Account	
Receipts	
By donation	Rs. 500 0 0
By bus tickets	" 811 4 8
By sale of materials	" 1,868 10 8
Debit balance	" 1,777 8 0
Total	Rs. 3,853 4 8

Expenditure	
To equipment	Rs. 1,808 11 0
To transport & living charges of equipment	" 265 11 0
To petrol etc. for bus	" 487 1 0
To lighting	" 111 14 0
To printing & postage	338 10 0
To exhibition	" 185 12 0
Miscellaneous	" 389 8 3
Total	Rs. 3,853 4 8

Deficit on General Account	Rs. 1,777 8 0
Balance on notes account	" 587 5 2

Amount met from Talukdar for food	Rs. 1,400 0 0
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The *Mahabudh Talukdar* Sangh had budgeted Rs. 1,400/- for the conference, which lasted for a week. The budget was not exceeded, though the attendance was much in excess of that anticipated. There were 650 delegates and visitors from outside Sevagram, who were given accommodation in the premises of the Talukdar Sangh, the Ashram, the Khadi Vitayalaya and

the Kalahele Hospital. The only charges made were the \$4.00 a day for food.

If each delegate and visitor had been asked to pay a registration fee of only the \$4, and to provide himself with his own utensils for eating and bathing, and his own blanket and lantern, the conference could easily have been made entirely self-supporting. This is the ideal at which all conferences of constructive workers should aim.

How were the overhead charges of the conference kept down to this low figure? The answer is thrift, and each part of it embodies a principle which can and should be applied to all such gatherings in a steady country like ours.

The first principle is simplicity. We began our active preparations only a week ahead of the time of the conference. First we turned our cattle into the field and cleaned up their stalls for our own use. All our men and boys camped in the bush, all our women and girl students lived under canvas, so that all our permanent living quarters were available for guests. We did not try to make elaborate preparations; we limited ourselves to ensuring the essentials—proper arrangements for food, sanitation, bathing and sleep. We offered hospitality at the same standard of living as we accept for ourselves—with one exception. In our regular menu, we limit ourselves to 5 acres a day as the cost of food. It was felt by the Reception Committee that we could not impose this limit on a conference of people of very varied backgrounds from every part of India, and therefore the \$4.00 a day was accepted as the standard. The Europeans and Americans among our guests much appreciated this simplicity; they would have been embarrassed and unhappy if any elaborate special arrangements had been made for them.

This simple standard of hospitality meant that our ordinary permanent buildings, together with the few tents we were able to borrow locally, were sufficient to house all the 150 visitors, and that the pandal for meetings was the only large temporary structure which had to be built and for which some paid labour had to be employed. On a site containing large and shady trees even this expenditure could have been eliminated.

The next principle is self-reliance. The whole of Kilauea community, by common consent, organized itself as a volunteer army for carrying out all the work of preparation, reception, and care of conference guests. During the week preceding the meetings a committee of staff and students met every night to review the work of the day and plan that of the next day. Every member had his or her job according to capacity, from digging trenches to dealing with correspondence. Even in the kitchen, the lion's share of the work was done by our own staff and

students, but because of the very large numbers to be served for, it was necessary to employ one cook and two women helpers in addition. When the conference delegates arrived they too offered themselves willingly for orderly duties and set vegetables, except the dining hall, served meals and did all kinds of jobs which effectively supplemented the work of the "home team." Not constructive workers only, but any average group of devoted young people will readily respond to an appeal to join in orderly work, if it is made in the right way. If the work is then well organized, it will be a most valuable and enjoyable addition to any conference on any subject.

The third principle is thrift—a proper sense of responsibility and care in the public money and the handling of equipment. Here too a fundamental educational principle is involved. In Kilauea we are trained to render account of whatever material, equipment or money we handle on behalf of the community, whether in such work, in life in the kitchen or wherever it may be. The careful accounting for every part of the conference equipment was a natural extension of a principle which forms a normal part of our daily training. Clearing up, after the conference was over, was organized as carefully, and carried out as thoroughly, as the preparation beforehand. If the delegates could have revisited the scene two days after their departure they would have found hardly a trace of their recent occupation. Like any other item of the educational programme, the conference was finally "assessed" by the students concerned, and judgment passed on the quality of the work done. This careful and systematic check was responsible for the fact that so large a percentage of the conference expenses could be recovered by the re-sale of used materials in good condition.

A large part of the responsibility for various aspects of the work was shouldered by post-graduate school students, and by the members of the teachers' training course who had been less than five months under training when the conference began.

MAXIMILIAN EVERTS

Headmaster, Kilauea School,
Kilauea, Hawaii

(Note: Mrs E. W. Aryankaram and her able collaborators deserve congratulations for this exemplary economical management of the Conference. None who had the privilege of participating in it will complain that the economy was at the expense of reasonable comfort.)

—E. G. M.

TO THE STUDENTS

By Mahatma Gandhi

Paperina + 12a Pasa Ka 12-13 Pasa etc. An 12
NAVAJAHAM PUNJHONG HOUSE
Pasa Pasa 105, AMBILARAD

HARIJAN

July 7

1951

LINGUISTIC SEPARATIONS

I find that agitation is still carried on in Gujarat over the award of Tehsilward Committees taking the Dang area to Nashik District for the purposes of elections. Shri Kanaspol Desai, President, Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, acted as a spokesman-like member in accepting the award with grace. He said:

"This decision will cause great joy and disappointment in Gujarat. We have however agreed to abide by it and I accept it. That is the only way in which we ought to resolve our differences if we wish to conduct ourselves in a democratic way."

The Committee say in this award:

"We wish to make it clear that our decision is concerned solely with the formation of constituencies for the next General Elections. It has nothing whatsoever to do with the larger question as to whether in the event of linguistic provinces being formed in the Bombay State the Dang should be part of Gujara-
rat or Maharashtra. That is a matter reserved to the decision on the hitherto questions referred to us and will have to be independently considered if and when it arises. Our decision should not be deemed to prejudice that issue in any way."

The protagonists of 'Dang to Gujarat' should take this clarification as sufficient.

On the rival claims of Gujarat and Maharashtra regarding Dang, I am incapable of thinking with a bias for any particular province or language and am stronger to the reactions which make the patrons of any particular province or language. But I am glad to read the following paragraph in one of the statements of Shri Kanaspol Desai:

My contention is that Bombay is a composite province with three principal languages. In such a province there are bound to be areas where more than one language is in vogue. Language cannot be the basis of being non-Brahmins in such a case. The only criterion can be affinity and civilisational cohesiveness."

With the addition of the words, "and the best interests of the masses inhabiting such areas", to the last sentence, I would adopt the above paragraph for deciding to which province a particular area should go.

Even as early as 1936, I had begun to doubt the wisdom of the Karachi resolution regarding the establishment of linguistic States, and had pleaded for its revision. I believe that it is possible to give the people all the benefits of a non-linguistic province without a complete separation of administrative functions. Indeed, I believe that it is in the interest of the people to have multi-linguistic States rather than non-linguistic ones. Our administrative set-up is already too costly, and an increase in the number of States is an extravagance, which India cannot afford. Shri M. N. Seshiah advocates that even the present States should be dissolved

and all India should be administered in some-what like Commissioner's Provinces. His view deserves to be carefully considered. But that apart, multi-linguistic States will be a corrective to provincialism and uncoordinated development of languages. They will also enable the Government to appoint officers, who have no local considerations or influences. This is very necessary at times.

It is desirable, of course, that all people speaking the same language, should as far as possible be included in the same State. But it is not essential to form One Language, One State. It is not too difficult to accommodate two or three languages in a State with Hindi as the common language for important purposes.

If this view is accepted, such questions as to whether Dang should be linked with Surat or with Nashik would be decided not on the basis of language alone, but on geographical and other administrative considerations. No language, and no linguistic minorities in any part of the whole State need get any cause to feel concerned on account of a different tongue. Provinces would, of course, advise very small minorities to adopt the tongue of the very large majority in the area. Thus Gujarati Sindhis, Punjabi Muslims and others, who have permanently settled down in Poona should, in my opinion, adopt Marathi for all purposes, and Maharashtrais and others in Baroda should become full Gujaratis. Indeed, there are not a few who have already done so. The Gujaratis of Shamlesh Ahemdabad, Solapur District, are almost fully Marathi. Those of Maharashtra and U P Hindi. If some of them speak a different dialect among themselves and call it Gujarati, it is not the Gujarati of Gujarat. Similarly, there are Rajputs in Kannad who are fully Karnataka. The Maharashtrais of Gujarat cannot speak a word of the Marathi language.

I appeal to the protagonists of linguistic provinces to revise and modify their view, and find less separatist solutions of our problems. Where the general masses are so illiterate, unorganised and too simple to understand the different issues involved, it is essential on the part of a few administrators at the top backed by politicians, merchants and demagogues to arbitrarily pass them over from one administration to another, like so many head of cattle. A reformer, too, is not the proper method in such cases. It is worse than a coin, because a coin cannot be influenced by demagogues, money, or drink. An argument which has worked for a long period and to which the people have adapted themselves must not be suddenly changed unless it can be convincingly asserted that the change is in the interest of the masses. I find that in all the countries are expanding these matters, past political history, conventions of administration, trade, communications, natural resources etc. are strept. But the masses are totally forgotten.

The biological process of maturing by division of cells has already succeeded in our country with an alarming pace. It is time we think of reversing the gear in order to grow strong by combination. That, of course, must not be mixed up with controlled power and direction.

Wardha, 22-6-53

A. G. HARRISMAN/PMMA

LEGISLATION BEFORE EDUCATION

(By M. K. GANDHI)

On a previous issue of the *Worker* (1948) p. 149, I had referred to a correspondent from Bihar writing to say that alcohol was good for women as it was according to him the cheapest and easiest way to relieve hunger. I had tried to show by quoting from that *People's Indian Prohibition Manual* that the drink about alcohol was quite the contrary.

The same correspondent had referred to another thing also, and on reading the above mentioned article he wrote to me asking me that I should not have put into this paper. He says that what is needed is that there should grow up among the destitute population a moral tone. They should rise to a moral status and cease to drink by themselves. This is a partial opinion of many others who see dry themselves. They often say that we cannot make a man virtuous by law; a man must grow from within himself. The argument is a broken one, and now may disagree with it. But here the question is different. The drunkard knows that alcohol is bad and he should leave it. He needs no coercion in this sense. But he is an helpless victim. He is to be saved from it. Obviously speaking therefore, there is no question of converting him. Hence it is wrong and unbecoming to argue to the learned upperclass people in that you cannot make a man virtuous by law. It is rather a question of helping him by law to grow to follow a virtue which he follows in. The man is to be saved, and saved from a desperate state that with a monopoly of drink supply and makes good money from it at the cost of the people's health and moral well-being. It is more a question of converting the drink-sufferer to the Government, not to save, but to prevent drink by stopping its sale in. But without arguing any further I would refer the reader to what Gandhiji writes on this question years ago. His speech is reported in the *Young India* of March 16 reproduced below.

(19-3-32)

—M. K. GANDHI

[The Burma Women's Christian Temperance Union invited Gandhiji to the presence of Gandhiji in Rangoon to have him address a meeting of the Union that was held there in the Jubilee Hall, Mon May 1932, who was in the chair, while welcoming Gandhiji as 'India's greatest temperance advocate', requested the fact that often the bad example of the senior members of the family in the houses resulted to a large extent the effect of the temperance propaganda in the schools. Their organisation, she said, had been more and more recognizing the fact that temperance education must precede temperance legislation in order that the latter might be effective. She therefore suggested that what was needed in Burma was an intensive educational campaign amongst adults of all ages, showing the necessity for total abstinence on the part of individuals. How we should remain long open if it could go to be pursued.

Gandhiji replying said]

"Madame and Friends,

"I feel not a little embarrassed in having to address this meeting especially as I do not possess any knowledge about your activities nor was I prepared to face this audience. I thought

that I would have to meet all sorts of people who would come—some out of curiosity and others in order to know my views about temperance. But I see that I am in front of an audience, if I may so name it, of specialists. For I hope that you are all specialists in this work. You, madam, have suggested that if an educative campaign is carried on amongst the people, and as a consequence of that propaganda people who are in the habit of drinking cease to visit liquor shops, there would be no liquor shops in existence. I want to put before you my own experience without combating the view that has been suggested here [he claps].

Conditions in South Africa

"My work in connection with temperance began as early as 1883 when I went to South Africa. When I saw my own people, my own countrymen, drinking and even women drinking who would never think of drinking in India and as a result leading a life of the gutter, I saw that the task was an uphill one. These men and women were not prepared to listen to any lectures on temperance, much less to any personal advice. I saw too that some of them were perfectly helpless or they thought that they were helpless. I adopted many measures, all such measures as were within the competence of a man who is without any authority. But I cannot claim any degree of visible success for those efforts. There was a kind of a 'Liquor Commission' appointed by the Union Government after South Africa became a Union. I gave evidence in rather weak a note for that Commission, but I am again sorry to have to inform you that nothing came out of it. The position in South Africa was and still remains somewhat curious and anomalous. There are three different degrees of restriction on the possession and drinking of liquor. The Bantus and the Zulus are prohibited from carrying bottles with them or from being served in restaurants and yet they do drink. Indians may not possess bottles, but they may drink, as much as they like in the restaurants, with the result, especially to the women, that I have described to you. The white man is of course free. There is no legislation in connection with law, but you may guess what I would like to say. It is that the source of all this evil comes from the freedom of the white men in South Africa. Some of them have assumed a stature by exporting the drink habit of the Bantus and the Indians.

What Happened in India

"Then I came to India, and I found the position very different from the position in South Africa in one respect, but the problem materially the same. There was as you are aware, a halfhearted temperance campaign in 1930-31. And you will not mind my saying to you that if we had then received whole-hearted support from all the temperance organisations throughout the length and breadth of India, we would have achieved complete success. If you are careful

students of the temperance movement in India you would gain the knowledge from the Government reports that we were within an ace of complete success at least in some provinces. Many of the liquor dens were practically closed. Hundreds of opium dens in Assam were destroyed. And then followed the tragedy. It consisted in Government repression. It was a shameful and sorry affair. I think that the movement had a political colour. It was bound to have that political colour. But the political motion should not have deterred temperance organisations from helping a movement that was essentially moral. You will pardon me for taking you through the history which if it is tragic, is also deeply interesting. The repression came about in this fashion. The Government revenue depended down at once in Bihar, in Assam, in the Central Provinces. There was an outbreak of feeling, a desire, a yearning for self-purification. That yearning came, I do not know how,—we do not always know the mysterious ways in which God works. But there is the fact that the political movement became also a movement of self-purification, and in that course thousands of workmen became volunteers to picket liquor shops and opium dens and the people also began to believe that it was their duty to desert the drinking booths. The Government started repression and thousands of volunteers were thrown into jail for the offence of picketing drink and drug shops with the result that today all these systems that were deserted and opium dens that were almost closed are, I am afraid, doing probably the same volume of business as they were doing prior to 1928-29.

Legislation must precede Education

"The moral that I would like to draw from the story is that in this connection in India and Burma—treating Burma as a separate entity for our argument—legislation has really to go hand in hand with educative propaganda if not to precede it. I have not been able to study as carefully as I would like to have done the drink habit of the Burmese. I assure you that ever since I have come into touch with Burmese opinion I am trying to learn from Burmese friends about this drink habit of the Burmese, but I can speak about it only from second-hand evidence as against India about which I can speak from first-hand knowledge. And I am here before you to give me own evidence that drinking is not a habit with the aristocracy, certainly not with the middle-class man; it is a habit confined to the labourers and especially to the factory hands. And that is an interesting piece of evidence that I am placing before you. Why do factory hands drink when they did not drink before they came to work in the factories even as those men and women who went to work in South Africa were not drinking before they migrated there? The answer is that the conditions there are such and

the temptations that are placed in their way are such that they become addicted to the habit of drink. But even these men who have become addicted to the habit of drink do not justify it. They have a sense of shame about it. If you speak to them about it, they will tell you they are helpless, they are labourers, they will tell you all sorts of falsehoods and try to deceive you; but they are ashamed of this habit. In Burma it will be unfortunately on my part if I do not stand a drink when you come to see me. When I was a student in England, I found myself in a most embarrassing position because I would not stand a drink, to friends. But that is not the case in India, and therefore I suggest that it would be a wrong thing for you to say that education has to precede legislation. Education will never be able to cope with the evil. There is no prohibition because drink brings a large revenue. Even Indian ministers say 'We cannot touch this revenue but you must go on educating!'

A Mischiefous Plan

"About this revenue also there is a tragedy. The revenue—it applies to Burma equally with India—should never have been placed in that embarrassing position. Hence as you know is a transferred subject. It should never have been so made. Hence revenue should have remained as part of the central revenue so that it should be open to the Government at any moment to forgo this revenue and declare complete prohibition. In a wiser country like America where drink was so common they have been able to declare prohibition. How much more easy should it be in India or Burma where liquor is not the fashion, where the vast majority of the people do not want liquor, where if you take a referendum you will get millions of signatures in favour of any representation for the introduction of prohibition legislation? The same revenue is 25 crores. It is not a revenue on which any government should take pride in conducting an administration. It is a revenue which must be worked and which it costs, it should be held as sacrosanct and be wholly devoted to the purpose of eradicating the drink evil. But today it is being offered for surrendering our children with the result that a tremendous barrier has been put against the necessary temperance legislation. People are made to think that they will not be able to enforce their children of this revenue stops. If things go on unchecked like this a whole nation might have to perish. If the evil spreads, it may be too late to eradicate legislation. In America it has been possible to educate public opinion in favour of prohibition because there is universal education there but it may not be possible to mobilise public opinion. But that in a country like India where there is illiteracy on such a vast scale and so hardened superstition I would therefore appeal to you especially the women who are concerned with temperance work, to take

conings in both your hands. I do not ask you to take as gospel truth what I have told you. Test the truth for yourselves and if you find that what I have told you is more than confirmed by your investigations, then I suggest that you will make a pious sacred duty to carry on a widespread campaign for total prohibition. The task is difficult only because the rights that have been created through the drink evil belong to the making race.

The Reformer's Position

"If you discuss this problem with the old manufacturers they will tell you all sorts of stories and put all manner of difficulties in the way of carrying the legislation through. Do not believe these difficulties at all. There is no difficulty at all beyond the difficulty of making up the deficit of revenue. If you and I have made up our minds that this evil has got to be eradicated and if it can be eradicated only by prohibition legislation, then it is for the Government to find a way out of the deficit difficulty. It is not open to it to ask you to suggest ways and means for making up that deficit. That would be like the conduct of a man who comes to you with unclean hands and asks you to help him to clean them. However there is the question of picketing. When the psychological moment comes—and I am praying for that moment,—when every liquor shop and opium den is picketed I will expect you to lend a helping hand and not to say, 'How can we help him?' He is an agitator." Even now an intensive agitation for temperance is being carried on in the Soviet district, and that has been possible because there is a band of workers including women belonging to cultured families, self-sacrificing and brave. When we have got a compact body of reliable and unimpeachable workers we shall carry on this campaign over the whole country. And when that time comes you will find the whole of India dotted with pickets and I hope that that influence will percolate through the Bay of Bengal to Burma. Burmese ladies and gentlemen too may then, if they so choose, carry on picketing and thus save a noble race from extinction which so far as I can see places them in the last—as much as it does India—if they are not weeded from the earth in time."

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By Mahatma Gandhi

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NAVAYAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 125, AMBARNATH

SELECTED LETTERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Second Series

XXXX

(To a young man who asked him to save him from wickedness.)

You should make a fixed resolution to be good. Always pray to God to make you good and you will be good.

XXXXII

(Anti-tax for a devotee)

If you must have secret remedies not for the benefit of humanity but for your own pocket, there is no remedy to God or reducing yourself to zero. Look at the Bhagur how they cheer out their living by doing useless work of the community. If you will reduce yourself to nothing you have to do voluntarily and joyously the kind of service that the Bhagur do and at the same time give the poor and the afflicted the benefit of your medical knowledge free of charge. Do not call this impracticable because many have been able to do it successfully.

XXXXIV

(To Reader Chaitan)

To strive is the whole duty of man. And if the enemy fears as whole we continue the struggle to the end of our ability, let us not be down-hearted in the least. We must be on our legs again and resume the struggle. There is no reason to be ashamed as long as we have not contributed to our defeat, for it is not a defeat at all.

Be very careful to avoid bad dreams. If at any time during the night you find yourself excited, don't give way to laziness, but get up at once, drink cold water, sit in it and pour it on the forehead. Very often it is enough, so rise, walk to and fro and take Ramamansa. Again whenever we have the time, we should remember chaste man like Bhishma and their spiritual strength. Or men like Andrews, Pringle and Dicken if Bhishma appears to be rather remote. If we feel that even these are remote, we may fall back upon the five who are in the Ashram. Remember that you too can do what they can. Pondering over the meaning of the Gita verses recited at the evening prayer is also very helpful.

XXXXV

(To the women)

Rest assured that if we are good ourselves, so is all the world besides. You find that very few people are bad, and that is a fact. Most is bad by nature. Many appear bad because we have not the eye in order to discern the good in them.

XXXXVI

(To the women)

Take great care of the body as a trustee of God's property. Do not pass up or spoil it, fill it with dirt or overindulge it.

(XXXXV to XXXVI translated from Gujarati by T. V. S.)

HIMALAYAN LESSONS

V

Kanda, The Last Snow

After three days of fruitless horse-hunting on our part and three nights of miserable biting on the part of the flea, we decided to play our last trump card—the porok, for the Kanda Rest House, which was eight miles away over a high mountain path. Accordingly, Swami and Bhawen Singh made a forced march there and back in one day, so as to make sure that the place would at least be possible. It was a sunny day when they went there, and consequently they brought back a warning report. Only the path, they said, was very rough and stony, and as Swami had gone barefooted his opinion of the path was extra bad. The very next day, with mules for the luggage and an old white horse for me, we set off. At this juncture Swami and he would make a dash to Pothok on foot, in order to give the mules these same news of our whereabouts and condition, and then rejoin us via Muscorie after three days. In this way he would bring Krishnamurti along, who had been held up by the breaking of the Narvadrangar road, and was overburden with post and other urgent office papers for being dealt with. So he went down and we went up. And it was indeed a case of up and up, steep and stony. The old white horse was not very strong in the lungs and often had to stop to take breath. We had to get round the other side of an eight-thousand-foot mountain, and as we went up the last bare ridge at about 15,000 feet the wind blew strong and biting cold. The old horse began stopping every few yards. "Oh brother," I said, "if you can't manage better than that I shall have to dismount because I am getting frozen." And he indicated that I should do so without further delay. So down I got, but my breathing capacity at that altitude was not much better than his, so we made slow progress together. The path now began to skirt round the mountain side, but it was so narrow and broken that riding was out of the question for most of the remaining two miles. Trees and bushes began to appear, and before long we were in a regular forest. We ended up by descending through a thick plantation of deodars, just below which, picturesquely situated on a terrace of green grass, stood the Kanda Rest House. "Ah," we exclaimed, "here we have found a resting place at last!" The main building had two rooms with attached bathrooms, and a broad front verandah, and the kitchen was in a separate line with more rooms. Then there were three beds (what a luxury!), and plenty of water near by. I saw the chance of getting a bath, which I had not had since we left Pothok over a week ago. We settled in for the night. The place seemed rather cold and damp, but we did not stop to think much about it as we were all sufficiently tired. The next morning was bright, and I went up

through the deodar plantation to look around. I found myself very breathless, and before long began to feel rather queer and sick. I descended again to the house and lay down on my bed. The altitude seemed to be disagreeing with me, and the freezing cold wind of the previous day was still in my bones.

The great mountain above us now began gathering the morning clouds on its summit and relling them down on to our heads. And with the clouds came mindless rain. There were two springs near the house and the whole mountain side oozed water. The next day I did not venture out beyond the flat ground in front of the house. Cloud and rain continued interminably. Suddenly Krishnamurti turned up all alone, wet and exhausted. "Hello!" I exclaimed, "how is this, and where is Swami?" It turned out that he must have left Pothok just an hour or two before Swami arrived. Feeling anxious at the long delay, he had decided to make an attempt to reach us via Muscorie. And it was not without difficulty that he succeeded. The Muscorie bar-road had also been blocked, but they got the passengers over somehow. He spent that night in a small hotel in the town, and could not get a wink of sleep for the bugs. Then the next morning, with a coffin for his luggage, he tramped it wet as far as Kanda (16 miles). That night all wet and cold he bedded up with some 15 more pedestrians in a small room. There was no space to lie down, and most of the people snored continuously throughout the night. Being under the impression that we were still at Chanda Khol, he set out for there the next morning. Some time after passing the turning to Kanda a local peasant happened to tell him of our whereabouts. That was good luck, but the coffin with the luggage, who had stopped behind somewhere to have a smoke, was not traceable, and went all the way on to Chanda Khol, from where he did not return till some one went to look for him three days later. In the meantime Swami also turned up. He had escaped the bugs and tobacco smoke, but the weather and road conditions had leavied him so better.

So we were all together at last, but Fortune was not favouring us. My health had become so bad that I was reduced to lying on my bed all the 24 hours, and Krishnamurti's condition was not much better. The drinking water was bad, the whole place was reeking damp and very stinky, and the clouds continually forced down the side of the big mountain. More we must—but my health had now become so bad that I no longer had the strength to ride. Swami and Bhawen Singh, who had marched around, advised our descending to Tefri (14 miles and a drop of about four thousand feet). Much against my will, I had to agree to go as a dead, a thing I had never done before, and Krishnamurti had a dilapidated horse. There was something wrong

with my back, which tilted to one side and made me feel all the while as if I was going to be tipped out, and there was something equally wrong with Krishnamurti's house, which had to have a man to hold on to it tied in order to prevent its kind legs from giving way. The result was that, strength or no strength both he and I had to do some two or three miles on foot.

WIRIA.

(To be continued)

EFFORTS TO COMBAT MOSQUITO NUISANCE

The Food Population Committee of the United Nations considered at its meeting yesterday morning the problem of the "mosquito nuisance" and noted with the destruction caused by them to food crops and fruit gardens.

"The drought during successive years in the Mosquito State, it is believed, has resulted in mosquitoes originating from forest cleared in agricultural areas and causing damage to standing crops, plantations and coconut gardens etc. Attempts to reach these areas in various districts and report they it is noted only led to the numerous chaffing for present."

"The Government of India, in 1951 suggested a number of measures to control the nuisance, including stamping of mosquitoes and reporting and reporting them to Western countries for purposes of scientific research. They also urged that propaganda be undertaken to overcome popular prejudice against killing of mosquitoes."

"The Indian Government had investigations made in the Mosquito and suggested the suggestion for destroying the mosquito, as possible measures was finally applied in such a step. They explored the possibility of capturing the mosquito and exporting them abroad to countries where overabundance in the Mosquito State of military aircraft were being now stocked such as the U.S.A., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R."

"In this connection, the Indian Government, it is noted, requested the Government of India to submit these statistics and their reply was not received. The Government have also been trying to promote export through private dealers."

"At its meeting yesterday, the United Nations considered what further action was necessary in the matter to control the mosquito nuisance, etc.—the scheme for exporting them was not to be implemented."

The Committee delivered consideration of the subject pending collection of certain statistics by the Department." (P.H. News June 16, 1960)

The Madras Cabinet Committee has now taken the right step. If mosquitoes have to be got rid of, it is a far less heinous form of violence to shoot them than to export them to foreign countries for being subjected to the very cruel methods of vivisection. The people must be trained to right thinking. A false complacency of non-violent behaviour must not be allowed to spread.

Wardha, 15-6-58

E. G. KARNATKALA

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NOTES

Wiroko's Return Home

After a strenuous tour of three months Wiroko, arrived at Savanagran yesterday, and has returned to his Ashram at Pannar this morning. After the four-day fever in the course of the year, he has not been able to regain his weight, and is about eight pounds less than when he left. He has now begun to resume his agricultural labour immediately.

Like bells which are to be killed, soldiers of war are humorously fed by their masters and hosts, and if during their march they are not well-provisioned they help themselves by looting the villages. But the bellhounds which are to be maintained for life are fed just in the manner they need for keeping them efficient, and they never make themselves a nuisance. So too soldiers of peace. Wiroko's was a Peace Brigade and though they show signs of physical emaciation, revealing that they were not luxuriously fed they were fed enough to keep them efficient, and were fed with love. Naturally, they speak about the hardness of all their various tasks with gratitude.

Wardha, 27-6-58

N. G. K.

Protection of Women

[I quote some of the following with the reason—

—E. G. K.]

I read your leader on "Respect for Womanhood" with interest. Since long years I have been thinking of what would happen to women in case of social disorganization at any time. I think they would become the easiest targets of robbing. We have seen that in the Punjab recently,—in other parts on a smaller scale.

I would like to see a collection of reports of at least some of the millions of women on the European continent for what they have gone through (horrible experienced during the last war. They must have been at the mercy of nerve-racked brutal and drunken soldiers, both economically and physically.

The last is women cannot defend themselves alone—although exceptionally some may kill their assailants. The police also cannot protect them, because they cannot be everywhere at all times. Then what is left in their defence?

While brutal males are ready to defend the honour of their own women-kills, they have no scruples about other women. It is unfortunate that some women consider such males who can defend them as easily.

The only safety seems to be when all in any locality (neighbourhood or village) make themselves to protect their own women and children against aggressors among themselves or from outside and resist such aggressions throughout the country. It should not wait till turmoil starts.

It is not enough to appeal to the high ideals of past times. Nothing less than actual solidarity will help in times of peace or turmoil.

Bombay, 24-6-'51. H F T. MOMAYA.

WHAT WAR MEANS LONDON IN MILITARY TRAINING

"Hindu"

Our soldiers must have the fighting spirit. If you call this brutal war essential, then we must take with every fibre of our being, life must last for battle. Our object in life must be to kill, we must advance and plan night and day to kill. You must be harder and harder. You must become tougher and tougher. You must learn more and more. It is the general purpose of the war to make killers of all of you. — General Leslie J. Gurney, U.S.A., quoted in the New York Times, July 26, 1944.

"Hindu"

THE OBJECT of all military training is to win battles. The principles of sportsmanship and sportsmanship to your opponents have no place in the practical application of this work. To such an opponent who knows us or attempts to pull you to the ground, always try to knock the belt by striking the knee or foot in his arms and smother his eyes with your hands. The inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully taught and encouraged by the instructor. — Manual of Military Training by Col James A. Stewart and Major John W. Long, U.S. Army.

"God Should Weir"

If it is a choice between praying God and going to heaven etc. God should wait. If we object to say in our attitude that questioning or doubting and un-Orthodox activities, we should attack the enemy. If we want an army, we should recognize it for what it is. We should not tell him about it being a school for child study or mental training, nor clutter up his dog grounds with theories for these irrelevant etc. — The Light into the Dark, American Review, June 1945.

(From a writing received in post)

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ON WAY TO CHITRANANIPALLI (11 MILES OF THIRUVAIYUR STREET)

BY

April 4, Balaram (Twenty-eighth Hall, 9 miles)

Chitra had received yesterday in his house and called it back that of a devotee. Today at Balaram, he had an accident on the way to Chitrananipalli that prevented him coming here. A naturalistic clinic during his long stay. Patients come to him for advice or treatment at least from 8 to 12 o'clock. There are arrangements for massage, hot-bath, steam-bath, exercise etc. Balaram is the principle and his experience of nature cure. Thiruvalluvar said, "Nature cure has a prominent place in the knowledge records of life. I have had his experience since during this time. I had been treating patients for the last few days. In an ordinary house I have always tried to do natural medicine. I made a little change in 1924. Our master has taught us that the secret of the Lord is the greatest of all medicines, a prescription tried by many great sages. I also have faith in it. I had found my own teaching a little change in the diet, clothing and the rest provided for in the programme provided at home. The temperature remained constant for four days. I had expected it to subside after three days. But it took a day more. That is the way how God puts you to test and able to your experience that medicines are not necessary in ordinary illnesses. A little change in the diet is the best, a little rest to the digestive system is enough treatment; for ordinary diseases, no special, great diseases, no one has yet successfully suggested or invented specific treatment or prescription. This means that God's name is the only remedy for such diseases. Medicine has very little scope. However we find now and then that there is a great increase of diseases and diseases simultaneously. They do not look like natural diseases but rather like a very working in natural cooperation. If the rise of one had been followed by a fall of the other, we could have concluded that they were mutual enemies. Moreover the doctors are dependent upon foreign medicines. This dependence upon foreign medicine is better not be available to India. If God has provided food for us on our land, He must be assumed to have provided us with the medicines for our diseases also. But the people of the world run for every Indian medicine, however small, in the doctor who in his turn gives a foreign drug. It would seem as if God has not created any herb in this country or has not provided any power in the nature here capable of curing even minor ailments. When a person is subjected by another the slavery does not consider merely political but pervades every branch of life and every mind becoming enslaved. Hence though the British rule has gone the slavery of our mind has not gone.

Agavevada had considerably advanced in our country centuries ago. One of my friends often says that of all the branches of teaching which were born in India, Vedic and Agavevada have no parallel elsewhere. I shall not state as much about Agavevada, in the details of treatment of diseases has flourished in more countries than are the Vedic Aśvins etc. We must admit that other countries have shown considerable progress in medicine as well as in the knowledge of the human body. Nevertheless I maintain that the medicines needed by our people must be found in the herbs that grow in this country.

The particular importance of Agavevada medicine in its having minutely studied the total habits of each patient, his constitution, his way of life, his nature, his people to do. They could not have sought herbs other than those that grow here. But much has got to be done to complete the investigation. At the present time, we do not even know many of our own herbs and are unable to identify some of those described in the books. We have got to discover and rediscover all these.

I do not give the time necessary for this work, but let us not also forget that in the plan and execution of God, He has made every one capable of self-reliance. We

has given to every being a fully equipped body in a perfect form and with a full set of sense organs or digestion, intelligence etc. He has also provided every one with earth, water, air, light and shade. Therefore He must be presumed to have provided the capacities and means to remedy diseases in the body and everything even to the herbs should not be absolutely necessary. Clay, water and light are all natural things of course. The trees have referred to them as so many medicines or poisons, and (described) have made it to be worshipped or sought for help. Therefore is indicated how water and the light of the sun must be utilised or done. If we give a little thought, we would realize that the human body is made of all that is found in the universe and every form of matter that is in the universe has its parallel in the body. There is water in the universe and correspondingly there are blood and other fluids in the body. There is the sun without and the eyes within, an analogue to earth within and so on. Laws therefore like gold ore etc. have their place in the body. Hence it is said that the body is a mirror or the Universe, and for every organ. Thus health being so largely related to such water, light, air and shade are properly intelligently and effectively made out of with faith in their maker if the diseases can be easily cured.

Knowledge of such nature-made methods should be spread to every village. If you think in terms of one-finding hospitals in every village it is not practicable. Even if you succeed in doing so you will simply open the door wider for the depredation of the village or its wealth by importing medicines from outside. There are already enough such hospitals and if this need there is added, the diseases of the village instead of decreasing will undoubtedly increase because the door itself will become deficient. The villagers should be taught for use of the herbs that grow around them. That alone is possible. They should also be taught to forge a road to take the disease or to try, whenever medicines are in this way they can do more without the herbs. If this is done you will find that people will enjoy the best of health with the least of expense, for it is in the very nature of Nature that while it nurtures the body it does not allow any stone wall to grow therein. It is full or with the medicines which appear to cure a disease but really prepare ground for other diseases to take its place, thus creating a vicious circle. Once the roots of medicine take its way into the home, it comes to stay for ever. Indeed, it corrupts the body itself.

While it is dangerous for the village to rely on medicines it is equally bad for the city. After all, why do diseases grow in the cities? Because the people there do not take proper exercise, get an excessive diet, thus depriving the body of the benefits of fresh air and the sun's rays—the two gifts of God. Hence the doctors are so concentrated that they keep them away from Nature. So are their medicines. Thus they keep making ill, take in the mind and waste themselves every other disease and they themselves. The body and the mind thus poisoned become victims of disease. Thus in order to cure them, they go to doctors, undergo operations take various medicines etc. They expect to take as medicines or food, meat and fish which ordinarily they would avoid as forbidden and purchase costly articles manufactured in distant places, and eventually the poor citizen is themselves worn out. Nature cures diseases, it is the only and the best remedy for illness or well.

Vinodji advised the people of Bolaram to realize the necessary training from Sri Poranand and to give him necessary cooperation in his work of nature cure. Referring to the various applications of nature cure such as the sunna pot, hot-watering, take etc. Vinodji said that these small articles were of immense use and the quick relief which they gave was not available even from herbs. It was general experience that the sunna often

brought instantaneous relief where other remedies did not.

Pick-axe and Charkha

I was able to explain that as an instrument of nature cure there should also be in addition to these appliances a chain where the patients should be asked to do some work, that may suit their health. I stated two implements such as the pick-axe (the shovel) and the charkha, a place among the means of nature cure. Some might laugh and say, This must be a joke! He brings to the pick-axe and the charkha as appropriate, just like those the means of increasing production in India, and he would say, My health like pick-axe and spade on the wheel (charkha). Ask him about the effects of education and he will again bring in his pickaxe and the charkha as the means of education. And he has now gone to the length of saying that they are also the means of curing illness. He has only one and the same solution for all matters. He means to say: But I shall go further and say that my medicine does not cure but I also suggested that there are also our weapons of war. The social and political revolution which we have set in motion and the struggle which has ensued of it will have to be fought with the pick-axe and the charkha. He now should run away with the idea that we have established a perfect form of government in India. The administrative setup in the Government scheme will be of a different type from the present one. It has to be changed radically, and the weapons with which this war will be waged are in my mind more than the pick-axe and the shovel. The charkha, the shovel and the Hoe.

To come back to health: I am convinced that it can never be the will of God that man should ever fall ill. Positive with so many other gifts, He has given him also an appetite. This implies that it is the will of God that man must do necessary labour for the appetite. But man wants to eat without doing any labour and wants to eat more than the appetite. Abstinence of labour on the one hand and over-eating on the other, body disease. If we lead a natural life and resolve to earn our bread through labour alone many of our diseases will disappear.

And you can ask me, how it was that so many people who earn their bread through hard labour also fall ill. My reply is that there is the case of miswork and insufficient nourishment. On the one hand, we have people who could work and devote more food and oil to the other people who have to do more work and have less food. This exploitation is the cause of their illness. The farmer till his vast area of work, he tiller his vast area of food. But it goes into physical labour and do it properly, but a regular job and not only in procedure to the appetite and so more you will find without doubt that there is no problem whatsoever in the scheme of God to fall ill.¹

Prior to the workers' meeting in the afternoon, there was a programme of collective spinning in which about fifty ladies had participated. Only one or two were ill. The rest were clad in sari-chudi or Mysore silk of typical Mysore style. Vinodji usually takes a round among the spinners but today he did not. He I asked him the reason. He said: "What is there to be spun? The use of linen is wearing shawl." I retorted, he was pained at the sight. The charkha also made much noise. The thread broke incessantly. Bolaram was regarded to be a spinning master. And yet this was his condition. What a struggle for cotton!

The workers put various questions. Most of them were of the same type as elsewhere. Sri Vinodji's answers with them had an originality of their own, which gave them freshness. To a question regarding the cotton: he said: "Every one put the same question. Do you think that the Government is not intelligent enough to understand what India and cotton of you feel? If it were so, the Government would either be foolish or an enemy of the nation. The question often comes in my mind also.

And I feel that if those who are in charge of the Congress stand behind our demands, you will not find them any more too short goods. The case of affairs today is that every one is talking against ourselves. Now the merchants also who have not suffered on their account, but have rather made money most likely to be killed. The merchants the Congressmen, the Congressmen even talking strategies are ready to discuss the policy of abdication. Is it a fact that the nation should be talked of as irresponsible? Have they all wanted the subject? Is it not entitled to speak without studying the subject? Two years ago I had said to be before that the Government, on the advice of Congress had removed the property and had wanted the merchants to be known. But the merchants killed and the rules went very high. I had to say to the merchants that they had betrayed Congress and had proved treacherous to the people. I said that that left the other side, the independence and the merchants had betrayed their rights. Some of the socialist friends had given wide publicity to my words. Even today I do not think I need revise my opinion. If the merchants give assistance even today, the Government may consider that, even that it seems as if there is a rift of the bar and the fact is going on between the Government and the merchants. The country looked at deriving benefit from the talents of the two, is unfortunately cracked between the two. Finally, some of our friends who did not forget Congress, and in a conference at Madras five years ago they could not understand the removal of Congress.

One of the suggestions I have made in this connection is the collection of revenue to be paid. The quantity would be settled for a period of ten or twenty years. This will facilitate commercial of food for the needy and there will then be a free market, and so there will be no need of food control.

Some days Vinoba had repeatedly said that it could be solved only through Abolition. The mills, which obtained all the best energy and wealth of the nation, had taken down from the power of 10 per cent to 11 per cent, and might, might down to the 10. Now let us say what would happen in the course of the next few years. The mills could not obtain better cotton preferably and would in import foreign cotton in exchange for Indian cotton, which was to be exported. "What a tragedy this that we should not be able to produce the commodity which all of us need for all times, out of the country which we can grow!" Also, that we should be deprived of the industry which was flourished in every village and in every depression upon others for a prime necessity of life. My suggestion is that, just as we remove taxes, we should close of the cotton industries be removed and should transfer to one of the most important mining and mineral industries. We shall in this suggest our suggestions. We have been doing that. There is one other these problems of cloth and food and of their control."

Another question was about the prestige of the Congress which had fallen considerably, and the means of raising it.

Vinoba had remark was significant. "We are not the strength and the prestige of the Congress increased fourfold by, making the membership be from four crore to one crore? But gradually be become scarce and cold. "The cause of the decline of the prestige, undoubtedly is that there is too much and no responsibility whereas over is belonging to the Congress. During Congress's time it was all that and nothing and no privileges. Today it is the question of enjoying the fruits of past work. It is possible for a Socialist that to produce the (unhappy) members by paying subscriptions on their behalf. How can then the prestige of the Congress

increase? The Congress ought to have given some programme to the people. And it has loaded over that responsibility to the various revolutionary industries—the working people enjoying themselves in working their desire? It has loaded over on them to the Charles Singh studies in the United States, a field in the Indian State and so on. The Congress wants to claim and reap the work, while these revolutionaries will perform the work. Congress had advised the Congress in London that take a Labor Party, Singh had also come to be. On the other hand the revolutionary and nations were affiliated on the Congress. There came the question of political work. The Congress did not find the necessity of revolution. They came that on the one hand they changed the Charles Singh with the work of working and in the other hand said that they did not know upon following the political duty of the Charles Singh."

And what is the strategy of the Congress solution? When our minds any of them they say that they have no money to do these and institute activity on any problem. I am understood if they do and had better to sit. But how can they work without finding time to think, to ponder, to meditate? For me it is a wonder! But let them do it. They say that they have organized people committees to do the necessary thinking that is the political condition of the present solution."

And then the Congressmen who are led in the Government. What do they do? They quarrel among themselves but never. Every one of them has been in jail and has been every one must have a share in the power. What can arise the Congress from falling in this direction? To my mind Congressmen should, without waiting for solution from their superiors themselves in the field of service. So they wait for the arrival of solution when they are hungry?"

D. M.

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TWO ANNAS

SHRI VINODA AT SHIVARAMPALLI

7

Learn the Language of the People

The past-prize speech of Shri Vinoda on 7th April 1931 was concluded with the opening of the small school which village industries organised along with the Harijans' Conference. Vinodji began with stating the motto the party had adopted by working up hand and working help workers with several farmers and serving with their own eyes the conditions in which the villagers lived. Although his command over Telugu was not well, and he made him to continue in that language. Vinodji said, the idea that he had studied of it enabled him to speak a few sentences and words the title to Telugu. This pleased the villagers. They felt that they had learnt their own of their own work. When he was asked his study of the South Indian languages he did not also do so in order to be a scholar of those languages. He knew that it was worthless impossible for a man to be capable in several languages in a brief period. He did it only as a token of his love for the people. It was ever wish to their tongue. An attempt to speak in a people's own language helped in the bond of love between him and the people. Vinoda stated that workers should always endeavour to learn the languages of the people among whom they worked.

Village Conditions

They knew, Vinoda proceeded that the condition of the villages was far from satisfactory. But what they saw with their own eyes was much worse than what they knew from a distance. In several villages the people had not a single institution left, in their village, agriculture. He did not see a few cases in which people had one or three petty industries. He saw women spinning in some of the villages. He also met a few men who did it. He also saw some a few persons who had spinning but weaving was not in even now an industry capable of being carried on in every village. But instead of the being carried on in every village was the agriculture that even those few villages who still struggled with it would lose it as soon as means of road transport improved and city goods began to flood these villages. This had happened in other villages and the same fate hung over them. It was a very disconcerting sight.

Adoption of Villages

Vinoda further said that he did not go to reach Shivarampalli in the scheduled time. He would have preferred to stay in some of the villages for a few days each in order to experience more actively there. It did not please him to leave a village with a promise which he had to fulfil. He had more time. But he could not help it. As far as possible he tried to make comprehensive surveys from the locality itself. And that was not possible in every village. His advice to investigators was that, even if they could not give up their position in and sometimes, with cities and towns each worker should adopt a village in the week for his work. This was large

a small house in it. He might go to the town once daily for his investigations and he should regard the village as his own place (home). When this period should come with the village would have a very beneficial effect on village industries.

He had also wondered Vinoda continued, why it should not be possible for the Congress to keep its office in a village instead of in a town or city. They could select a village with a post office and as easy approach to the town. That village itself might be a producer and inventor in village service. Vinodji had ordered workers to go to villages. He found villages highly lacking for the time when Vinodji's men would go to their help. Some people did go to them occasionally. But it was not in the spirit of service. It was done with selfish or proprietary motives. They went to them for getting their votes or for some object of their own. Such visits could not sustain the villages. When was needed was staying with them without any selfish object for the good of the villages themselves. He went in the spirit of the village the appeal "Workers among has come. Now come and tell them in whose name and for whom will you certainly sacrifice money?"

(The text of the speech was an important programme was in Hindi, and has been adapted to the main article of this week. As for condition, Vinoda declared the Harijans' spirit.)

(Continued from Week)

OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE

(By B. C. Kher)

"If we have all to try and work as members of a single united nation we must first understand one another and the nature of thoughts for this understanding is a common language. I observed that B. C. Kher Chel Ministry of Bombay, speaking over the Press Conference of the Hindustani Prastha Sabha, Bombay (Reported on June 12).

The Chief Minister added that they were fortunate enough to have agreed on a common national language and script and on its name. Prastha Sabha, he added, were necessary to take to knowledge in every class and every home and he was glad that they were already at work. He mentioned that the importance of the study of Hindi had increased since the achievement of Swaraj. That Kher said.

The question of the spread of Hindi all over our country was very close to the heart of the Father of our Nation and making Hindi a national language was one of the aims of his constructive programme. He knew that if all the children of Bharat could talk with each other in a common language they would come closer and be strongly united. He started Hindi prastha in South India—in this region of the ancient Dravidian languages—as early as 1918 and since then through the efforts of the prasthas,

whose number is ever growing, the movement is being carried on vigorously. Your centre is one of the prominent centres on this side for the promotion of Hindi, and I am happy to associate myself with you in this national movement of great importance.

Our Constitution has directed that "It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without impairment with its growth, the forms, the style and expressions used in Hindustani and the other languages of India specified in the VIII Schedule and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages." The languages specified in the VIII Schedule are the following:

1. Assamese, 2. Bengali, 3. Gujarati, 4. Hindi, 5. Kannada, 6. Katheridi, 7. Malayalam, 8. Marathi, 9. Oriya, 10. Punjabi, 11. Sanskrit, 12. Tamil, 13. Telugu, and 14. Urdu.

In the words of our President just as several rivers join together in a united stream and flow together, in the same way must Hindi be moulded and spread all over India as the common language of the people. We will succeed in our objective if people cooperate and assist us in this. We have to bring into action, as early as possible, this important special directive in practical life and see that every single man, woman and child is able to understand and hold conversations in the national language.

The importance of a common language in daily life cannot be exaggerated. In his excellent treatise, *Languages in History and Politics*, J. C. Wooten observes:

"As long as letters are confined to the few, the literary language of the educated may be quite different from that of the masses of the people. Where literary language and Indian more and more people whose whole life is not devoted to letters, a dead language or a foreign language seems to be unnecessary as a medium of expression—while a national literary language can exercise an immediate influence on the speech of daily life."

Fortunately, as I said, because of the provision in the Constitution the controversy about the name and script of our national language is now dead. But there is another danger against which we must guard.

Because of the name of our national language is Hindi, certain Hindi-speaking provinces are trying to foist their special brand of Hindi on the whole country as its national language. But a part can never take the place of the whole and these friends must realize that the Hindi which is contemplated by the Constitution will be a matter of slow growth and cannot be identified with the Hindi either of the Uttar Pradesh or of Bihar or of Madhya Pradesh. All those will

make a valuable contribution to the formation of the national language, but they are not the "national language." In order to make this distinction clear Mahatma Gandhi proposed to call the national language Hindi-Hindustani or Hindustani. As both these expressions had different connotations it is a matter of great good fortune that we have now agreed upon the composite name Hindi.

I had occasion to speak on this subject at Madras in 1926 at the Convention of the Deccan, Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha and while referring to the Hindi-Urdu name controversy, I had quoted Vajpey's following passage. (I take the liberty of doing so again):

"For a long time Ghosia was used to writing Hindi in Nagari characters and Hindustani in Persians. But probably Hindustani must begin to separate itself from Hindi-Urdu, Urdu-Urdu or Urdu or Urdu, when they write in Hindi, not in Persian script, but their eyes fixed on Hindustani and therefore their writings are not replete with foreign ideas. But other Hindustani writers who were brought up in the Ghosia atmosphere or were themselves descendants of Hindustani Persians or Turks, naturally brought in Persian ideas into their poetry and thus the Hindi-Urdu and the Hindustani-Urdu were separated. Another name for Hindustani-Urdu is Urdu."

This is significant. It is a pointer to the way in which our national language will develop in course of time. We must all contribute to the growth of the common language of our common nation and literature and this postulates that we must be proficient in our own regional languages.

There are people who suggest that we should do away with our regional languages. That would be suicidal. India is a land of many languages rich in literature of great value and one should study as many of the languages of our country as one can and understand the culture and have the key to the store-house of knowledge and literature in them all. It is certainly the duty of each of us to study his own mother-tongue which should be the medium of our early education and the State must provide sufficient facilities for this. But in our enthusiasm for the development of our regional languages we must not forget that we have also our duty to our nation. We have a diversity of racial strains, religious, caste, customs, traditions and as many other dividing factors but there is a unity that pervades throughout this diversity. If the unity goes the diversity would become a calamity and we must avoid it. So far as language is concerned, each of the regional languages must flourish, but simultaneously we have to see that Hindi, the lingua franca of our nation, this common link between our young and old, between the poor and the rich, between the officers and merchants in big cities and the toiling rural peasants, this common link is also strengthened. Under British rule the English language was our common language, but even after a long study of 7 to 11 years how many

unstudied or could speak it? Hindi is a language which is our own and which is closely associated with most of our own regional languages. It is more or less known to us all, we can master it in a short time. The study of English has its own international importance and English will continue to be studied by those to whom its knowledge is necessary and indispensable but it cannot be a common language for us all and all cannot and will not be able to study it.

A recent report of the National Geographic Society announced that Hindi is spoken by more than 150 million persons in the world and it stands second to English which is spoken by about 140 million. While we are proud that our national language stands second in the world, we cannot remain satisfied at that. Our ideal must be to enrich and raise the national language of ours to a higher status. The need has already been stressed by our leaders and our Constitution. In our enthusiasm for the growth of Hindi we should remember that our national language is not only for the scholars. If it is to be a national language in the true sense of the word, spoken, understood and appreciated by all—a living language, we must avoid the tendency of indiscriminately bringing Sanskrit words rather than Persian or from Sanskrit.

A few centuries back, there was a tendency in England to introduce Greek or Latin words in place and out of place in English and the people saw that it was detrimental to the development of that language and was against national interest. They saw to it that the language of the books did not differ from the language spoken by the people and today we find an overgrowing tendency to use words of Anglo-Saxon origin and to draw upon Greek, Latin, French and German, and even Hindi, words, to develop their language only as and when these words are necessary. We have a lesson to learn from this. If Hindi is to be a living language understood by all, it should develop in a natural way by drawing upon the various regional languages, a homogeneous combination, the greatest common factor of the various regional languages, each one of which is rich by itself. Our national language should retain all familiar Urdu words and we shall draw upon Sanskrit where need be, but we shall at the same time not close the door to Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada and other languages in enriching our national language. I would not, for example, press the use of the Marathi word *devraba* in place of *devakā* or *devadā* for *deva* or upon *banar* as some would have us do. Hindi, as I envisage it, could easily use the English words *table*, *station* etc., such words as *diśit*, *labhas* have become very familiar to Marathi and other vernaculars.

Very few people have a true idea of the effects on the vocabulary and syntax of most

regional languages of the impact of Persian and Arabic during the Muslim domination of India. Such words as *goshak*, *mayak*, *ari*, *Aveshar*, *bag* or *bagarishā*, *manas*, *malik*, *harare*, *ardas*, *chakra*, *chakra*, *nakar*, *tabla*, *darakt*, *labhas*, *paris* are now so more Persian—they are Hindi—absolutely national, being adopted and assimilated and transformed. It is absurd to think of drawing them out. Our Hindi should represent a unique distribution of words in conformity. If Hindi is to be highly Sanskritized or to be purely Persianized, why not have Sanskrit itself? Why was Sanskrit replaced in the course of centuries by Prakrit, Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada and other regional languages? We cannot afford to go back. History shows that a language in order to be living, useful and powerful must combine in it the culture and traditions of all its component languages. If Hindi is to serve as a powerful national language as intended by our Constitution, it must be the people's language. It will, therefore, borrow freely words and expressions from all the classical and living Indian languages and if necessary, in subjects like mathematics and science even words from foreign languages. It must grow naturally and combine in itself the wealth and force of all these languages.

Simplifying is an criterion for a language, something to be proud of and an asset in every respect. I want our Hindi to be the people's Hindi not because we are incapable of making it a difficult and ununderstandable language. We can do this but that would be our own ruin. If we want Hindi to bring the citizens all over India, closer together by bonds of a common language, then that language must be such that it can be studied easily by every one, in the shortest possible time so that it can be used freely and understood easily.

We must provide for the study of the national language in our educational institutions, in our schools, in the colleges and in the universities. Educationists have observed that children under ten can pick up any number of languages very easily. I have already observed this in my limited experience. In Switzerland every one has to study three languages—French, German and Italian—and those who require it also study English. It ought not to be difficult, therefore, for a child, which will be taught in its own mother-tongue, to pick up Hindi and one or two regional languages. In higher standards classical languages and also English can be studied. We must also educate the grown-up people in Hindi. A good deal of work has been done, but more systematic attempts must be made to achieve this objective. As Hindi takes the place of English as the language of our administration, in our courts, parliament, in the commercial houses, it will naturally develop into a very powerful medium of expression. But this will not happen of its own accord. Conscious attempts

must be made. I believe that the time has come when we provide the rural element with for 15 or 20 years before the administrative is carried on in the national language and yet the manuscripts which English has secured makes many of our educated people dread the prospect of doing without English. It is not difficult to achieve our object if we all determine to do so. Now can a free people continue to live freely, to think freely and to grow to their full stature if they have to rely on a foreign language for their life's work?

Evolution and developing a common national language is only one of the needs of our country's reconstruction. Our Constitution has defined social justice as the keystone of our national administration. Mahatma Gandhi showed us a way to unity and true happiness which is as difficult to follow, but if the strife, competition, greed and racial pride which disfigure humanity today are to be overcome, the implementation of the whole of his constructive programme is our only means of salvation and each of your caste-holders should resolve to dedicate himself to this noble task.

HARIJAN

July 14

1951

THE PLACE OF KHADE NOW*

(By Vinoba)

My faith in Khadi has become stronger than ever from what I saw in the Hyderabad State. There is somewhere an idea lurking in the mind of even some tried workers that though Khadi has not lost its importance, yet it is perhaps necessary to lay more stress on matters other than Khadi and it is possible that Khadi may even become impracticable. I found this idea to be erroneous. I enquired of villagers, I asked also the workers if they could suggest some occupation other than Khadi which could give the villagers some relief, some additional income, some self-confidence that they had something more to rely upon. But none could point to anything. And the reason is obvious. A thing which man uses for all the 24 hours which he does not go without even if he has nothing to eat, having become an indispensable element of civilisation, and the raw material thereof is spread in his own village in the early article to give him the heat and the warmest occupation. Instead of that occupation being reserved to him, it has been and is being snatched away from his hands. No too other industries for which he has abundant raw materials. Under these circumstances, what else is there, except village industries in general and Khadi in particular, which it is possible to

provide to him? I have given deep thought to this and found none. No dairy, weaving-machine and the utilisation of human night-soil and urine can also give him some occupation, but even that can never take the place of Khadi. This truth becomes clear to me almost as an axiom and whoever cares to study villages will discover it for himself.

But it is not sufficient merely to realise this and sleep over it. The workers must make up their minds to deliver the message of Khadi to every tiller in every village and do so with relentless perseverance. If they have a feeling that it is perhaps unnecessary to insist on Khadi as there are other village industries also, I ask them to go to the villages and investigate the matter and decide for themselves. I believe they will find nothing to take the place of Khadi. I have talked with the Socialists and other young men also. I asked them whether, even after an equitable distribution of land, — which of course, is necessary — they expected that agriculture alone could give the agricultural sufficient occupation and income. Also, whether they expected to provide to every village within ten or fifteen years sufficient mechanical energy and machinery to grow work to millions. They had to confess that it was not possible. But the inference which these friends drew from these facts was that they should lay power into their hands and start their Socialist programme so that after some years they might be able to give the villagers better conditions. I regard this attitude of neglecting what is immediately possible for them to carry out as that of sitting passively in the present in the hope of being able to achieve something ten or fifteen years later.

My exhortation to you, therefore, is to realise that the Khadi motto (message of Khadi) which Gandhiji gave us has not become less important now than what it was before. *Swearing*, but rather the other way. The mills, which produced 17 yd. per capita have come down to 12 yd., and they have declared that they would not be able to produce even that much now because of strikes and other difficulties. It is thus clear that the mills cannot be relied on for the production of sufficient cloth. And nothing has happened since Gandhiji's death to make us feel that we can solve our various problems if we kept Khadi apart. I would like to discuss with any one who has a scheme to show that we can manage better without Khadi. But if there is no such scheme, I urge you to renew your faith in Khadi, and co-operate with us in developing the science and technique of Khadi.

(Translated from Khadi)

SATYAGRAHA

[NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE]

By Mahatma Gandhi

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P.O. Box 101, AHMEDABAD

* Part of Vinoba's speech at Shrivastanpalli on 17th April 1951 on the occasion of the opening of the Satyagraha Exhibition.

THE CHAKHIA JATANTI

According to the Hindu Calendar, Bhado-pad begins this year on 27th September (next), the birthday of Goodbye, is observed as the Chakhia Bhado-pad or the Chakhia Aghadi. Although Goodbye is no longer with us, he has left us his precious legacy of the Chakhia or the spinning wheel. Shortly after his death I had made an appeal to make use more of spinners to the extent to preserve the legacy he left us, as that would be the most fitting memorial to him.

The Chakhia Bhado-pad is the finest occasion for working in the direction of this ideal in the plan of creating one more spinners in the country; the share of Saravastha would come to one lakh.

With this object in view the whole country, and particularly Saravastha should celebrate the Chakhia Bhado-pad and constructive workers should see that their surroundings record with the burning of the spinning wheel.

It was in 1935 that the National School (at Rajput) first proposed and carried out a thirty-day programme in connection with the Chakhia Aghadi. Every subsequent year, a day was added to this period and the programme has thus gone on advancing. This programme has been adapted for the Chakhia Bhado-pad. It is now observed every year through all the various provinces in the country. Rajput used to give inspiration from year to year to make this programme a success. Now that he is no longer with us, it is incumbent on us to keep the legacy intact and discharge our duty by the wheel. I say again before what Goodbye wrote in connection with the Chakhia Aghadi in 1947—

"The Chakhia or the royal road to political, economic and social freedom. But it is clear that the masses have not adopted it. If the people had adopted it as a symbol of independence, the tragic condition which presently today would never have come. What about the believer in the Chakhia do in their atmosphere? Indian leaders that when the surrounding atmosphere is adverse, the faith of the devotee becomes brighter. How many such may there be? My spinning continues. I do not mind my daily toil hour."

This year's programme will commence on the 14th of July at 5.30 a. m. with prayer. Every one should, with full understanding and taking into consideration all its implications, remain again these eighty days with his full energy, and attempt his resolution to do so to the under-lying.

Those who subscribe to the fund for Development every year are requested to send eighty cents this year. It is now well known that the Saravastha Bhado-pad fund is to be made to this fund and the development of Bhado work there is also due to it.

This fund has been raised during the last three years in the work of the Saravastha Constructive Committee which co-ordinates all the constructive institutions and activities in Rajavastha. The work under the Committee has made good progress during the above period.

Rs 50,000-15-6 in 1948-49 and Rs 1,25,177-15-3 in 1948-49 were received in this Goodbye Aghadi fund for Saravastha. Besides this, Rs 1,15,000/- in 1948-49 and Rs 55,000/- in 1949-50 were received from the Saravastha Government. The accounts for 1948-49 have been published in the last August number of the

Saravastha organ or the Saravastha Constructive Committee. Last year, besides the sum of Rs 50,000/- from the Saravastha Government a sum of Rs 50,000/- was received from the Gandhi Memorial Trust also. The accounts for 1949-50 will be published shortly.

The Saravastha Constructive Committee has an annual budget of three lakhs of rupees. The understanding is that the Saravastha Government will contribute a third of the sum, the Gandhi Memorial Trust will give a part of another third and the remaining third to be realized through the collections during the period of the Chakhia Aghadi celebration. It is hoped that those who are interested in and sympathetic with the work of the Constructive Committee will send their contributions in the form of cash to the box of Saravasthavana.

We hope to secure some prominent leader to attend the celebration of the closing day of the programme.

Editor, 1-7-51 SARAVASTHA, CHANDER
CHANDER, NEW DELHI

ON MY WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLA (A SERIES OF STORIES BY THE AUTHOR)

IX

April 1, Sunday-morning (Twenty-sixth Night, 10 miles)

Our original plan was to take a Thiruvallur train at 10.15 a.m. but it was changed, we had to take a few minutes at Thiruvallur on account of a pressing engagement of 7 o'clock. This engagement was fixed up with Vaidyanath at 7 p.m. yesterday. During the few hours of the night the people had erected a beautiful platform covered with hangings all over. Vaidyanath spent there only a few minutes, then he left for his 10.15. Good-bye with children. There was also another appointment in a nearby village as we were invited, it had been a large number of children, but they had had away during the Police duties and now they feared to return as it being apprehensive that they might have to suffer harassment from the police on account of the children that they are alleged to have committed during the Madurai episode. Vaidyanath advised the Madurai leaders to persuade the children to come and stay in the village school for

A Discourse on Education

At Saravastha we were helped in a school. Some college students from Hyderabad came to see Vaidyanath in the afternoon. They had a long conversation with him and they did not know how they should arrange their return during the vacation. Vaidyanath referred to his talk with them in his past prayer speech. It was a discourse on education and one of the most inspiring of his talks on education that I had heard during the last several years.

The following is a detailed report of the illuminating address which discourses to be carefully pondered over by students, educators and Government officials.

Towns and Villages

Vaidyanath commenced with a reference to the famous house that had derived by understanding the last journey. He had seen some towns as well as villages. A great town which struck him was that every village had some distinguished houses about it. He saw villages were cities. And as he walked, he saw the same old story repeating and yet he never had anything like about it and he never tired of watching and enjoying it day after day, in fact though every one of these great places of India is called a village, you do not feel that having seen a few villages, you are tired of seeing any more. There is a novelty and freshness about each one of them which is absent in the case of towns and cities. Every town presents the same pattern, rows of similar houses, buildings and shops lined and adorned with many foreign goods, roads and streets crowded with automobiles, betting people, race-cars racing speedily in and

devoted art and should form the most important aspect of education. He who acquires it is a true master (grihastha) in self-regulation; the master of academic learning being only a craftsmanlike. The point is that there are many master teachers (gurus) for whom we have to prepare ourselves by acquiring the strength necessary for their acceptance. And finally we must not mindlessly be passively observing them. A student who has successfully passed this test proceeds to be really qualified for the effective service of his people. He alone becomes a good citizen and whether he goes and where, a job is undertaken, he does so with confidence and courage. One day we find that a student, the moment he leaves the portals of the college, finds himself engulfed in the growth of darkness. He might succeed in doing himself somewhere, but he fails to find the work which really suits his living and for which he is correctly equipped. Not that, if done to get acceptance near the goal which he had set for himself. Circumstances can take them and he finds little satisfaction. It is all a game of chance. But the grihastha, the student who has been successful in the master (self-regulated) system matures over the self and requires looking to the arts of practical life: to agriculture and working etc. will not enter the world with his head sleeping downwards like a windfallen tree, but will march forward with open head, and his heart full of the radiant light of self-confidence. He will come about proudly, his face beaming with the determination of a hero. The earth itself will go down as it were under his feet; not will it be a hindrance, just part of it.

This does not mean that he would be happy and healthy. Healthy will also be the person who has really acquired knowledge neither that knowledge is ignorance and then he has got only an intellectual part of it. Therefore, a man who has real knowledge is more healthy than the one who has none. He knows that knowledge is as vast as an ocean, and his own is only a drop. He perceives that he has to continue his search along this road till the end of his life and yet what he will get will be a mere trifle compared to the vast amount that still will remain to be done. And consequently he will be humble. In Western a scholar was called *humble*, one is humble and they said: "happy ignorance," this path must be made rich in humility. If otherwise, does not produce this result. It is not having. Healthy person is that an essential qualification.

But along with humility he will also have determination (self-confidence, healthy business etc.). That is to say he must have that feeling power along with healthy intelligence is that he will enter the life as a freedom hero. There is a path, but when it comes to the end of this matter, *एवमवस्थं विनश्यत्* : (The last direction will lead down before me). This self-confidence is expected to develop through education. If he possesses it, he will be able to serve the world. He will not feel life to be a burden. He will feel perfectly satisfied with what he learns. Learning like eating, requires immediate satisfaction. As soon as you begin to eat you begin to feel happy. Happiness is not deferred to a period of even 2 or 3 days. He is in the case with knowledge. As soon as a person begins to feel that he has really learnt something his face brightens up, and his appetite for it increases. He does not feel that his thirst is quenched. He does not look to the day when his studies will be over and he will be able to let go of his to his studies. Really, once a person has tasted at the spring of knowledge, he should always be seeking more of it continuously and till the end of his life. The *grihastha* till the student, that after his student life is over he should continue to increase his knowledge in the *grihasthasrama* (the life of the householder). The *prishada* (householder) was a step in advance of the *brahmachari* (student). The *prishada* who always increased his knowledge would be not only seeking what service he could directly, but would contribute towards making the society righteous. He would have a covered

place in his home where he would be studying regularly. Thus the *grihastha* is carrying throughout the continuation of study after the regular training period was over. Acquisition of knowledge would continue till the end of life. He will have once tasted at the spring of knowledge could never think of giving it up. (Sri Yoganandana). The *grihastha* should keep before his duty in three and four [expressed in] study with every other duty and vision. Thus he did not consider merely mathematics (his traditional duty), mathematics (maths) but he joined the sciences and arts and took "Be truthful, and learn and teach." "Practice self-discipline, and learn and teach." "Serve the world and learn and teach." "Keep the material fire and learn and teach." and so on. The gist of it was that the householder was expected to carry further the studies of knowledge throughout his life. This was the *grihastha* ideal. The expectation was to be very natural. For one who had tasted the flavor of knowledge during one's student days would only wish to add to it with the principle of time. Moreover, when he entered into life and became a citizen he needed a number of things.

But the student hero had almost disappeared from the country, Swami observed. This student country had developed a number of laws during ages when all other sciences were hounded in utter darkness. It had created a tradition of scholarship. Students in those times used to get up very early, in the morning and engage themselves to studies. This tradition was alive till the other day. But it was no more as it was too rare to come across a man, who had made a deep study of any subject.

We have now Independence and many frequentations have derived on us to do more. They can be discharged satisfactorily only if we have access to every branch of knowledge. Our country old progress only if we continue to exert ourselves and take great pains in exploring the various branches of knowledge. But it is very few understanding and hardworking students. This leads them to the state of stress in the native system of education. For when a pupil spends some time in the studies he loses all interest and becomes dry. His physical strength diminishes, his mental faculties become dulled. His senses organs are weakened and the mind of it all he loses all clarity. He has not even an inkling of the vast sea of knowledge from the body. And when he does not know how to keep his senses under the control of what worth is his education?

"There is no pleasure in wasting life. I do it with a heavy heart. I am afraid to say that our country where learning had once obtained very great heights has fallen so low in respect of the two, under the training that Hinduism has cast of our country."

"एवमवस्थं विनश्यत् एवमवस्थं विनश्यत् एवमवस्थं विनश्यत्
एवमवस्थं विनश्यत् एवमवस्थं विनश्यत् एवमवस्थं विनश्यत्
— श्री गुरुदेवकीर्ति ।"

"Oh, Wonderful Mother." It was here that the first time in the city the great tradition of the Sanskrit was first sung, and the age of learning of this century spread throughout the world. With these words even, looking to my mind it is with great pain that I describe the sad state of our country.

"I wonder how the old educational system that was in vogue in the British regime is still current in our country. I know that many things which existed in the pre-independence days might also continue in the post-independence era. But I could not imagine that even the old educational system would continue. I thought that immediately we got independence the educational system would be changed. If otherwise continued as before even after Independence that Independence had no meaning. That he can continue and tolerate a system which we kept on maintaining for years in the past and which even one considered harmful to the nation as being it not deliberately designed to keep us in slavery, practically responsible for the same people means that we do

not seriously ponder upon the matter. We are so much preoccupied by other problems that our bodies have ceased to function properly. But I assure you that if the problem of a function & rightly timed, all other problems will be easily solved.

Minis concluded his speech with a request to the people to provide P.T.O. a quiet zone that they did not want the present system of objective and wanted an immediate radical change in it.

D M

SHRI CHARUKHA RANGH BHOOSONS

The following are a few of the resolutions of general interest passed at the meeting of the Executive of the A.I.S.A., held at Miranpalli on the 4 & 5th April 1951.

1. Annual Secretariat

Like other provinces, the Khandi branch of the Sangh has also been divided into three villages or divisions, with an executive for each. The long-term lease of office of Shri Bhadrabhai, the present branch secretary, expires shortly and the question of the appointment of his successor was discussed. It was decided that since the branch was now divided into "divisions" the appointment of a new secretary, would no longer be necessary. But it was decided to request that Bhadrabhai as an Assistant Secretary of the Charuka Sangh, to help the Secretary in his work. This is a new post. It was agreed that such assistance, being now imperative necessary to lighten the work of the Secretary. More appointments to this post will be made as soon as qualified for this duty become available.

2. Charuka Branch Media and Self-employment

The Charuka Branch Media had requested of the Sangh as to how the Media could help the programme of self-employment in class. The present difficulty in this work is that of weaving. It was therefore decided to advise the Media to give whatever help it could towards meeting the various expenses attendant on the efforts to revive this profession.

3. Abolition of Agents' Office

In the early days of the Charuka Sangh, necessary agents used to be appointed in the various provinces to carry on its work. The beginnings of the work were made by them. But subsequently, or subsequently as and when it became necessary, whole-time secretaries were also appointed and gradually the front of the work fell on their shoulders. Later on to some extent the agents relinquished their posts and through a few were taken up most of them have remained vacant ever since. There are now only two agents operating at present. Besides in the Constitution of the Sangh there is no provision for the agents. This device was fully discussed and it was unanimously decided that the practice of appointing provincial agents be now abandoned. It was further decided that hereafter the trustees of the Sangh should themselves individually undertake the responsibility of gathering and generally promoting the work of the Sangh in the various areas.

4. Congress and Khandi

The matter was considered that some years ago when the Constitution of the Congress was changed, the "constituted member" was subjected to pay no Khandi. It did not appear that it must be "revivified Khandi". Later on the article was inserted and the word "revivified" was inserted. But at the same time the Congress Working Committee accepted a few resolutions other than the A.I.S.A., as India continued to revivify Khandi. This resolution was hoped to have an adverse effect on preventing the introduction of Khandi. Now again, the same Congress Constitution has once more removed the word "revivified" from the relevant article. It was to be presumed that this decision had been taken after full deliberation. However, the Secretary of the Charuka Sangh requested the Congress Executive to clarify the Congress policy in this regard. He specifically asked the latter whether this

change permitted the qualified member to use any Khandi as purchased from whomsoever. There has been no response in this capacity from the Congress. The matter was fully discussed by the Trustees and the meeting unanimously agreed that the abolition of the word "revivified" would indeed injure the cause of genuine Khandi, to some extent Khandi must mean only "revivified Khandi" — the sole qualifying agency being the A.I.S.A. This step of the Congress is against the best interests of Khandi, and the A.I.S.A. has requested the Congress to allow the introduction "revivified" by the A.I.S.A." in the word Khandi.

5. Provincial Khandi Policy

At the time when province had a Khandi Policy, but for want of able managers and workers (principally there are now only two Khandi Policyholders, one by the Charuka Sangh). The situation was reviewed and it was decided that efforts should be made to start the Policyholders work in every province and in the villages to be revived for three, work other forms of manufacturing work as well as handloom, with the encouragement from point of view and time possible to be locally varied and should also be provided.

6. Capital for Revivified Institutions

Revivified Institutions find it difficult to expand their Khandi work for want of sufficient capital. Subscriptions are difficult to obtain. In case they borrow, the debt has to be paid back without curtailing the quantity of work. The rules of the Charuka Sangh forbid them from using any profit in order to increase their capital. The meeting recognized the need to find out effective ways and means to enable them to increase their capital. Two ways have been proposed: (i) drawing a part of the funds of the institutions, and (ii) selling Government help.

This experiment is for the present proposed for three years only and its benefit will be given to make a few of the Khandi work but otherwise official institutions.

(i) At present revivified institutions using their work are allowed as core of stockholders only with amount as will leave them neither profit nor loss. They can make a saving and add it to their capital only by keeping the cost of manufacturing below the marketed limit. It, however, the expenses exceed the marketed amount, the loss has to be borne by the institution. This arrangement will continue as at present. But, it was decided that hereafter the institutions be authorized to charge half as much per rupee on its retail sale. This will enable the institutions to increase its capital. The aim in the end, in this arrangement will have to be borne by the customers.

(ii) The Government policy regarding Khandi appears, at present to be aimed at providing some work to the unemployed or underemployed poor villagers. Naturally they will provide financial help in Khandi work to serve the same purpose that it is to increase the earnings of the poor villagers. The Charuka Sangh therefore suggests to the Government that they should help the various Khandi institutions recommended by the Charuka Sangh by contributing an subsidy 4 per cent of the manufacturing by the former in wages to their spinning, weaving, and weaving. In case the Government has advanced loan to the institutions, this subsidy should be used to pay loans off. The Charuka Sangh has also prepared a draft of the resolution on which such subsidy should be given by Government.

(Translated from Hindi)

SECRETARY

All India Khandi Association

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MATHURAS GANDELI)

EDITED BY E. G. RAMANUJALIA



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AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1951

TWO ANNAS

LAND-GIFTS MISSION

The news-item from the Hyderabad Government Information Bureau, published in *Morpon* of 23rd June '51, regarding the decision of the land-reform in Telangana by Shri Vankar and the personnel appointed for its disposal, being incomplete and inaccurate, the following is published for public information.

1. The total land recovered by Shri Vankar in Telangana is 12,500 acres. He has appointed a special committee for fulfilling the object of the gifts and laid down the following rules for its work.

1. Name. The name of the Board (Committee) shall be "Shri Vankar Board" (Land-Gifts Board Committee).

2. Members. The following shall be the members of the Board:

(1) Shri Qasim Khan Bahadur, Taluk, Bahadur, Hyderabad.

(2) Shri Jaganmohan Lal Bahadur, Hyderabad.

(3) Shri K. Lakshminarayana Reddy, Secy, Secy.

3. Chairman. Shri Qasim Khan Bahadur shall be the Chairman of this Board.

4. Field of Operation. The field of operation of the Board shall be the Hyderabad State.

5. Objects. (a) to distribute land recovered from the State to the landless people; (b) to acquire more land from the landholders and distribute them among the landless.

6. Method of Distribution. (a) Collectively, the basis of distribution shall be either one acre of land per family or one acre of land per individual, but the Board shall have the power to depart from this rule as might be needed by a particular land condition; (b) while distributing the land, shall be a rule which a piece of land to the very rich, who are in possession of 3 or more, but the Board shall have power to take necessary steps for avoidance of disputes if any in respect of gifted land.

7. In furtherance of its work, the Board shall have power to do all necessary things to secure public or government co-operation in the work and to correspond etc. with the Government and others.

8. Powers. The Board shall keep proper records regarding the names of donors, the land donated by each of them, the names of the donees and the land allotted to each of them and other necessary details.

9. Duties of the Chairman. The Chairman shall conduct the meetings from time to time as and when necessary, maintain the minutes of their proceedings, carry out their decisions and carry on correspondence and other essential work.

10. In matters referred to above and also others pertaining to Land-Gifts Mission the Board shall consult me (Vankar) from time to time and act under my guidance.

2. In order to continue the work started by Shri Vankar, the workers who met together at Mandhara on 24-50 took the following pledge:

"We, the workers here, have gathered here at the Mandhara Mandhara (Mandhara) house pledge that we will continue in the best of our ability the Land-Gifts Mission started by Shri Vankar and strive for its success to a large scale."

3. The All Hyderabad Congress Committee at its session at Mandhara on 15th June, 1951 passed the following resolution unanimously:

"This session of the All Hyderabad Congress Committee expresses its earnest protests to Shri Vankar Board for the valuable services rendered by him in his working here in Telangana and for effectively using the weapons of love and non-violence in solving agrarian problems as against the one based on hatred and violence practiced and promoted by Communism in the districts of the country and appeals to the people of Hyderabad and particularly the Congress workers to continue the good work of Mandhara started by him."

S. M.

ON WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLI (A DIARY OF VANKAR MISSION)

XVI

April 4, Hyderabad (Thirteenth day, 7 miles)

The reception attended in Mandhara for the people of Hyderabad was warm and extraordinarily indicative of their excitement and feelings for him. From Mandhara Nagar to Chinnara, the people had gathered at several places at that early hour to have a glimpse of Vankar. Mandhara was the air all along the way. We reached Chinnara High at 7 a.m. I presented a beautiful sight on the bank of the River Mandhara. I may be recalled that Chinnara was depicted here before they were transferred into the Mandhara. Vankar had a busy day. Vankar had received from the morning. Organized singing was arranged in the afternoon in which about 20 persons participated.

Several speeches were delivered at the workers' meeting. A friend who has arrived into the Hyderabad work said that it was that the Mandhara method had not gained due recognition in the country. He said the agency of the workers' heart, Vankar said: "We can never let us have not touched any class other than Mandhara during the last 100 years. Can we say the same thing regarding Mandhara?" Yes, in order to conduct the Mandhara and Mandhara the Mandhara, he continued: "we have to do what is right and have the result to that. This is all the more necessary in the field of Mandhara. Our people, if they are touched by Mandhara, we will

Others and Violence

Explaining the reason for this, Vinoba said that it was his belief in thinking in the future. He was often asked whether there was any progress and scope for the advancement of any person in the present world. His reply was that it almost had to be a matter of chance. It was unlikely that one would definitely achieve the progress one wished and also not want to act in the same old mould. There was characteristic of chance that as it progressed it ended in unity all in a single entity. And violence did not fit the kind of mass progress which, if it was not associated with non-violence, would impede the very existence of mankind. Therefore there was some law as to the question of working in a state and between communities and villages. On the left hand violence and violence. If he questioned it or he should give up violence. If he persisted in violence, he would lead to death or violence. Science and violence could not go together. In both of these places there, he tried to proceed, they would bring the end of humanity in the world.

Declaring his own preference for science, Vinoba said that he believed that in a world with the possibilities (as in the Bible) life is life and he had been in a cooperation and cooperation. It could take many levels of thought. He was thinking in terms that with the progress of science, it would lead to go and the dissemination of science would be associated for every one who lived science in his own way. Vinoba said he would become an even more scientific Hindu as, hope for non-violence in the fact that the world of progress needed the progress of science.

People in India as a whole and outside, were divided. I feel and had the convenient way of dealing with the human problems. And they had had some Gandhi had made it a great thing. It had been here. India might show that way. The world looked to India and hoped for hope on her.

Hydrabad, a Charismatic State

Vinoba said, referred to the peculiar position of the State and the City of Hyderabad and explained the possibilities of the people. He was prompted to say that Hyderabad was India in miniature. It had all the rich diversity of life in India. Hindu and Muslim were there in large numbers, and there was also a fair proportion of the followers of other religions. Many different languages of India were represented there. The State and the City therefore were like a little India. And if they succeeded in solving certain problems there that would give others the key to solve similar problems throughout India and the world. The responsibilities of the Hyderabad leaders were quite heavy and they had to be alive to them.

They had to realize that they inhabited a city which represented the whole of India. If they could set there an example of honest and harmonious living and solve the various local problems, they would have done great service to the whole country. They had their own government now. It offered them a rare opportunity to do their duty. Some were afraid that the workers there had no enough experience. Vinoba said that was a groundless misapprehension. The only year long experience of the Congress was in their Council, in which they could and have done, so that, in effect, they would be found to have more than experience than the rest of India. They were in the position of the use of a great vessel was carefully intended the building of the latter and then improved on it. When Hyderabad was well fixed to lead the way to the rest of India.

In the course of his journey through it devoted to find even necessary villages on the way which he felt reluctant to take leave of. Everywhere they observed that they with their love and simplicity, and he had the feeling that if the workers were there and lived in their midst, they could give shape to their ideal of the self-sufficient village republic. Their backward condition, the lack of

great roads and other modern facilities of which they were deprived were to hinder them. On the other hand they would help them achieve their end. For the facilities which they made as much of were not as expected good. They were the condition of many cities as well. It was probable that those villages were still less from their modern cities. Hence if the workers settled there and worked for their betterment, they could enter in America in 1951. Vinoba stated that the people would realize how the circumstances in their area gave them the chance of giving a lead to the whole of India. The workers should in no way feel inferior to others. Let them regard themselves as children of God devoted to carrying on His will. In the working life of the workers in the people all differences would be submerged. There would be unity and concord, a path to Hyderabad and its liberation in India.

Common Nagari Script

To illustrate the point, Vinoba referred to the language problem of India and how they could help towards its solution by adopting the Nagari script for all the two languages (Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Oriya, and Hindi) which were spoken in the State. The various languages of India were not much different from one another, but their scripts were and they used the same writing on both the sides. One common script for all would facilitate their study and bring them nearer one another. He referred to his own experience in this connection and the great difficulty he had in obtaining, because of the difference in scripts, if the State or a Publishing House took up the work of publishing good literature of every language in the Nagari script it would be a great service to India.

If Urdu adopted the Nagari script, it would automatically influence Hindi and that would be an important step. Hindi becoming officially Sanskritized. There was no reason that Urdu or Sanskrit scripts should be altogether abandoned. These scripts had their own merits and they should continue. But if along with them they also adopted the Nagari script and used it, they could in course of time create an ideal Hindustani and then would be something which others would be happy to adopt. At present the problem was that while they were agreed on the need for the national language nobody knew what it should look like, and this led to other but fruitless debates. Their Good Hyderabad would set all the interests of men. Urdu had been in use there and it had made considerable progress. What they had to do was to make it a little easier and put it in the Nagari script and they would have made a great contribution to the problem of the national language. This was only one instance how they could help tackle the problems of India.

Opportunity for Khadi

Then the conditions in the Hyderabad State were specially suitable for the promotion of Khadi. One Khadi worker should take it to and explain their conditions for their work. The function of Khadi was there. The workers had only to train the people in spinning and weaving and Khadi would go ahead to solve the other village industries.

Moderate Unintelligibility

Another thing that struck him was that the roll of opportunity in the State was not as depressed as elsewhere in India. There were reasons for that. Circumstances in this case had compelled the various sections of modern to come into closer contact with one another, and that had decreased the disparity of this roll in actual life. This was good and they could easily make it intelligible.

Thinking up Vinoba exhorted the people to take courage and energy themselves with work while the opportunity lasted. He did not suggest that the different linguistic areas should not be communicated with similar areas in the neighbouring States, if they are desired. But

as long as the State has not been split up. Regrettably they had this opportunity waiting for them. And they would do well to make use of it. Vinoba appealed to them to demonstrate to India that the various religious and linguistic communities which inhabited the Hydres had their own but one nation. It would be a great achievement and it would enable the Harijans themselves at Dharmapuri to glory in it all time to come.

The next morning, having walked 8 miles, Vinoba and his party reached Dharmapuri. There ended the first chapter of their journey. Dharmapuri is a tiny village. From the early morning people had lined up the road to receive their distinguished guest, and when Vinoba reached the appointed place, people crowded him a hearty welcome.

D. M.

HARIJAN

July 22

1961

MATHURADAS TRIKAMJI

Shri Mathuradas Trikamji, whose death took place at Bombay on Friday last 16th July, 1961, at the age of about 83, was a grandchild-son of Gandhiji, his maternal grandfather being a nephew of Gandhiji. But that is not an important item of his qualifications, though that relationship enabled him to become Gandhiji's earliest follower and assistant in public life. He may be regarded as one of the first personal secretaries of Gandhiji, after his return from South Africa in 1905, and until Mahadev Desai joined Gandhiji in 1917. Circumstances did not allow him to leave Bombay and plunge headlong into Gandhiji's work and that was one of his great regrets in life. But he always followed every step of Gandhiji as closely as possible and never failed to get his doubts cleared if he could not at once see eye to eye with Gandhiji and in case (it was not often) he was not convinced he did not hold back his opinion.

Mathuradas was very methodical in his work, and his inability to join Gandhiji as a full-time worker was indeed a great loss.

But he took his full share in the public life of Bombay, until he rose to the office of being once to Mayor. Unfortunately he also destroyed pulmonary T.B. at a young age, and for more than a quarter of a century he had to carry on a life and death struggle against it, having lost several of his ribs during the period. But he adhered even his illness for a good purpose. He made a careful study of his disease, and wrote a small handbook in Gujarati (since also translated into Hindi) for the guidance of T.B. patients. The book has been recommended by Dr Jagan Mohan. The merit of that book is that it puts hope and courage in the patient, and puts him on the right track. It also ably argues against the usual tendency of doctors and relatives of consulting from the patient himself as long as possible the nature of his disease. Those

who do so harm the patient himself and also, often, the society, as thereby he fails to take the necessary treatment while it is still in a primary stage.

Shri Mathuradas Trikamji was also the first Gujarati biographer of Gandhiji. His Gujarati book *Gandhiji Pratikarmati* (Gandhiji's Ideal) — now out of print — published in the twenties is a volume of decent size giving an account of Gandhiji's life and ideas until that period. It was published with the approval of Gandhiji, and shows how even at that early period Shri Mathuradas had begun a careful study of Gandhian ideas.

Eastern and Western philosophy was also a favourite study of Mathuradasbhai. His (Gujarati) summary of Lokamanya Tiki's *Gita-Ratna* is a good and initial handbook for those who cannot study or follow the larger volume of the Lokamanya.

Shortly after Gandhiji's death Shri Mathuradasbhai published his own interesting reminiscences of and discussions, correspondence etc. with Gandhiji. It should be remembered that all these literary activities were carried on during periods of convalescence.

He took life seriously. Being the only son of his parents, like most only sons, his temperament was more sensitive and his code of integrity and sense of public duty much higher than that of ordinary men of the world, particularly those working in the political field. He was, therefore, hardly very happy in the public life of Bombay. He judged the amenability of others by his own standard, and was therefore extremely cautious in giving expression to his opinion. For fear of giving offence, he would keep silent as long as he could. But he was too honest to seem to agree when he really did not. Therefore, when he expressed himself, however politely he might do it, he never allowed a wrong impression to be taken by his hearer. Hence, all those (including Gandhiji) who knew him always considered his criticism, whenever received, with great respect, and even sought his opinion as an very important step taken or under contemplation.

Shri Mathuradas Trikamji, though not so high up in the front rank of Gandhiji's associates, belonged to the same class as Mahadev Desai and Pyarelalji, and in terms of endorsement was on a par with his own class.

Wadhwa, B-7-M

K. G. MAHESHWALA

P.S. Since writing the above, I read in the *Pratidin* (a Gujarati daily of Bombay) that in pursuance of the directions of Shri Mathuradas in his will that his dead body might be used for the purpose of medical studies, his stomach was taken out from his dead body before cremation. This shows how he was anxious to serve humanity even through his death.

K. G. M.

LAND—ITS USE (By J. C. Panarappa)

Land was not used by man until late in his evolution. Prior to that man met his needs by hunting, fishing and other predatory modes of supplying his requirements. His tools and arrows and nets and traps formed the equipment for his existence. He ate what he obtained with his instruments and later clothed himself with the skins and furs of his victims. Trade was not known then. He worked for his own requirements.

When he gave up the nomadic life and took to producing what he wanted he adopted land as his instrument. Virgin forest and jungle lands had to be cleared and vegetation according to his plan had to be brought into existence. This work called for a considerable preparatory effort. So when one had put in that amount of labour one felt one had a right to that piece of land. This brought in private property in land. Even then each laboured for his own needs. Land was an instrument of production to obtain the materials to feed and clothe oneself.

Based on this structure agro-industries grew up. Even these were largely carried on by the farmer himself during the off season. These occupations provided ample employment throughout the year. Any surplus over and above one's requirements was exchanged for others' surplus. This was the beginning of trade. Both the parties to the transaction gained by the exchange.

At this stage money made its appearance as a means of exchange acting as a convenient token. But this device soon outgrew its original significance and was used to become an end in itself because of the various advantages it possessed as a convenient means of storage of purchasing power and it soon outstripped other commodities in the demand it created for itself.

Eventhough all other commodities were produced for the purpose of securing money irrespective of their capacity to satisfy human demand, Parasitic demands were created to obtain the custom of the possessors of money. The real demands of human race were ignored as the race for the possession of this coveted means of storing purchasing power.

In this manner all instruments of production lost their position as means of satisfying human needs and became the means of securing money. In this degeneration land also shared. Today it has lost its function of feeding those who work on it. Both the farmer and the landless agricultural worker are among the worst fed and clad but those who have the money secure the products of the land. This misalignment is contrary to nature's ordinance and has been brought about by man. Unless this situation is rectified soon we shall come to grief.

Procurement

The present Government procurement plans have made matters worse. Money needs

leads itself to the strong exploiting the weak. It scuttles off real values and sustains trade and commerce. Government pays for its procurement in money at rates fixed by itself depending by estimation of the quantities available. Here are the doors to a fearful exploitation. (1) It takes away from the producer a prime necessity at his own sweet will and pleasure. (2) The quantity is determined without relation to actual facts. (3) The payment in money hides real values. We cannot equate the intrinsic value of one cup of milk with four cups of tea, though we may try to equate their money prices. (4) Production is directed into wrong channels by this programme. A farmer threatened by procurement will sooner produce jute than food grains thus putting food in a narrow and precipitating famine on the population.

Any procurement system strong at justice must be founded on justice and should apply only to proved surplus. If a farmer has surplus grain, which has been determined after ascertaining all his needs, and he needs, say, iron or cement, then the Government should provide the needed commodity in exchange and not merely content itself with a money payment based on the price of grains fixed by itself leaving the farmer to fend for himself in a black market for his needs at exorbitant prices. It is the duty of the Government to secure for the farmer his needs in exchange for what it takes from him.

Production as Production

Directed by the price mechanism the farmer is reduced to cultivate things which may have even such social values. He may be made to grow tobacco instead of opium to feed a starving nation. He may grow raw materials for mills which cater to the upper classes while the masses stand in need of other commodities. Such utilisation of land is a rape of our mother earth whose duty is to feed her children rather than make money.

Our strength everywhere should be to awaken the farmers to a full realisation of the noble task entrusted to them—to feed the nation. Today, misled away by the money economy, they are allowing the exploitation visited on the industrial sector to be driven into the agricultural sector without realising that this is a suicidal policy inaugurated by greed. Even from considerations of self-preservation they should act together to put their lands under the cultivation of articles that will meet their own needs.

From being a granary, land has now become an investment. This change in the status has resulted in a tremendous deterioration in the volume of the various factors in this vital function of providing food for the nation. The landless attempts to squeeze out as large a return on his capital invested as he can leaving the needed land development out of consideration. The tiller thinks of his annual production only and views no further interest

in the preservation of the fertility of the land. The Government is concerned mainly with how much revenue it can rack out of it. The consequences are seen in our present food shortages. There is no short cut to this problem. We have to return land to its pristine glory and in its place as a feeder of the nation and the various factories should be contributory. Heavily importing food grains is no solution.

MEET VINDHA AT KIVARANPALLE VI

It has been stated before that apart from formal addresses at the open sessions of the Narayana Das Forum, Vindha met and held discussions separately with the delegates of various professions meeting in groups. During the four days, he met eight such groups from 10.30 a.m. and 11.30 a.m.

Some students of Vindha also came in for their questions, and had two lectures with him each lasting more than an hour. He also addressed the workers of the Haffner Trust, Kivaranpalle, Kivaranpalle Trust, volunteers as well as a meeting of merchants. The engagements were so crowded and heavy that he had to forgo his morning walks and addresses out, and devote as much time as possible on meeting and listening persons both individually and in groups.

(i) April 5—Morning

The first to see him were students from Bengal, Assam and Orissa. Vindha himself began the talking: "I am not meant to be a representative of an external type of knowledge. I am only a man of this time and place. In fact, until Mr. Narayana Das in 1958 I hardly made deliberate attempts to form general organisations. But, during the last few days, I changed my way and began to get into personal touch with all major workers as possible. I begin to do a thing when I find I want to do it now. It has become necessary, not to get into contact with workers all over the country for the sake of our Narayana work. Even at the best of our working for such a task, we shall remain in establish contacts with local workers throughout the country so that we may be able to spread our work through them."

"In a military organisation," continued Vindha, "the Commander issues a command, but he does not need to issue personally every order. Here, too, is a voluntary set-up. There is no question of issuing commands. We have only to offer advice to our workers, but even then it requires personal contact. And it is physically impossible to reach every worker by house and house in such a short time. The only contact possible, and also the most important, is the contact of hearts. This will please themselves, only in the ground that we are already intimate and put in in your questions without hesitation."

When the contact was of hearts, that is spiritual, even most of communication between them for a long period was in hindrance. It did not disturb the heart-to-heart contact. Vindha returned to his association his experience of the past life during the last movement when he was not allowed to write letters to any one except his blood relations. He had written a letter—his last one—10 days which the Government had refused to forward. Vindha explained to the Government that for his relationship did not lead back to blood relations only. However, in this case both the parties concerned, i.e. he and Rupa were prisoners. There should have been some character or objection in forwarding the letter to Rupa, but the Government's reply was that they could not differentiate between man and man. Thus even Government could open the door to their support!

"But in spite of my prolonged silence of three years," continued Vindha, "we found that the line of action was more than fifty years ahead of us. Let us not therefore play much importance in physical contact."

The above introductory speech was followed by a question from a worker of Orissa. He wanted Vindha to visit that State.

Vindha said that while all questions were full of thought and he had no objection to go to any place, if necessary, for the time being he proposed to reach Madras before the rains and look after the work that was going on there. While the development of that work he would get more chance to go on, and if it helps he would go to visit Orissa also. But even if he could not go they must not think that he was far away from them. He said that he studied their language and read their literature in spite of the poverty that struck. The language of India was small and short was not too much different among them. He visited the Old language of Orissa too from a literary point of view, but with the desire to strengthen the line of love. In fact, very little things had even that language complete. Some could create feelings of common fellowship in the minds of the Telugu-speaking people. "I have made a few suggestions for the reform of your Orissa script, of which you have accepted some. I request you to adopt and implement these suggestions. The writing of Orissa script is your work. It is as difficult and complicated as in English. There is scope for reform even in Telugu but not so much as in Orissa script."

Supplying to another question from an Assamese friend Vindha said: "There was a time when the B.W.F.F. was considered to be the centre previously, but today Assam has got the same importance. Their preparation of their books are about from the point of view of military defence. If however we become the representatives of our country these new books will become the means of spreading fraternal feelings among the neighbouring States and that, too, is duty and defence. Thus, looked at either way, the importance of Assam is a matter previous to mine."

Explaining the significance of offering one lakh, each at the time of the Narayana Das, Vindha said: "If you collectively carry out this programme and even if you get 10,000 people in Assam to offer one lakh each on the 10th of February, much work can be done through these 10,000 lakhs. It will be the duty of the Narayana Das to establish contacts with all those who offer a lakh. It may look complicated to say this but it does not require to achieve great results through small means. It is perfectly possible for him to do so. The Narayana Das might say to a small body but it is the place of Gandhi in his lifetime. If we accept it and are loyal to it, and act according to his inspiration, our work is sure to progress. If the Narayana Das might tell us to work through you, it will be his duty to profit by your virtue and to suffer for your demands. Even if the office of the Narayana Das might have closed but that it will be his duty to offer it for the demands then, and that too without complaining for his having been chosen now. Today, it is only the Narayana Das which can maintain heavy contacts with you and not directly with your hearts as well as thoughts."

(ii) April 5—Evening, With Rupa Workers

Some workers of Orissa had been demanding for some time past the question whether they should take part in the national elections. Some of them thought of abstaining from the election. Vindha said: "It is true that we have no differences on some points with Government, but the differences are not regarding external policy but internal policy. It does not look proper that we should not participate in the elections because we call ourselves Gandhians. The participation in the elections may be proper only for the time, who does not take the help of the Government machinery of law, order and justice, even if all his property is seized, he may have turned away from the elections because it only means that he does not wish to use the rights and privileges conferred upon him by law."

"We should not advise people to non-participation in the elections. It may be open to him to give his personal

opinion as it is influential. But the elections are a public phenomenon and a person who takes Government duties and credit of the rights and privileges conferred by it for his personal or institutional work is not qualified to provide the legend of elections!"

These introductory remarks on the friends thinking were sincerely the friends who provided such participation and were present in the meeting began to disengage. In between, a friend said to ask, "Should we return the Sardar's people to as big a number as possible in the coming elections?"

"Suppose you read me," asked Vinodji, what will happen? I shall have to answer to the Sardar's death, he said. In times of need, how can one who does not believe in the use of force stand for election? Of course he who does not reverence non-violence is not violent but accepts it only as an effective tool and tries to move in that direction gradually may be considered for election."

Q: Why should the Sardar have thought people not stand for the elections?

Prabhu: Who will elect them? Suppose I stand for election. I will ask the people that they should not keep the secret. Who will then vote for me? It is not that to vote is not thinking. People may get up even at 4 am on my advice but who will take the risk of electing me, who will defend all these? I shall have to face a very heavy defeat if I stand!

The atmosphere was filled with laughter. A note of relief for the general and a definite problem for the future could be read in between the lines of the reply. A few more questions followed: "They all speak about the distribution of land, will it help production?"

Prabhu: There is a little confusion existing here. It is not proper that a thing the land should be possessed by a few. This is irrespective of issues of production which is may be possible to achieve even without distribution of land. You may control that the incentive to work is not, when one possesses sufficient land, but experience shows that the best results are achieved through small holdings. As a matter of fact, that is an early the argument of the small holders against the big ones. My contention is that every one is entitled to land to be in to air and water, wherever one for it, should get it, according to his needs. Government would say, your quota is for only 1,000 of an acre, you cannot have more. In that case, they would have to compensate the present of the land plus the village property and every one would have to be asked to contribute land.

Q: But how will you make the land available?

Prabhu: By legislation. That work is not difficult.

Q: The experience is otherwise. Don't you see how difficult it is to pass legislation?—The suggestion was that after immediate power, the Congress ministers had lost their seat in the chamber and had adopted a revolutionary attitude.

Prabhu: It is the intention of the State. The present state defining a joint size it has neither length nor breadth. But when he draws the point on the board to show you to make it big enough so that the whole class can sit in. I know there are objections to the path of making a law. The crux of the whole problem is Defense. All our energies are directed at present towards the maintenance of the army. There are no resources left to enable other things to be taken up. Unless therefore we find a solution to this and decide that we do not need so much army, and that we can carry on our work with the minimum three parts it is impossible. This is possible only when India and Pakistan actually come out to fight any more.

Q: Some of the land-holders possess more than 10,000 acres. How shall we acquire land from them, and how can we distribute it?

Prabhu: What has Eshwar done? That which is possible there should also be possible here.

Q: After he made a great contribution in the case of Ahmed, why does not more landholders free produce?

"What should be our policy now to regard these work?" Should we carry on the work on self-sufficiency basis, or as an enterprise giving a living wage?

Prabhu: When the question is put in me about wages in self production my answer is that the Chaudhri though is your man that is you are paying wages. It is an understandable fact, paying one give two. It is only land cultivation that can give land. Speaking one give is only done. Vinodji suggested that the maintenance of the speaking letters from the point of view of wages in terms of money was fundamentally wrong. The owners of fields must produce their own rich, even as they must all their lands and give their food.

The last question about Sardar's was no less important. What do you think about offering Sardar's? It will, when necessary?

And straight came the reply: "It is only an armed force that the question of Sardar's can arise today. When the Government belongs to you and you are the makers of law it should be possible for you to resolve all your problems with the help of the law."

Prabhuji, Prasadji, G. J.

D. D.

HIMALAYAN LESSONS

VI

Let Sahib Ki Kothi

I had pleaded for some place outside the town and as the authorities had very kindly arranged for us to be put up at the Sarban Post House, one mile above Tehri town, on the left bank of the Bhilangana River. The local population knew it as Let Sahib Ki Kothi (the Lord Sahib's House), as it was built by the late Maharaja's father for the reception of the English Lord. So we had progressed from a half-a-dozen to the Lord Sahib's House! But no sooner did we get into that grandeur than my heart began to yearn for Rhona Bag up there on the mountain ridge amongst the hills and the peasants. Nevertheless, I resigned myself to the circumstances, helped as they were for putting my health in order. The superiors here also enabled us to come in close contact with the administrative centre of the State, just recently merged into Uttar Pradesh as a new district. This was of considerable value for understanding the conditions which we had been studying day by day during our wanderings. However, before reviewing our general experience, let me reach the end of the story.

Back to Rhona Bag

As the days went by I became more and more content in the Lord Sahib's House. In such surroundings no matter how much one may try to avoid it, an innumerable barrier runs up between oneself and the people. No amount of explaining will remove the estranging effect of such buildings. What a tragedy it is that our leaders think it necessary to live in such, and much grander edifices! It is not raising prestige by a hair's breadth, but on the contrary, is dragging it down day by day.

Since I was determined to get away as soon as possible, messages were sent to the owner of the little inn shop at Rhona Bag to try and put his roof in order, and as soon as we heard that he had done so, we set out again with bag and baggage. It was as steep and stony a path as the

one from Chamba Khul to Ghadia, only nearly twice as long! There being no horse available, I made do with an old mule. My health was only so so, but the joy of getting off to the countryside sustained me.

For the last four or five days there had been hardly any rain, and it appeared as if the monsoon were ending. We arrived in the late afternoon. The friendly weather-beaten faces of the peasants were there to greet us. The little building had been lovingly plastered, and was looking most inviting. The air was fresh and bracing. In cheery mood we settled in. This time I had a room all to myself, a little back room which had been cleared of lumber. The small bed with the teacher's wooden chair as end-table was there waiting for me. Some additions also for the others had been made by the old village in the form of improvised ironing and shelves converted out of empty bamboo bins and rough wooden planks. No Lord Sahib's grandeur here, and no skyness on the part of the peasants!

Truth is Brought Home by Experience

One lesson of the shortage of wood and water in many Himalayan villages, but to realize what it means one has got to experience it. This long mountain ridge running from above Chamba Khul to Tehri, has been practically denuded of Bang Himalayan Oak, which, in turn has resulted in the drying up of many of the springs and the poor trees, though fairly numerous have all had their lower branches topped off. The consequence is that firewood is almost non-existent! The peasants go miles and miles to collect their yearly needs. We, being temporary dwellers managed somehow to gather together our daily requirements by foraging for hours up and down the mountain sides. We soon came to realize that fuel is as important as food itself, for without it no rice can be made or anything else cooked.

There was a little inferior water nearby during the rains, but drinking water had to be fetched from a small spring some two furlongs down a precipitous path. By the end of October the nearby water dries up. Then for all needs people have to go down to the lower spring which gets weaker and weaker as the dry season advances. Town people living in houses with water laid on, and even country folk with wells nearby, can have no idea what such permanent water shortage means.

It is such experiences that bring home to one the real needs of vast masses of our people, and if only those in power would spend a little of their lives in the back-of-beyond villages our development schemes would be more realistic.

The Rain Wins

After some days the clouds again began to threaten. "What does it matter," we said, "our roof is now water-proof." But we were soon

shown wrong! The rain came down in torrents, not for one day but for several days and nights, and the water came through the roof in all directions especially in my room. By squaring my bed into a corner and covering one end with a mosquito-net I managed to keep my bedding dry, but the rest of the room became soaking wet, and the floor a square-metre of sticky mud. When the rain at last stopped the weather turned chilly. My room became so damp and cold, that its darkness began to eat into my bones. After some days my health started to go wrong. I moved into the front of the old shop which was the only comparatively dry place left, and which I had avoided doing so far because of its complete lack of ventilation. But it was now too late, my health went on getting worse instead of better, and at last I had reluctantly to decide to go down from the mountains at least a month earlier (September) than originally planned, and without having definitely needed any cure for the little breast adenoma. But that was not the end of my troubles. For within a week of reaching Pataloda, I collapsed with malaria, and had, in all, three attacks during the cold weather.

Gosh, 15-5-51

MTLA

(To be reprinted)

Concrete Facilities for Trained Hindus

Dr Parashuram Sharma, the veteran champion of the rights and privileges of Indians abroad had written a note in Mayon of 8-15-48 complaining of the compulsion on the Hindus of Trinidad to bury their dead instead of burning them as in India. For several years the local Hindus had carried on an unsuccessful agitation. His new informants that "the new Government with responsible ministers have acceded to the request of the Hindus of Trinidad to cremate their dead on the open pyre, and a law to this behalf is being drafted. Other colonies on that side, it is understood will soon be following in the footsteps of Trinidad." The Government of Trinidad desires thanks of the Hindus for their respecting their sentiments. I hope other colonies will do the same before, extend the same concession.

Wardha, 5-5-52

K. G. M.

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HARIJAN

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Two Annas

TO PUBLIC SERVANTS AND TRADERS

The attention of the reader is drawn to items relating to honest life movements in the Harijan Sangh proceedings published in another column herewith.

Manoj Kumarlal Nehru has gone more and more definitely that controls cannot be lifted and the public must reexamine and adjust themselves to that policy. He honestly believes that sometime harm would accrue to the Nation, if any attempt is made to lift them at this stage. Possibly it fully aware of the consequences of the controls and the corruption they lead to. But he feels helpless. He has to choose between starving and denuding the poorer sections of the people and the hardships created by controls to, on the whole, a smaller section of the middle classes, and he justifiably feels that he would not be a true servant of the people if he chose the former alternative.

As for corruption, the choice, again, is to be made between dishonesty and corruption attending uncontrolled and controlled markets respectively. The former allows unscrupulous and dishonest money-makers to enter into a race for profiteering, and rich and selfish consumers to stock goods far beyond all reasonable needs. The result is that prices rise to soaring heights and an inferior standard is created artificially for the people of limited means.

The corruption resulting from controls has been repeatedly stressed and confessed. But the other corruption is worse and more difficult to check than this. The evils of corruption, Government may hope to reduce, by removing the defects of administration, as more and more co-operation is gained. But Nehru has sought public co-operation in the matter.

After mature consideration the sponsors of the Shuddha Vyavastha Movement have come to the conclusion that the only way to ensure social justice and to create conditions of Servitude—well-being of all—is through the practice of honesty by every one of us. Good moral life means controlled life. If we do not voluntarily put controls on ourselves, a pure, religious, society or government undertaking for the

welfare of the people will impose exterior controls. The sections of such of them might differ. Exterior controls being rough and crude and liable to be wrongly applied to a complicated society, are bound to create an amount of hardship and discontent to one or another section of the people. Voluntary and self-imposed controls, on the other hand, will bring contentment if not abundance of wealth to the personages himself as well as to the society. Shuddha Vyavastha is another term for creating self-imposed controls.

In this connection, public services and traders play the most important role. They form an inherent pair along one side, the other party being the poor-class consumers and a small number of speculative dealers.

Between the servants and the traders, none may say that the corruption of the one is responsible for the corruption of the other. Their contribution to corruption is equal and originates from both the sides, like a clap of the two hands. And though the trader possesses the means of corruption, it is the public servant who wields the power to straighten the trader, however rich and influential he might be. Not even all the wealth of a multi-millionaire can save him from punishment if ministers and public servants are frank, incorruptible and incapable of being influenced by personal considerations.

Ministers have to ensure far coming under the influence of wealth, either by shielding them or helping them to secure favoured treatment. They have no excuse for being corrupt. Even servants of low grades are on the whole better paid and more securely placed in life than men of their own rank, ability and education outside the service. They are maintained by receiving the same kind of service to their countrymen as that by those known as "national workers" like the members of the constructive Sangha, the Servants of India Society and similar organisations. They can lead a life of contentment and service and earn the respect of the public, without the worry of the "national workers" about funds, regular payments of salaries and other hard conditions of life.

Service under foreign rulers had denationalised public servants and made their patriotism shallow and apathy for their own national interests. Such indignations were held out before them that their prosperity depended primarily on their loyalty and disservice to the nation. The independent governments of the Indian States also resented the same hateful ill sense of shame in accepting British money, whereas the disappointed and misled public servants began to look upon such payments as their legitimate fees. Such has been the tragedy of Indian public service under foreign and autocratic government.

But all that should go now. Independence has given them no advantage over all other people. No other section of the people has reaped the benefits of independence as they. They hold the key to improve or ruin the condition of the people. If they rise to the occasion, set a high standard of honesty and perform their duty without favour, fear or expectation of flagrant rewards, traders and other sections of the people also will have to improve.

I require every public servant to ponder deeply and seriously over this matter. Neither might bring them more comforts but failure of life never.

Wardha 25.7.53

K. D. KAMATH/MAA

A STORY AND ITS MORAL.

A small Bengali story book came into my hands. There was only one story of a boy in it. It was like this. The orphan boy's maternal uncle was business and his paternal uncle was peasant. Both tried to win over the boy. Thanks to their occupations. The boy actually got himself accustomed for some time to such of them and picked up efficiency in both the professions. But his mind was not in any of them. He used to skip away now and then, and was often found in the company of snake-charmers, snaying their dogs. One day both the uncles were together arguing out their case for their own professions before the boy. The boy was listening patiently. Suddenly a big snake crept out, heading towards the group. The uncles took to their heels. But the boy sprang forward and cheering whenever caught hold of the cobra by the head and danced a bit in leaps.

The story has a moral for constructive workers. Is not this "running into the mouth of violence and chackmating it", a thing to be cultivated by constructive workers? Violence, in all its shapes, subtle and crude, is stalking a vital. The weakness and the fear for tackling violence born out of single love and faith, are worth the risk they carry with them.

Gandhi played all his life with violence and braved the noble risk!

CHANDRASEKHAR CHAKRABARTY

SHRI VIJAYA AT SHIVARAMPALLI

VII

April 2—Saturday. Pongol and U P workers

Thought cannot be discarded. "Large gatherings and conferences hardly provide any chance for personal contacts. Hence, the programme of meetings with professional workers, in its personal nature, is important in this regard. It happens at times that we meet a person for the first time and at the very sight of him we feel as if we had been old friends—at a past birth, to be precise. I had several experiences of this nature. Both Pongol Group and U P Group for the first time. But in the case that meeting both of us felt as if we had been acquainted at a past life. Even the sight of the camera is reminding."

When giving his reason for leaving home in his own camp's history, he said: "I had drunk water at a place where some water was found. It is believed that the bearing of the water-bearer gave a share in your good deeds (Pongol). That is the chief reason for my leaving my home."

Referring to his speech of the previous day, Vithalji sought to clear the doubts some workers expressed about the success of the Sarvodaya Group without an organisation. He did not desire to exaggerate the facts according to current methods. But he had to doubt that the type of organisation which they aimed at, could become the united and the changed institution. If such organisation was spontaneous and unorganised, it would be more chaotic than the present-day organisations. It could not be said. "I have observed that the people of Sarvodaya are not in any way inferior to that of the professionals, soldiers. Love and respect had the power to convert each loving. Hence the other should be taken as an example. The absence of a regular organisation, which then, greater efforts in their work. If other moral standards and differences, they applied themselves to working on their principles, their organisation would be spontaneous and unorganised."

Thinking cannot mean also to be free in their views about methods of working on propaganda. The process goes too much beyond the limits of reality. People, people available in organisations of activities. But they cannot only words, and did not have the whole life about them.

In this connection, he referred to the village of Shri Kollapur (in M. P.) where he had remained for a day on his way to Shivarampalli. It was just possible, Vithalji said that the Chaurangis might have taken them on his way, as Pongolpur and the people who came along the influence might have taken the place after him. (Shri Krishna, in Krishna's Chaurangis, as Chaurangis was called. Shri Krishna had gone to the Pongol from Moha, where he had followed Shri Krishna and Mrs. There were the days of his journey. They did not visit any place more than once. Shri Krishna captured the heart of some one or other wherever he went. The true way of spreading the word was the one long history, which, that many people live in the future and believe that, thereby they were carrying on a good propaganda. Vithalji pointed the door to the people's hands, with photos and cartoons. But the work of publicity had its limitations. However, whether it was a newspaper or any other weapon, it was used by the capitalist, and he had attained a high degree of publicity in his employment. Hence, if the workers could be taken to the door and the door with the new weapon, he would always lead them. They must therefore, create their own means, such as would defeat the methods.

On the very first day, I had said that I had waited all the way from Wardha for someone (Secretary of the group and the chairman) and for a programme of hours which should be the first object of this Conference. I know of no more obvious means for spreading the message than the company of the workers and meeting of the leaders.

HARIJAN

July 28

1951

THE CONGRESS MANIFESTO

The Congress has published its election manifesto. The principal purpose of such manifestos is to win the voters to the side of the party which it is a preliminary note payable by candidates during the next term of power, if the party is successful. Its second purpose is to inform would-be candidates and future representatives of the people, of the programme which the party will be expected to carry out if it was called upon to form a government.

Voters are like shareholders, and parties are like managements for the Managing-Shareholders of a huge venture. Each party seeks to get the office, and may naturally be expected to give a glowing picture of the good deeds it will perform if it is allowed an opportunity.

From this standpoint the Congress manifesto must be regarded as having been drawn with moderation and restraint. It does not make extravagant promises, which cannot be fulfilled in a democratic manner. The promises held out by the manifesto are capable of being made good if an honest attempt is made, if the country gives the Government full co-operation, if all persons including government servants play their full part, and if no unforeseen calamity intervenes.

The manifesto confesses that "the objectives of the Congress which have been embodied in the Constitution of India, still remain, in a large measure, unrealised." Upon this task, the Congress wants to concentrate its energies hereafter. In doing so, "subject only to the maintenance of the freedom and integrity of the country", it wants to give first priority to India's economic progress. The method for doing so will be "use of co-operation and the avoidance, as far as possible, of competition and conflict and an readiness with a definite plan."

Rural India

The first important item of the plan is that stress will be "laid on the progress of the rural areas and the people who live there." The manifesto declares that the Congress is conscious of the fact that "they (the rural areas) contain the vast majority of our population and are the basis of our economy" and that "they have suffered neglect in the past and this must be made good." For this purpose, the first and vital step under contemplation is the casting away of "old and out-of-date agrarian systems of tenure," and their re-casting on a new pattern.

"The task of reforming rural ten co-operation farming with the objective of making the whole village or a substantial part of it a unit of co-operative management."

The Congress also declares that "the conditions of agricultural labour should be improved," and "opportunities for work and employment in small-scale and cottage industries should be afforded to them."

The Congress admits that while "some of them (villagers) can be absorbed in large industries, in the main the scope for absorption will come through small-scale and cottage industries." It further admits:

"These cottage industries are particularly important in India and must be developed and protected with the aid of the State and co-ordinated with other forms of industry."

But, perhaps in order not to raise false hopes in the minds of the workers of khadi and village-industries programmes of Government institutions, it finally declares:

"But it must always be borne in mind that the best technology should be employed for small-scale and cottage industries in order to make them effective and economic."

The method of dealing with cottage industries will be "to encourage research", and "to separate industrial co-operation, wherever possible." But it has avoided any mention of the khadi and village industries. However it is anxious to consider the handloom weavers and producers "to make special arrangements for the supply of adequate quantities of yarn to them." The manifesto does not throw away the khadi as so many would, but the hint is clear that the khadi is the plan, the khadi, the khadi and the like must not expect to get encouragement in the future Congress Government. I would like to be corrected if I am wrong in inferring that whatever cottage industries people might like to engage themselves in, they must adjust themselves to large-scale industries of a similar character.

The Congress promises also to give greater attention to:

"the preservation of such and drought-proof and improving of water lands for increasing the supply of such, and improvement of agriculture."

Large Industries

In regard to the large industries, the Congress does not accept the policy of laissez faire. Its policy has been "that basic industries should be owned or controlled by the State," and this will be "progressively given effect to." A large field for private enterprise is, however, left over. But the private sector must accept the objectives of the National Plan and fit into it. In this field the aim would be to develop co-operative enterprise on an increasing scale.

Although the basic industries are thus marked out for being taken over by the State, ultimately, the progress in this direction will depend upon various factors. This policy has not been accepted under the influence of a slogan or doctrine, but for the purpose of meeting specific problems of the people, and hence the pace will depend upon the consideration—what is good for the people under a particular set of circumstances.

Controls

The Congress manifesto is insistent upon controls as the only way of ensuring distribution of essential necessities to the poor at fair prices and for keeping down prices.

"If prices have to be held and reduced, some measure of controlled distribution becomes essential. In the matter of food the tens of millions of people in India are faced with the prospect of a nationwide system of controls. But for these controls the chaos of Indian might have manifested in different parts of the country."

"We must endeavour to create conditions of rational abundance of articles which are necessary for the masses. As this suggests these controls can be progressively dispensed with. But till we have an adequate supply we must endeavour to make the controls function more effectively. Efficiency and opposition to controls themselves produce weakness in their working. It is true that controls have led to shortages. The way to deal with this is to make the controls effective and to improve their administration."

Not that I don't want prices to go down or to ensure fair distribution of essentials. But unfortunately I am unable to understand this attempt to keep down prices through C D's. We are pursuing an economic order which is based on profit-making, and in which an unstable and arbitrary currency is made to play the major part. The fundamental creed of profit-making is that every one engaged in an occupation should get more than what he has put into it. Nevertheless our cherished desire is that we shall do this without exploiting any one and without compelling every one to perform any productive labour whatever. Under the circumstances we can, at best, make only an intermittent and take share of cheap prices. That is to say, that though all prices, including those of controlled goods, must ultimately rise, some necessities could be made available for a while to a class of needy consumers at a less than their price in the free market. It is at its best a system similar to that of cheap-rate shops opened for the benefit of people in distress. The cheap rate would also increase but at a less rapid pace than the uncontrolled one. But as the long run, prices will never come down permanently even if there is abundance of goods. It must be accepted almost as an axiom, that production for profit which means for trade and commerce, whether under State capitalism or private capitalism, can never bring down prices.

But the desirability of this principle cannot be carried further here. It must be accepted even by de-controlists that the imposition of controls is no excuse for black markets and corrupt practices. Good citizenship and honest life require upright conduct and utmost attempt to abide by the law. However utopian it might appear on the part of every citizen.

Wardha 26-7-51 K. G. MANSURWALA

(To be continued)

A SOREY SPECTACLE

Leaders and newspapers announced the Bangalore Session of the A.I.C.C. as having achieved remarkable success in creating unity within the Congress. But hardly had the ink dried before the statement and resignations of Shri Kadam and Shri Jan showed the position to be as bad as before. Every Congress paper frankly welcomed Shri Kadam's resignation as a happy occurrence. The Congress now faces the embarrassing situation which Shri Nehru has created for it by retaining them as Cabinet Ministers along with their leadership in the Praga Party and staunch opposition to the Congress headed by Shri Tandon.

It is difficult for us, members of the public with little knowledge of the inner discords to appraise all these men on their true merits. The public can judge only from what appears in the Press and it can take developments only as further indications of the determination that has entered the Congress. It cannot also help concluding that the story has permeated the whole organisation from top to bottom. Several members occupying the most important positions at the Centre and in the States must be spending the major part of their time, intelligence and energies, not in the discharge of their ministerial duties, but in these nasty manoeuvrings. Is the public to believe that a Welfare State will grow on the effluvia of these thorns and thick bushes of intrigue?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru seems like the proverbial Nagai with two faces—the snake though crowned, out of favour and the jester though uncrowned, a favourite one. Shri Kadam, leader of the Praga Party, has also defected from his own leader and beloved friend. And of course he is also the acknowledged leader of the Congress and beloved of the nation. He has the unique honour for the unnumbered multitudes according to the way the situation is viewed of being simultaneously the leader of the party in office and also of its opposition. However ludicrous the situation might seem to a mere spectator, to us whose tortures are heated up with these leaders, it is as great a tragedy as were Kaley's intrigues in the Court of Dasharatha to the people of Ayodhya.

In all this sorry spectacle unavoidable? Self-annihilation and thought thinking can improve the situation. May God grant it to every one of us.

Wardha 26-7-51

K. G. MANSURWALA

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HIMALAYAN LESSONS

VII

Lessons and Impressions

In the beginning of July we had come up into the Himalayas saying we would test various places to see whether they would suit us. As time went by I began to see that we had made a big mistake in looking upon the Sacred Mountains from such a point of view, and I said to my companions, "It is not we who are testing the Himalayas, but the Himalayas who are testing us, and by the looks of things we are proving unfit." Unless we humble our minds and approach the Sacred Mountains as disciples before a mighty Guru we cannot expect to win favour. True to the characteristics of a great teacher the Himalayas demand constant humility and self-sacrifice and in return for that discipline they bring exultation of man's physical nobility and the limitless possibilities of his spiritual growth.

As to our daily impressions at Tehri-Garwal, they were deeply interesting and instructive. Whenever the motor roads have reached serious deterioration in self-sufficiency and moral standards had set in, whereas beyond their beneficial influence life is still comparatively self-contained, healthy and happy. Now, besides the motor-roads has come another devastating influence and that is the merging of the State into Uttar Pradesh. Whatever the short-comings and limitations of the former rule may have been, it was at least Home Rule (Gharib). Now, with the influx of lowland officials, and especially of the outside police and legal regulators, the peasantry find themselves in the hands of a "foreign" power. The lowland officials naturally are not used either to the language or the customs and needs of the people, at the same time moving about in the motor-cars needs a tough highlander. Even with the best intentions it is not possible for a man from the plains to become thoroughly familiar with the conditions in the short time at his disposal. The custom of constantly transferring Collectors and other Government officials from place to place may have some advantages, but I think they are outweighed by the disadvantages, especially in a State like Uttar Pradesh, where there are such tremendous differences as between the mountains and the plains. I am told, also, that the Collector's monthly touring programme has been curtailed in the plains; it may be possible for a Collector to dash in a car round his district in a shorter time than formerly, but here in the Himalayas the aged-old pace of two to three miles an hour has remained the same. In any case, be it on the hills or the plains, anything which reduces the Collector's personal touch with his people and their surroundings is a bad thing. A good administrator is not the man who lives in his office, but the man who is out and about, and familiar with the land and the people whom he

has to guide and control. Formerly crime at Tehri-Garwal was rare, and if such a thing as a murder or other serious offence took place, there was quick punishment. It may sometimes have been rather rough and ready, but it was certainly any day better than the present "legal" entanglements, as a result of which crime is now markedly on the increase. Formerly Tehri saw the motor through, but now a case can be dragged all the way to Lucknow. Naturally all this goes against the poor man, who succumbs in despair. A telling local comment on the situation is the interpretation of "marger" as *over gone* (to die). These matters give any thoughtful person a good deal of food for thought. My plan is that we should at all costs be honest with ourselves and look things squarely in the face.

Tehri-Garwal has enormous scope for preservation and improvement of village industries and self-reliance and self-sufficiency. The following figures taken from the Administrative Report of the Tehri-Garwal State, 1945-46, are of interest.

Population (1941)	4,00,184
Area (Administrative)	1,38,800
Area	4,500 square miles
Under cultivation	380 " "
Forest	4,775 " "
Snow	1,975 " "

From this it can be seen that far and away the greatest wealth lies in the forests. The Government gets huge sums of money from the timber, but in return gives precious little to the villagers. Water channels and tanks, better milk-paths and better and more bridges are a crying need. True, something is being done, but it should be so much more lavish, swift, and freed as far as possible from delaying red-tape and Parliamentary party politics. Every rupee spent by Government on water handling will increase the food production of the country. From what I have seen so far my impression is that there must be hundreds and thousands of untapped hill springs and streams which, if harnessed and channelled could be brought to the fields. There would such be small waterfalls, capable of giving immediate motion, and of being kept in repair by the villagers themselves. All the peasants need is help in capital expenditure and some technical guidance. With this encouragement they would also undoubtedly respond to intelligent propaganda for compost-making and better banding of their terraced fields. If these things could be achieved the face of the countryside would be changed.

As I write these lines (May 1951), I am again at Tehri-Garwal. The turn away in the interior, up the Bhilangana Valley, 20 miles from the nearest motor road and 80 miles from the nearest railway. What a blessing!

Gawal, 19-5-51

MIRA

(Continued)

HARJAN

August 4

1961

THE CONGRESS MANIFESTO

III

Use : ensure the examination of the Congress
"Society"

Scientific Research

It asserts that "considerable progress has been made in the development of scientific research and the application of science to industry" and that this will be continued and adequate provision will be made for technical education if the Congress returns to power. It is possible that that is so and will be so, but the public would have been benefited if a few instances had been given to enable it to know the place and value of these researches and industries in the life of the nation. If technical sciences are to be applied for the purpose of peace and prosperity of all and for bringing down prices, the approach towards it must not be industrial application (in the sense of making it a profit-making business), but for providing the people with better means of making use of the abundant nature surrounding them.

From this point of view, I regard the top-priority given to river-valley schemes as good as principle though it is difficult to agree with Pandit Nehru saying that if you had to choose in a particular area, say between a river-valley scheme and prohibition, you should choose the former, and allow prohibition to come later when you have developed your resources better. I, for one, have no hesitation in saying that if the goal of developing the river was the retardation of the development of the people even by a few years I would give priority to the development of the people. But I believe this is merely a hypothetical position, and there is no real necessity of choosing the one or the other.

But there is another important factor associated with the river-valley schemes. Intensive, intensive and disinterested practice in securing these schemes are said to have caused enormous preventable losses to the nation. Hence again it is necessary to emphasize that not even a top-priority scheme is possible of achievement unless highest priority is given to honesty, economical use of every material, prevention of every type of waste and careful surveys and calculations. All our sweetest dreams of a prosperous and happy India will vanish like a mirage if these essential qualities are wanting.

The manifesto accepts the importance of maintaining high moral standards of public work, and admits that "various forms of corruption exist as social evils today." It declares a pious wish to put an end to these evils and is in favour of devising some form of statutory method to deal with such cases. I made a suggestion some time ago that since it was shown that a great loss or debilitation of money had taken place, or that the standard of living or economic condition of an office-holder or his relatives and friends had glaringly improved in an unknown manner, the burden of proving his honesty, innocence or non-negligence should be laid on him. No less an authority than Shri Gurusai, I understand, has endorsed this suggestion. The manifesto appears to disclose a similar approach. But where is the necessity of waiting till a new Parliament is summoned to "page this end"? Government can do so immediately and if they begin with purifying their own cabinets and secretariats, that one step will make the country more blessed than all other good things put together. But the way in which every political party is trying to strengthen its organization and to add to its numbers and the way in which conservatism and oppositionism to reforms are made leave little room for hoping that any great improvement will be made in this direction even after the elections.

Education

The manifesto does not reveal much insight into the subject of education. Through the new terminology, "basic education", "learning through a craft", "non-alienation from the productive aspect and other needs of the community" etc. has been employed, it is clear that the principle on which India's New Scheme should be based has not been clearly grasped.

The paragraph on education concludes with the words,

"Art and literature, music and drama, singing and dancing should be encouraged."

I dare say that this part of education is going to succeed fully well and no Government effort beyond granting such functions with their protection and unopposed cinema etc. would be necessary for its progress. Prohibition has not been mentioned at all in the manifesto. And in the course of the debate on the manifesto, Pandit Nehru rejected the suggestion to include it. He even said that it should not be introduced "in the trial area where the whole life of the people was evolved round certain customs and sacred. You will break up their lives, if you suddenly introduce prohibition. You will have revolutions there."

So, with the non-introduction of prohibition among education, grant of liberal permits to people moving to the "cultured" society and a liberal provision of cinema shows, such as we have at present, there need be no doubt that highest targets will be reached in the realm of "art and

literature, music and drama singing and dancing", even through all other schemes, including that of distribution of food to starving masses, fail.

Economic Equality

The manifesto has some ideas also for advancing towards the reduction of economic inequalities of the people. The measures suggested are the ones usually talked of, such as death duties, graded income-tax, prevention of black-marketing, prohibiting, increase of production etc.

Miscellaneous

Public Health, Backward classes, Nigrities, Displaced persons, Women and Linguistic provinces are some of the other subjects on which the manifesto has expressed its views. I do not think there can be much difference of opinion on these subjects in the country, except with people who are consciously blinded and are keen on the preservation of long-enjoyed privileges.

Foreign Policy and Kashmir

The manifesto accepts Jawaharlal's lead on these matters. The question of Kashmir is one on which it might be said with reasonable confidence that the whole country is one and supports the Nehru policy. On the question of foreign policy I am afraid that there is a feeling in some quarters—including some Congressmen, that India should join the Anglo-American bloc. On the other hand, the Communists would naturally prefer the Soviet bloc. There is also some difference of opinion on India's standing in connection with the Commonwealth. As I view it, I feel entirely at one with Pandit on these matters.

To speak generally upon the whole manifesto, it does not come up to the expectations of the Sardars' ideal. Its attitude towards some of the most important items of the Constructive Programme is halting or even reactionary. For instance, prohibition, kheda, village industries, education. Some of the targets aimed at, e.g. lowering or stabilizing prices through more control of prices and distribution, are I am afraid, not likely to succeed for want of attention to the fundamental causes of the evils. Thus so far as constructive workers are interested, there is not much to choose on these matters between the different parties. Moreover, manifestoes are not always implemented.

The most important thing for the voters at this stage of our life is not the contents of the manifestoes, but the purity of the administration, and the high personal character, integrity, and sense of public duty of the candidates.

Wardha, 22-7-31. K. S. MANSURKHA.

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SOCIAL WORK AMONG HILL TRIBES OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

(By SUMAN ANAND)

Some two years ago I wrote in these columns about the reform—and social uplift work conducted among the Adhmil Harijans and other backward hill tribes of Jammu under the auspices of Ashok Ashram, Kulu, Dt Dehra Dun. This area has now passed under the newly formed State of Himachal Pradesh. On my way up the hills this year I happened to visit once more the Ashram and was greatly delighted to find its work thriving.

Shri Bharnaddev Shastri who heads the Ashram is a stalwart social worker and organizer of the late Thakkar Bapa's choice. He is assisted in his work by a band of devoted workers, mostly local. He gave me all the information I wanted in respect of their activities and also took me to the nearest mountain centre where I had the opportunity to watch the work conducted among Adhmil Harijans and other backward communities. The work of the Ashram is spreading and has now reached the remotest areas close to the snow-clad ranges of Indo-Tibetan borders.

Last year, Shastri made an economic and cultural survey of these distant borderland peoples in company with a deputy of Thakkar Bapa, and has now opened over a dozen primary schools there with the co-operation of local men who were found to have heard vaguely of the changes that had come over India, were of a progressive bent of mind, anxious to extend civilization and to let in the light of knowledge inside their long-drawn world. These areas are Indian territory, but so inaccessible that even pony ride is impossible in places and it takes a fortnight or more of rough and dangerous mountain hiking to reach some of them. According to Shastri, hardly any high Government official other than those of the Geological Survey ever visits them.

The programmes of social reform against polygamy, traffic in girls, venereal diseases and other social evils, and of economic uplift by way of finding employment and subsidiary sources of income for the Adhmil, Harijans and other backward hillmen commensurate or of securing relief against the tyrannies of the privileged classes who own most of the land in these hills—a gaining strength and the response from young men of the hills receiving education at Dehra Dun and other towns is heartening. These young men are taking up enthusiastically the Ashram's programme of fighting the social evils.

Shastri's labours started last year a leprosy asylum. The new activity was launched upon with the approval and blessing of Thakkar Bapa while he was yet alive. Leprosy in these hills is widespread, as in many other parts of our

country, particularly among the economically poorer strata of society. The work is conducted with the help of A. K. Varma and other qualified individuals, persons whom I had the privilege of knowing earlier at the Ashram, weekly sessions being set up given to patients at a rural health village centres on fixed days. They are also instructed in cleanliness, sanitary habits and sanitation in the village, and as far as possible, within the family in respect of cleanliness, clothing, sleeping etc. The workers among them helped of hope and faith to the members of the society, and I was deeply moved to find that both groups sitting on both slopes (during Bhagavad Gopabandha Raja Rama' and facing them) with the doctor and his assistant for the free treatment on the hill-top. And while I took their cases and Shastri was delivering the New Gospel by recording to them how greatly the Father of the Nation loved the lepers and himself considered unto them, I could see tears in women's eyes and their disfigured faces beamed with a new hope.

While conditions in the hill tracts of Himachal Pradesh have somewhat drawn public attention during recent years and the work conducted by social workers there has received recognition and steady appreciation from our Press and public bodies like Gandhi Mitta, a slight and obviously unacknowledged discrepancy in the new Indian Constitution had hitherto depressed these unfortunate tribes of Himachal Pradesh of special aid and attention to which they are entitled under it. The Constitution has a clause which empowers the President to protect certain tribes and areas in A and B class States in backward and these are to be entitled to his special care and protection. But the provisions of this clause were not applicable to C class States. Himachal Pradesh being a C class State the backward tribes and communities living within its boundaries did not come within the purview of the said clause.

The social workers of Himachal Pradesh had thus been working under a serious handicap these two years. The position was brought to the notice of Shrikrishna Raja, who, I was told, promptly explained it to the late Sardar Patel in a detailed communication securing an assurance from the latter to the effect that the Central Government would remedy it and treat the Himachal Pradesh backward tribes on a par with those of the tribal areas in A and B States providing adequately for their uplift and help. Through both are now no more on the cards, the recent amendments to the Constitution have now rectified this defect, and it will be now open to the President to give the benefit of this clause to the backward classes of these States. This was very important and we are grateful to the two great men for bringing this about.

Kanana, 18-5-39

THE HANDLOOM PROBLEM

in his statement published in *Horizon* of 2nd June, Shri Hari Krishna Mahish, "examines the weavers of India on the income they have achieved by their activities in drawing the attention and sympathy of even those who were committed to the theory that problem of hand-looms cannot be solved unless there is universal hand-spinning." It is indeed a tragic story of a situation that the State never even in the face of that situation has to plead for the supply of mill-yarn to the handloom weaver at the absolute low yet to develop its full strength to come to the immediate relief of over two million looms. It is now more for the mills and those who cater to them to prove their claim as the protectors and providers of the hand-looms.

To Shri Jagan a logical suggestion to reduce weaving in the mills to release more yarn to the handloom, Shri Mahish says that "it is not the question of profit of the mill owner that matters much but the question of retrenchment of labour and of the continuance of mill as an economic unit has to be borne in mind."

This is a fundamental and vital question of values to be settled once for all by the State as it enters in all policies affecting the welfare of the masses. Does the State equate the retrenchment of a few thousand workers opening in the looms in the mills and the risk of mills temporarily becoming uneconomical with more serious than the sufferings of about a crore of people solely depending on handlooms? When the use of machinery results in vast unemployment and human suffering, single humanity requires satisfaction of such methods. The following extract from Gandhi's article in *Horizon* dated 27-10-33 will give a hint to the Government as to their duties:

"My very simple mind cannot go beyond the little spindle of the Spide wheel which I can carry about with me from place to place and which I can manufacture without difficulty. In this connection a friend sends me the following paragraph which is going round the Press:

"To reduce unemployment in certain industries the State has ordered the stoppage of the use of machines which were employing human labour. Concerning on this intervention the *Manchester Guardian* remarks: 'There has been a great deal of discussion about the effects of machinery in aggravating the unemployment crisis but it has been left to the State to do the right thing and stop what it. It is only a little while since the world was asked to admire the marvellous triumph of labour-saving cotton clothes in Germany. Now the Government is bent on stopping the machine which by pushing it to the use of the competing employees to work shorter hours and employ more men. Mr. Gandhi's efforts to replace the spinning wheel by the hand wheel and the mechanical loom by the handloom are being paralleled closely in the German paper and glass industries.'"

"The Guardian concludes its remarks by observing that if Germany's ethics become medieval, there is no reason why her economy should not become medieval also. Replying to these comments, a correspondent writes to the Guardian:

"Editor, Gandhi and others who in different ways are endeavouring to show mankind to a point at which all goals are contained they be striving to medieval methods, but medievalism are neither retrograde nor barbaric. They are taught in every progressive elementary and secondary school. Unless medievalism is abolished within a reasonable time and by means that appear novel and unorthodox, then the medievalism age will disappear in revolutions and wars that will destroy us all, do long as medievalism provides the blueprint and the primary of the means as well as the ends it is a functional agent. But when it looks to the unemployment and starvation of millions as it happens in the highly industrialised countries of the West, it becomes a cancer. Workers refuse for men and not vice versa, and must be made subservient to the well-being of the people and should not be allowed to become their master."

AFTER all it is a question of choice between rural—Sarvodaya economics and materialism—utilitarian economics.

Vijaypuri 25-6 '51

H. RAMAKRISHNAN

SWARAJ POLITICS

(By J. C. Ramakrishnan)

Unless dictated by independent conditions differ from those demanded by peace. To a soldier a rock affords a hiding place and a shelter from enemy fire; a hillside will enable him to cover his retreat from advantageous heights. But to a farmer a rock is as much repulsive as a lion, hindering his furrows from running straight. He wants no hiding place nor sleeping berth. His purpose is not waging war but production to supply his needs. He wants his soil not to be open to sun and rain and the surface flat enough to retain sufficient moisture. Such is the case also in the field of politics.

While we were fighting British Imperialism we had recourse to a certain strategy. In person, the city people had definite advantages. The lawyers, physicians, professors and students presented a formidable front which looked impenetrable. They needed little or no time to prepare for the windy warfare on the platform and for the onslaughts on the evils of British Imperialism and to denounce the exploitation of the masses. Hence such men were recruited in large numbers and given a short training in group discipline through congenial mass drill under the discipline programme. To what extent all this proved successful, history has now recorded in the inauguration of the Indian Republic.

We have now turned the corner and a new situation faces us. Our problem is not to turn out a foreign oppressor but to build up, out of a culturally disintegrated population with a history of several centuries of slavery, a self-

respecting nation which will pull us straight in the onward ad advance for the liberation of humanity and the advancement of civilization.

The personnel for this programme will differ according to the work to be done by them. We have now what therefore. Every head counts and the largest number of them are in the villages. Therefore, our field of political labour has to be shifted to the rural areas. The subject matter to be dealt with is not British Imperial history but the vital problems facing the villagers. Hence, the present-day politicians, to be effective, must be well-versed in rural life and should be able to present a scheme of rural development that will satisfy the villagers and bring them economic and social relief. For these purposes who should be better qualified than the villager himself?

Unfortunately these differences in the political field before and after Swami were not appreciated and the soldiers who fought the British Imperialist were left in the middle, with the effect that their actions do not help in any way to solve today's problems. Therefore, what is needed is not a wordy manifesto of fawney political ideas, but a grip of the rural life and its needs.

To this end those who would interest themselves in politics should burn their boats and settle in villages identify themselves with the villagers and take up rural problems as their own and thoroughly understand the situation, gain the confidence of the villagers and work up the democratic organization from below. Agriculture being the principal occupation in the village, politicians should take it up or be closely associated with it.

The days when the "white-collared" party could dictate in politics are gone. The times have changed and demand different tactics.

The Congress has till now failed to show any adaptability to the difference in the environment and circumstances and is not responsive to public opinion. Unless it removes this defect its days are numbered. If now after forty years to serve the nation it should formulate its programme to suit the present environment, it should go to the villages, abandon the Delhi mentality and accept the rural way of approach to the problems facing us. Power politics can serve us no longer. What we need is an approach through service. The village voter has to be educated to appreciate the change in his own status and responsibility and shows the way to discharge his duties properly. Hobbies with any life will not help matters.

We trust those who are contemplating a change of political allegiance will keep these fundamental truths in view and act accordingly. Only that way can we implement the practical aspect of life under real Swami. Without this political work will be a mere game of chance and not worth the candle.

HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

MADRAS DESAI AND BAPS

November 20 '30

During his morning walk Baps said, "Madrasi should have been my heir. But it has fallen on me to become his. Madrasi does not approve of my visits to his place but it has become quite natural to me. I feel uncomfortable if I don't. I do not wish to do anything in that place, I don't want to give even my time to it. It is sufficient if I just go and return. If I live I shall request the Aga Khan to give me that plot. It is possible that he may not. But some day India is bound to become independent, and then this place will become a place of pilgrimage. I go there in order to remember his great qualities, and to absorb them in me. I don't want to forget his memory. And his having died here, my loyalty to him, and to his wife and son also renders it so that I should visit it regularly. It is possible that this place may not be secured during my lifetime and I may not see with my own eyes this place become a place of pilgrimage." But I know that much that it will be in some day. Whatever I do (till his death), I do it as his work, and if I go out, then too I shall do it as his work.

February 6, '31

During the evening talk, Baps said to Bhai (Pyarelal): "In case I don't survive the impending fast (from 16th Feb '31), I want you to understand what I expect of you all. I am never tired of praising Madrasi's virtues. But my mind has a complaint also against him. His example must not be regarded as perfect or ideal. He died with the society unnecessarily present before him. 'How shall I be able to do anything after Baps?' I wish I die before Baps. I hardly be should have said, 'No, I want to live and do Baps's work.' It is possible that a strong will like that might have prevented his death. If I die during the fast, then my message will remain incomplete. I have not yet been able to place before the people a complete account of Satyagraha. Who will convey my message to the people after my death? Will it be done by those who have not lived with and

known me or will it be done by your people? I believe that that duty falls on you. It will not be proper for you to say, 'What can we do?' If you have faith in God He will give you the strength to fulfil my message. When I went to say it that you should practice in your life the way in which I have done my work, the principles which I have placed before the world, and which I put into action. Thereby the way will open itself before you. Both you and Bhaiji must prepare yourselves for this. You once asked me, why it was that Satyagraha looked so unintelligent. Remember the answer I gave. They won't remain unintelligent after my death. As long as a guide is available, every one looks to him for directions, but they stand upon their own legs when one is not there. And when our people will begin to stand upon their own legs, God will show them the next step. It is unnecessary to worry about it from today."

(Transcribed from the English version of Dr. T. S. S. Narayan's talk.)

REMARKS ON THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

I
(By J. C. Khandekar)

Agriculture

The agricultural sector should be divided into two parts: one dealing with the production of raw materials for mills, such as long-staple cotton, jute, tobacco and sugarcane and the other section dealing with the production of food material. Even the expenditure estimated in the schedule does not give any idea as to the amount of finances which go to help these mills as against finances available for strictly pure agriculture. It should be remembered that the help rendered in research, connected with production of raw materials for mills is in a way, an indirect subsidy to the mills. No account is taken of that help which is hidden away from public notice. Nevertheless, it is a real help and so that entire pure agriculture connected with food production is deprived of governmental help.

Similarly also a good deal of the expenditure on communications power housing etc. are indirect aids to Big Business. And they are not visible on the surface.

No notice has been taken of the deprivations caused by wild animals. This is a serious

* The place where Madhavbhai and Kasturba were detained has been secured as desired by Gandhiji—Ed.

handicap for the farmers. Manoeuvres, repairs, and wild pigs cause a tremendous loss to food production. No plan can be complete without suggesting ways and means of dealing with this problem.

It has been suggested that the village councils may be made responsible for crop planning. It is not clear what will be the reaction to enable them get the plan implemented. There will always be vested interests who may not be controllable. Some farmers would want to take to commercial crops which do not come under procurement and would be better paying propositions. It seems to me there must be some guiding principle which should make it possible to lay down definite rules, for instance, if we aim at regional self-sufficiency, it would be possible to arrive at what is needed for the locality and distribute that production amongst the farmers ratably.

Every surplus should be an ascertained surplus before the procurement officers can lay claim to it. Before arriving at a surplus, it should be necessary to allow for at least one year's reserve of food grains. At the present state of affairs, this may appear rather high. But unless we make such a definite provision, it would never be possible to wind off figures.

Land Utilization must take into consideration certain priorities. Production for export should stand down yielding place to local needs. Similarly when the needed gum and sugar can be produced from palm trees, there should be no eight-acre cultivation on good soil. Even at the present time, there is a case for transferring sugar-cane crops from U P and Bihar on the question of efficiency. The Sugar Industry has become the spoil child of the Government. If rationalisation is to be applied to agriculture this industry will have to be dealt with strictly on its merits. Sugar is not a poor man's food and sugar that is taken in tea and such other drinks is not fully assimilated and therefore it is a regional waste. The tea-drinking habit has created a demand for sugar also. In the interests of national economy many such questions will have to be dealt with from a wholly detached point of view.

As regards procurement, it must be accompanied by certain conditions: (1) Harvesting of revenue in kind. (2) The farmers should obtain the value of the grain taken in consumer goods, otherwise the Government takes the grain at their own fixed prices and leaves the farmer at the mercy to find his himself in the matter of procuring his other necessities in the black market which leads him in a loss.

It is not clear what will be the measures for the farmers to produce food crops, when they are all the time affected by commercial crops which pay heavy dividends.

The Draft Plan does not barter the military to food production during these off-duty periods. In India our agricultural seasons are mainly limited to certain months and during

these months the men of the forces who largely come from agricultural families can be made to produce their requirements. To some extent this is being done even now. But it requires intensification. Instantly this will lessen the Government's military budget, and if the forces are stationed at remote places and the army equipment is used to bring marginal land under cultivation, it will also help in the production of more food.

Landless Labour

A considerable amount of thought and space has been devoted to the question of industrial labour, which is barely 1/10th in strength of the landless labour. Comparatively landless labour has received hardly any help from the public and therefore there is all the more reason that the problems should receive much greater attention. Some of the agricultural labour still live under semi-slave, semi-slave conditions and their housing is very meagre.

Irrigation

While grandiose schemes have been put forward for taming big dams and river control, hardly anything has been suggested to meet the ever present problem of soil erosion, top soil washing off and other local problems connected with the wasting of our land resources. Though such dams is useful, yet the aggregate will be bigger than all the big schemes put together. There should be water-conserving schemes for bunding ridges and hill streams at short intervals. This will not only break the speed of the current but will also gather the soil at short intervals and conserve water and raise the water level.

The plan has not taken into consideration the effect of spending large amounts on the different schemes which will be for a long time unproductive. These huge expenditures without corresponding production will seriously inflation and create maldistribution of wealth.

When irrigation is made available water rates should be taken not at the time of watering, but at the time of the harvest as a share of the produce.

Transport

An elaborate scheme for laying down roads has been provided. But it would be interesting to note whom these roads benefit. The hard metalled roads is a menace to the unshod bullocks. If the motorist needs that road, it should be provided for out of the funds collected from the motorists. Besides, for a distance of about four furlongs on either side of the village, the roads should be tarred or provided with some other hard surface to keep down the dust and this expensive surfacing should also be met from the motorist's fund. Where there are no such hard-surface roads near the village or through the village, the speed limit must not exceed five miles an hour. One would welcome such a speed limit also in small towns which have not got such hard-surface roads. Such rules if made should be strictly enforced in the interest of public

health. As has been already pointed out earlier the road programmenes are also heavily weighted in favour of Big Industry.

Civil Aviation

Even interest is evinced in the development of civil aviation. We must remember that while we are opening up the country to international air routes by providing elaborate aerodromes etc. there is also the lurking danger of foreign air attacks. There appear to be no adequate provisions against this danger. Of course, a Defense Plan may not be made public in a document of this kind. But this important factor should not be overlooked. While we make our schemes it is necessary for us to keep in mind the resources available here. Aviation needs large supplies of petrol which our country does not possess, therefore, an over-development of aviation may lead us to great complications and leave us in the lurch at the critical moment.

Forests

The development of forests has been misdirected hitherto by a revenue policy. In future we should look upon forests as a Service Department. From this point of view many things that have hitherto been done and were accepted as economic will have to be reversed. It is necessary in the interests of the public that all timber that leaves the forest should be properly measured. There should be a well-considered Forest Plan which will take adequate notice of the natural forest products which form an important source of raw materials for many industries of importance.

(To be concluded)

'SAVE THE CHILDREN'

Under the above caption in the *San Francisco Post* Karl Peter Tamm has given some account of a 'visit' of the World Health Organization (with WHO) members, with W.C.C. through confidential agents and parts of Asia including India.

—V.G.D.

The visitor gets its name from the two French men, Chabot and Chabot who together share the doubtful honour of having first made a (W.C.C. = World-Chabot-Chabot) 3 months of the 'large' world of tuberculosis but in a comparatively short time the difference between, violence and dis-violence being apparently a matter of degree only. It is supposed that regarding the three at Chabot or Chabot such place becomes by some terrible accident the reader has known without and the danger of a sudden and unexpected change in the visitor is ever before them responsible for writing a 'letter' which publication describes the situation previously which are to be taken but which that 'in the present state of our knowledge it is unfortunately inevitable that vaccination with W.C.C. should have to be performed on human subjects before all the necessary precautionary factors of the vaccine has been completed. — Chabot, Chabot with other co-vaccinators may take place at any stage in the process of preparation.' The 'process' (vaccine) 'vaccine' includes vaccination into vaccination, but we are rather cynically told that 'the potency of the vaccine should be compared with the results obtained in children'.

Although the notion of vaccinating all and against has been stressed, the method employed by the W.C.C. is said to give a vaccine in order to select those who

are liable to infection with tuberculosis and therefore need protection. Undoubtedly this test is not a simple matter; there are various techniques, and these techniques do not agree. There is a majority of cases which will be included in all the tests, but there is also a margin of doubt. This means that some who are suffering from or developing tuberculosis may get vaccinated by mistake, and it is by no means certain that this will not do them grave harm.

All the various tests have their advantages for the majority preferring the Mott test, but this can be given with a widely differing incidence of tuberculosis, and different factors are different cases. One way the 'reading' of the tests, in the decision about what result is a 'reaction' upon which the whole vaccine is based, is not to vaccinate depends, is still a matter for differences of opinion—about how large the test can be or how large the area of vaccination.

Indeed suitability to tuberculosis is not in any way an infection test. In the Mott test the method is to get known whether one may be divided with a vaccine containing this infected and non-infected individuals. And the result is that one has to choose between 'the one test, vaccinating 'for many' and vaccinating the positive have some to more powerful reaction to high doses of tuberculosis and on the other, vaccinating 'for few' and thus vaccinating the fact that a certain proportion of the population which needs vaccination will not get it.

This preliminary test, the above the actual test, which may have tuberculosis afterwards ranging from tuberculosis, testing and vaccine to tuberculosis of the glands 'lymphatic, lymphatic and liver'. Only, usually about their side effects seems to arise from a test that they may discuss the vaccine.

The actual vaccination is said to produce what Dr. Chabot calls W.C.C. 100.

The 'normal course' of the primary tuberculosis infection produced by introduced injection of W.C.C. will be multiplication of the bacilli in the site of the injection with the development of a local pathological process early propagation of the bacilli to the regional group of lymphatic glands with development of a pathological process in one or more glands, and dissemination of the W.C.C. through the blood to the other organs generally with the reaction of very small dots in different organs and finally with development of 'ulcers' (in tuberculosis) 'ulcers'. This is what might be called 'normal' W.C.C. 100. From an immunopathological point of view it certainly represents a disease even though in most cases it is hardly perceptible in the individual concerned.

Apart from the occurrence of stronger reactions than normal, the phenomena which are to be expected and recorded include 'symptoms, infection, possible other such, chronic case'. There may be some for anything from a month or more, but 'the vaccination' may have some for the reaction on 'infection', 'ulcers' and 'complications', and the state of supporting glands are of the greatest importance. 'The interval between the appearance of the infection, and the chronic condition varied between a few days to several months. The time between the vaccination and the breaking of the chronic stage from 1 to 24 months. The interval between the two stages is variable.

Dr. Chabot is concerned to vaccinate the vaccination is not as possible from a direct relation with vaccine and even that vaccine. The key reader will doubt it is correct. From through it is stated, 'complications' occur only in those 1 to 2 per cent of cases 'through the reaction in some groups in perhaps a little higher' the total number cannot be small out of six and a half patients. But to be through this 'cannot be said to be dangerous'.

Dr. J. Chabot said, in connection with vaccination against cancer.

Intuitively it would be expected that from every point of view the function of virus capable of multiplying in the body of the individual is bad. When small quantities of the virus enter there is no possibility of destroying the dose at which the patient has been subjected. Thus the effect cannot be controlled, and in consequence individuals who may lead to infectious results.

B.C.G. and cowpox vaccines are the only ones which contain living organisms, and we have seen that had I placed at the wall in the blood is an essential feature of B.C.G. vaccination. The long term results of this vaccine may, indeed, remain yet to be known. What is its effect according to that a process in which every step is uncontrolled and attended by gross changes should be passed forward as such a case. Were the conditions, for vaccination—or their parents—shown the photographs of 'lovely ones' which appear in this report, were they warned of the permanent possibility of another 'looked or were they led to believe that B.C.G. vaccination is safe and simple? What is certain is that a study of this report (analysis of the W.F.O. B.C.G. 1950) would most directly reduce those million-strong queues, and I to open us to do what we did to discriminate the them and 'have the theories in those who care for them. Let us save the children.

HARIJAN

August 11

1951

CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS AND ELECTIONS

The reader will find in another column the views and policy of the Narayana Sena Sangh. I hope all constructive workers, whatever political leanings they might have, will find them sufficiently clear, adequate and satisfactory. They exhort constructive workers affiliated to political parties to see that their parties give before to men of character and ability, and free from communal spirit and violent methods. Groups of voters cannot understand the difference between the ideologies and programmes of one party and another. But they can be expected to know the personal character of the candidates in their constituency. There is no reason to ask them to vote for the man of a particular party irrespective of the worth of the candidate set up by it. They should vote for the man they can put their trust upon, and not for any one of a celebrated party. It used to be said once that the Congress was greater than any X or Y, however great he might be. That might be true within an organisation. So far as the good of the country is concerned the intrinsic worth of X or Y is more important than any political party, however eminent.

However, one point, already referred to above, has to be guarded against in this context. Unfortunately our country is torn with religious and caste hatreds and conflicting views about the philosophy of non-violence, and it is no exaggeration that men with deep learning, of a very

decent and unimpeachable character, and free from greed, selfishness and violent temperament nevertheless hold that most reprehensible methods may be employed in politics and public affairs to achieve a cherished religious, cultural, social or economic end. Although personally they would not kill even a rat and be proof against temptations of money, drink or sex, they would allow the employment of all such means to ensure a political victory. The personal purity of character in such cases is a very deceptive and dangerous to the peace and prosperity of a people. They would excite people to cruelty, lust, drug, liquor and shoot Gandhi for their end. Voters should not fall into the snare of voting for candidates who have a good reputation for character, but have a narrow and personal view of life.

Directions cannot be given in too great a detail. For instance a correspondent asks what should be done if all candidates were equally honourable or equally unsuitable. The only answer can be that he should use his own discretion or think it over with his friends and decide. It does not matter if he committed a mistake, and it is better that he should take the risk of committing a mistake than depend upon the counsel of others at every stage.

Another question asked is 'Shall we who are parties believing in 'no war' not ask candidates to signify violence in the shape of war?' This would be a pertinent advice to voters in favour of any particular political organisation or independent, private candidate. But in the absence of any party, which forewarns war in every case, the point is one, which every worker or voter should decide for himself.

And thus a number of questions might be raised, which are not covered by the Narayana Sena Sangh's instructions. If they are as important as to need further clarification, I believe the Sangh would do it. But it should be understood that earlier instructions can be so drawn as to make them error-proof, nor should they be so drawn as to disagree with personal thinking by workers and voters.

Wardha, 20-7-51

K. S. MATHURWALA

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GUIDANCE TO CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS AND VOTERS

[A meeting of the Sarva Sava Sangh held on 20th July 1951 at Madras adopted the following resolution regarding its views and policy on the subject of the forthcoming elections. —(Editorial)]

Whereas the ultimate aim of all constructive activities at Sardarops, is the establishment of a non-violent, non-exploiting order of society, based on truth, non-violence and universal well-being; and

whereas in view of the forthcoming elections, programmes and candidates, which are not very dissimilar from one another, and to a certain extent speak the language of Sardarops, are being urged by various political parties, and

whereas many constructive workers are desirous of clear guidance from the Sarva Sava Sangh,

the Sarva Sava Sangh takes this opportunity of stating its views and policy on these matters as follows:

1. The Sarva Sava Sangh does not find any of these programmes and candidates of the various political parties adequate for the establishment of Sardarops. Neither does it feel confident that even these programmes will be adequately and effectively implemented by those in the attainment of power. Hence the Sangh cannot adopt any of the running political parties as its own.

2. The Sangh believes that by stirring power and devoting itself to the pure ethical service of the voters, it would be possible to generate political power and so guide and influence the voters so to ensure that men of the right type are voted to power.

3. The question of the constructive workers taking up direct responsibility of running the Government would arise only when the people themselves feel and say that they want constructive workers—and no one else—to wield power. But this is a thing for the future.

4. All the same, it is necessary to bear in mind that in the modern set-up Legislatures and Governments touch the life of the people on every side and shape national reconstruction at every stage and level; and that Governments composed of parties believing in a set-up of political, social and economic order, not consonant to the Sardarops ideal, present and set up a great hindrance to the working of the constructive programme. Hence, while constructive workers must carry on their activities without a break, they must regard them as a part of their all-round constructive striving — *one by one* (*ekam ekam*)—to take an intelligent interest in politics and in the right governance of the country; and to this end they must undertake the duty of educating the voters so that they may be conscious of the morality

and poise of their vote, and learn to exercise it as an intelligent and disinterested citizen, for the good of the people and the purity of public life. This does not mean that every constructive worker need necessarily be a member of any political party. In fact, it would be better if the majority of them were not.

5. On the question whether members of the Sarva Sava Sangh should take active part in politics, elections etc. or stand as candidates, the Sangh reaffirms its resolution of 11th and 12th October 1950, namely,

‘Office-bearers and full-time workers, whether salaried or not, of the Sarva Sava Sangh, shall not stand as candidates for any elective post in any political organisation of Government or Local Government, neither shall they accept such a place even if returned unopposed. They shall not take an active part in an election campaign.’

It is clear that the above has does not apply to members who do not fall in the category mentioned above. They are free to take part in politics as they deem fit, in their individual capacities, subject of course to the rules of the particular constructive institution, if any, to which they might happen to belong. They are expected to further the cause of the constructive programme to the best of their ability, and yet they may not claim to represent the Sarva Sava Sangh.

Indeed, the participation by a few efficient constructive workers in politics, either as ‘independents’ or as members of a political party, may be desirable in the interest of the constructive programme itself. Occasions may also arise when every constructive worker may have to plunge into a political movement in defence of the fundamental faith in the constructive work. But this question does not arise at present.

6. Under the circumstances, it is felt desirable for the Sarva Sava Sangh to function as a political party. But the Sangh desires that these constructive workers who are members of any political organisation, should exert their influence on their parties for getting such people alone to be set up as are incorruptible, unselfish and capable. Thus alone can we raise the moral height of our institutions and those who are responsible for good government, and its advice to the voters generally is that they should refuse to vote for a candidate, who does not in their opinion come up to the required standard of purity in public life, even when he is set up by a party for which the voter has a personal predilection. They should also remember that voting for a candidate who is communally minded or belittles in the use of violent methods to secure his ends is out of the question, being antipathetic to the principles of Sardarops.

GAS AND MANURE COW-DUNG

(By J. D. Mondalgar)

Ideas having been raised about the advisability of recovering the properties of gas from cow-dung from the point of view of village economy, the following note by a worker of the A. I. V. I. Nagamall Wartha will be read with interest.

—(C. D. K.)

It is long known that organic waste matter can be fermented to give a combustible gas and a good manure. From 1940 onwards systematic attempts are being made in India by a number of people to ferment cow-dung, an organic waste material and make the recovery of the gas an economic proposition. The difficulty has been in designing a cheap gas plant which will be large enough to produce the gas needed for cooking and lighting purposes of a family. After a number of trials by various people it has now been possible to construct a plant for a family of 5 persons with a modest expenditure of Rs 500/-. Two of these families living in close vicinity or a small village can start co-operatively a gas plant and reduce the capital expenditure per family by a further amount. They can share the manure according to a mutually arranged agreement.

The smallest plant will consume the daily droppings of three to four cattle. Its working is very simple. It does not have any parts which require frequent repairs or repairs. The running cost is very little. All the parts can be manufactured in a small town like Wartha.

There are many possibilities of this plant. Cheap gas will become available for our kitchens. The residue obtained from the plant is found by chemical analysis to be an excellent manure. Not a bit of the material value of the dung is lost during fermentation. A few small-scale trials at Dehra have indicated that this manure is superior to ordinary farm-yard manure. This requires confirmation by large-scale field trials under varying conditions in different parts of the country. But this much is certain that this manure is definitely harmless to the bacteria or endospores present in the soil. Being an organic manure it will not harm the soil by repeated application as artificial manures do.

If a large number of these plants spring up in the country there will be considerable reduction in the demand for fuel. Further at present, at least 50 per cent of the total dung is lost due to being scattered over large areas and some 50 per cent is burnt up as fuel and then nearly 50 per cent of the total is lost to our agriculture-oriented country. These plants can save a large proportion of this waste. Even the dung of other animals, like the elephant, the horse, the goat, the sheep and the donkey, can become good manure when treated in the plant along with cow-dung.

The plant can be constructed with local talent, which will mean employment to village blacksmiths, masons and potters. The output of kerosene into the villages can be reduced by burning the gas in lamps. Kitchens using this gas will be clean and free from smoke trouble. Lathies and pashas can easily get this gas practically free.

Theoretically, the gas can be made a source of power to run engines and motors. But at the present rates at which other gas-fuels are available, the proposition is not likely to prove economical for commercial purposes. Further, at least for a long time to come chances of this plant becoming a controlled industry are slender. The rest of the cow-dung will be a major factor, the problem of transport of raw cow-dung and liquid manure will have to be successfully solved before any attempt is made to turn it into an industry.

For the present, night-soil should not be discarded in these small plants because, so far as I know, the question of proper treatment of the night-soil to destroy the disease-carrying germs present in it has not yet been fully investigated.

The manure from the plant is liquid. In the dry season it can be spread into the field, or the pond or put into a pit where the earth will absorb the water. Its disposal during monsoons is a problem and will have to be solved. During the monsoons, the droppings of cattle are often watery and are not easily gathered and deposited in the dung-hill system. A great part is washed away by rains.

Some people feel that it is dangerous to leave explosive gases in the hands of the villagers. The chances of accidents are very small in these plants. The villages can be trained easily to properly handle this raw fuel. Moreover this gas is not poisonous like coal gas, which is supplied to the cities. It is a rather rare circumstance, an accident does take place it should be remembered that ordinary fire too, even in the hands of educated people, destroys every year a large number of industrial plants and houses and yet no one thinks of giving up the use of fire in them.

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SHRI VINOD AT BHUVANESHWAR

IX

April 12, '61 — morning. Maharashtra workers Service to Maharashtra.

After a few Maharashtra workers explaining the purpose of his lecture to the workers of Maharashtra in the morning Vinod said that a student had been sent against him that he did not pay sufficient attention to Maharashtra having always passed through previous other than Maharashtra. Vinod admitted that Maharashtra had a greater claim on him than other provinces, but he denied that he did not fully discharge his duties towards it. He concluded then that it was in Maharashtra that he was least well equipped. All his serious and thoughtful writings, he claimed, had been thereby completely disregarded his citizenship in Maharashtra. But that he was deliberately partial to Marathi he did not say. For the reason was that except Marathi he had not studied any other language in contrast to Marathi. Though he knew a dozen languages his knowledge of them was very limited. The vehicle of his thinking-process was Marathi. Hence whatever articles mentioned the heart of a man and his mind Marathi did it. Vinod asked them whether he had not discharged his citizenship as the province of his birth. However, they should remember that the time of his education had not thirty years had also been Maharashtra. There has he passed and then the attention was not different, but came to a natural and unexpressed manner.

"Foreign and Foreign" attitude

If the people of Maharashtra understood feelings of particular love and pride for their own superciliousness they must rapidly be prepared to accept the responsibility for their conduct. There was some misunderstanding in the minds of the people of other provinces about Maharashtra, and they were accused of some shortcomings on a provincial level. It was possible that some of the accusations might not be true. But while regard to those which were in Maharashtra ought to be even more conscious of those than others. Vinod believed that, as the whole of the people of India were at a suffering centre and prone to forget the duties of citizens. In the absence of this pressure to forget the sin of Gandhi's murder would have surely been, pricing the minds of the people of other provinces as was the case in Bombay where the hatred against the Jews persisted after they had passed years about the crucifixion of Jesus. In India however they could see that the independence against Maharashtra for the murder of Gandhi had not otherwise would be the cause of this, but after some time the people might completely forget the assassin's name or province and just put him in the class of Indians.

A similar thing had happened in the people's attitude towards the British. Their rule was tyrannical enough, and India had suffered her freedom after a long and continuous struggle with them. Once then the people did not harbour any particular hatred or ill-will in their hearts towards the British people. Considering that Gandhi's teaching was one of the reasons for this independence. Vinod held that the main reason was that the concept of forgetting the sin of others was highly developed in the people of India. Vinod believed that this development was the result of the vast awareness that the people had gathered through the ages. The people took every step with discrimination. They did not lose their head, only they did they take to change hardly. They would not remember with any particular regard or pride the mistakes of some powerful enemies, but they retained the memories of selfish greed and greed which remained.

Internationalism

Vinod then changed the topic of his talk. He felt convinced that agriculture was originally discovered in India. It was an outcome of this discovery that India came to be regarded a bread basket. So too, in politics, even before history began to be recorded, there was a

spectre of federal government in this country. Indian nationalism, therefore, always took the pattern of internationalism. That is, their outlook and emotions were liberal and broad-based. But in actual practice the people did not rise to help in their outlook. Hence foreign imperialism did not arise upon liberty.

Politics in the present does not permeate life so completely that one could not leave it off if one wished to survive. Hence, even if good men did not come to actively participate in it, they were duty bound to watch and deliberate on political events, and possess the necessary freedom to intelligently influence them. The people had several perceptions against the present government but this did not mean that they had no regard for it. Lots of people intended to see Jawaharlal Nehru wherever he went, and were early to carry out his instructions. Still it was true Vinod said that our people were not prone to enthusiasm in any matter. This character in action was born of apologetic experience.

Self-sterilisation

Vinod also felt that no other country could claim to possess as many other and level-headed men as India. It was a good aspect. It was just so, that the country did not have too many intellectuals. It was like the wife who when she has children does not provide space for others to visit. As opposed to this the life is a village due to its concentration around its own objectives. The mind of the people of India had become level and dependent on contents of their apologetic experience. If someone spoke in the villages both to some of the world and of the nation he would find that they represented the world outlook rather than the national one. The thing that the people needed was to create activity in them by making their breath of new pass through a wind pipe.

Superficial Thinking

For the last three or four centuries in Maharashtra "we" Vinod said, "with the exception of the masses almost all others have fallen into the habit of thinking very superficially. When thought became superficial it is like starting about a tree without its roots. Such thinking fails to be potent. We are unable to pierce the depths of the Dependent. We have that too deep thinking might make us inactive. Hence there has been growing increasingly among our people a tendency to believe the shallow thinking of the West. Of course I am aware that the film is being evolved by Maharashtra to a larger extent than in any other province. That due to Gandhi, the study of the life is at the moment in higher vogue than in a different thing. But at the same time we have been interpreting the life very superficially. To take only one illustration. 'Gandhi and all now regarded that the word 'I' was 'I' was 'I' signifies the law of life for us. But has not suggested that one should that would mean giving our individualism then the basis of another person. I must copy his methods and methods and if he is crushed, I must also become so. But even then the word is now being interpreted to mean the law of life for me? Assuming that such meaning that suggested itself to us as an aspect of our political dependency which we hated. It is a matter of great concern that the same meaning is even now approached by radicals and moderate both. As a matter of fact, that view given in the paper outlook about how one should behave with man. The suggestion therein is that that grows to his service all that is good.

When the millionaire people of Maharashtra spoke of 'no culture' they were not satisfied as much of the wayward and forward as of the Pathless. These who said that culture was not in their mind did not recognize their limitations. As a matter of fact, Dnyaneshwar was very much persecuted by the people of his time. He was even beheaded. But there was that a single instance throughout the writings of Dnyaneshwar in which one could find all a single word used about all that he had to suffer. Even the writings of Mahatma Gandhi the people seeing the importance of culture as also their

of violence contained now and then (since) promotion from Jesus Christ upon bloody altars for murderers. For there was not a single altar upon it. It is a measure of decadence. It was thought (conceived) therefore that the Mahatmas had received for power (including) and (perhaps) in non-violence. But even the Christians. They told us it were then scattered upon the altars of their own mother. Similarly Gandhi had also presented one of the best examples of a flagrant to his life. Mahatma truth and non-violence were not in them, the whole of Mahatmas having already laid their lives before.

Vinoba was pained to find that even some of the great leaders of Mahatmas took to shallow thinking, that they once observed that their Mahatmas might be asked about the how and why of marriage and the economic and economic underlying it and he refused to answer. Although they did not know the philosophy of marriage, they had still performed their own generation. And they seemed to support that it was not necessary to consider the deep significance of marriage. Vinoba told them to consider that it is a "realistic" or "superficial" approach. They would never be able to do anything great if they confined themselves to superficial thinking.

The question was, but only if they abandoned such superficial Mahatmas would be able to achieve something important. When they spoke of ahimsa, they would speak of it as 'Gandhi's ahimsa'. But ahimsa was not a monopoly of Gandhi. It belonged to every one who would think of it and practice it. It did not require a majority on its side for practicing ahimsa. They must come of their own and not bother about a majority. There was no reason to feel ashamed that she was in a minority and there would be its fault to win a majority. Vinoba wanted to tell the workers that when the world got tired and exhausted leadership would go to those who had developed conviction.

"We must have the faith in us that if we would this non-violence personal leadership of the world is now in time to us even though it may take some time. Of what avail is that temporary leadership which is acquired easily and lost quickly? You often wish that many people should follow you. Does your answer lie on "only" or on "people" in the phrase many people? If you would say "many" to follow you might have a flock of sheep to follow, but if you would "people" to follow you will have to work patiently. It is better to leader after cheap leadership. Let us fully realize that ahimsa has never being good and begins to lead the path of non-violence. All the stars in the heaven have got to disappear the moment the sun rises. Let us therefore make ourselves ready for the sunrise. Instead of going ahead today only to be killed at tomorrow let us make determination so that there will be no need of such elections after we are elected. As a physical ahimsa (the harmonic form) is not a great limitation, for even people have ahimsa (non-violence) respect non-violence. It is the meaning is clear. The whole world is moving towards one ideal. The ideal may be too great for our hands to compass it, yet our feet are turned towards it. And this is no small matter for civilization."

Indian Government

Then after referring to the distinguished and famous functioning of the present government, Vinoba continued: "Has not the world ever been like that and if the third is not going to be created what preparation have you made against it? Can it be said that we are quite prepared because our army is prepared? If the development is really it does not mean that the answer also is. Our machines have deteriorated from ancient years we have come down to twelve. How, suppose the third world war breaks. Are you going to make violence compulsory in the same way as conscription? But nobody has the leisure to ponder over this. All your schemes are dependent on the availability

of petrol. Do you ever think as to what you should do in the absence of petrol?"

Population Problem

Vinoba said that they rulers advised them not to allow the population to increase. People might tell them that children will not be placed in the office in order to give them, first of all, the necessity of decreasing the population. It was their responsibility to provide food and cloth to as many people as might live in the country.

Do you think that Mahatma Gandhi told the people that lived on his back as a burden? If she told us she knew how to deal with it. She was known to bring about a change through a violent quake. But it is not the number but the class of the people that led as a burden upon her. Let people therefore think of the means of eliminating the class. New forms of violence would become violence. They were not a burden to the earth, but had placed us properly that with the birth of every month, two lakhs also came into existence simultaneously. Should people complain that the population had grown up to 30 crores and that there were more mouths to be fed or should they rejoice that 70 years of India were now available for doing work? Let them realize that what would have happened if there had been only one hand with one mouth instead? This speculation should relieve them of the anxiety that has overcast them by the increase of population. He desired the workers not to worry about the increase of population. They should possess the necessary talent to lead their families. The population that was increasing automatically at present was due to a vicious system of life. If that was abandoned, there would be no reason to get afraid of the population.

Misinterpreted Non-violence

Some people preached non-violence as a means of non-violence that was not a proper appreciation of non-violence. Non-violence had its own value which was absolute. It was not to be thought of as just a process of reducing population. Moreover the number of children was not linked to the degree of non-violence. A couple might have only once in a year and find them selves having permanent back a couple need not therefore be considered as leading in non-violence. Thus a father of twenty children might be more non-violence than the son of two. But non-violence brought a positive non-violence and joy to one who practiced it, and people should be asked to test the life of non-violence for that purpose. Do not talk to them of non-violence in terms of material advancement and disadvantages. Be devoted to your children, toward them as your deity. Then come will you be able to realize this problem."

"Does not Mahatmas value all those whom the whole universe is covered with deluge? Such is the idea of non-violence. Let our minds be enriched accordingly. If there is anything in the fact that can support and nourish this ideology of ahimsa then alone will it say. Let it be realized that the Gita itself is being weighed in the scales today."

D. W.

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HARIJAN

EDITED BY KAMATHA GANESH
BOMBAY K. C. MANGRUPALLA



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TWO ANNAS

REMARKS ON THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

By J. C. Kumbhar
Industries

As regards large-scale industries, private enterprise is given priority a black cheque. Even foreign undertakings are welcome under this plan. This is a dangerous policy. Once foreign vested interests get a footing into our country it will be a superhuman task to get them out. The encouragement of foreign loans is opening the door wide to foreign capitalism to step in. Even the encouragement shown to foreign capital to enter into partnership with local effort is fruitful of danger. It is stated that we are more or less well advanced in our supply of matches. It is evidently forgotten that a few's share of this trade is with Wambo which is essentially a foreign monopoly using various means to stifle local effort.

We would also view with disabatement the support given by the Government to promote fertilizer factories. The condition precedent for using chemical means is the availability of a large number of local channels who will promote the proper dosage for every particular piece of land. Applying fertilizers without such precautions will lead us to a tremendous catastrophe by ruining our soil.

The Commission has not petioled sugar, rice and manganese mills. These are destroyers of food products. Hence especially under present day circumstances one would have expected a strong condemnation and if necessary banning of these mills. Considerations of health and nutrition would also have made them advocate a different course. But evidently they were not prepared to face the vested interests. All food and drug advertisements should be subject to approval and licensing.

In advertising cottage industries, the Commission does not think it necessary to create any barriers on local export. One would have thought that creating local demand would have necessarily argued the prevention of intrusion from outside. It will be necessary to husband the resources of the villagers also to enable them to spend much income as they have on local production and they should be guarded from temptation from outside. A strong feeling of the

Swedish spirit should be inculcated if we desire to stimulate village industries.

The Commission rightly advocates an adequate purchase policy of the Government to patronize and encourage village production.

One of the difficulties met with by the artisans arises out of wantonness of raw materials. For instance, rocks from river beds needed for mats are auctioned out by the Government in consideration of a petty revenue leading ultimately to the death of the local mat industry and to the flourishing of the Japanese mat trade. Similarly, sand for the pottery is often available from a licensee who makes a charge to supply the potter's needs. This also is an obstruction in the way of potteries. Again petty taxes and excise duties create impediments in the movement of goods. These kinds of obstructions in the way of cottage industries have not received adequate attention.

In dealing with the housing problem the Report contains itself more or less in industrial centres. Such housing should be a legitimate charge on the industries themselves and should be controlled by the Government. This is another of the unmet needs provided by the Government to Ray Town.

Education

The Report flows hot and cold in the same breath while a system of education is considered. It has no definite policy or philosophy in recommending a method of education. Education of all things, must follow a definite course reflecting the line of development which the nation should take up. This chapter deals with Basic Education of the Gandhian type and secondary education of the reformist Macaulayan type and advocates an experimental type of university education. All these are recommended without any definite preference. This is how great many of the suggested schemes lack unity of thought.

Political Setup

Every nation evolves its own political set up from its national life. Great Britain being an imperialisist nation depending for its power necessities on its colonies and distant countries has found it essential to place "Defence," Finance and Foreign affairs in its cabinet, we have also followed this same blindly. It is a

language question. It may lead our country into irreparable wars. History is replete with instances of nations that had come to grief by creating too great an importance in the railway which have inevitably converted them selves into a ruling caste. We must beware of this danger lurking in our present system. Once we are an agricultural country and its interests should dictate as its composition our present relations. This does not mean there need be no Defense. All that is meant is that Defense should be a subordinate department, like any the police, without cabinet rank. It should also be Finance and Foreign Affairs. The Plan should include in itself an indication of priorities in the political set-up also.

When this is done the various parties will fall in line something to the role they play and the corresponding departments will be so organized as to make for efficient working under a functional alignment without causing too much conflict with each other and standing in the way of progress and getting into a tangled web of working.

General

The early part of the draft outline is rather academic and verbose in the presentation of the subject. One would expect an official document to be terse and concise. The Plan itself suffers from a lack of philosophy of life. The result is there is no defense policy running through the whole scheme. In many places it appears like a patch-work quilt. But it lacks also a pattern to make it conform with the art of life. Taking all on all the weightage appears to be on Big Business run by private enterprise. On the whole, we may say, like the well-known Carter's egg, this plan is good in parts.

DANCE - VIKTORA CORRESPONDENCE

The following correspondence between the Orange age leader Earl S. A. Dance and Earl Viktora has already appeared in the daily paper. It is reproduced here as being important and deserving the understanding the Government officials towards Communists and the hard problem of education in particular and elsewhere. (Part II) — (50)

Central Headquarters
Communist Party of India
1002, Sherwell Road, East
Bombay, By 7th June '51

Earl Viktora Dance,
Central Indian "Front"
Dear Earl Viktora Dance:

Though I have not had the pleasure of meeting you personally before, yet, I think you know of me enough to dispense with an introduction.

I am writing to you in connection with your visit to Telangana and your interview in Hyderabad jail with certain members of our Party imprisoned there. I learn that you might have views on certain matters affecting their release and the question of what is generally known as the Telangana struggle. From one of the members released recently and who was present at the interview, I learn that you told them that the purpose of your visit was to control or get outwitted. And the question that you posed before them was whether those who had suffered violence as a result in Telangana had been advised or were prepared to remember the matter in their

all the efforts to this to-day, I thought for them of what might be viewed as a real obstacle, due to the bad crime and so on. But any of them had then at least at this stage in the present situation, violence was not advised. I now wanted a heart-to-heart discussion on these questions.

I learn that our members there could not discuss these questions with you and they expressed themselves by getting before you the interview jail conditions in which they had to live.

It may be obvious to you why these members could not discuss the questions raised by you. It was not out of disrespect for you or lack of faith in their own plan, but in possession of which they had bound themselves in prison. As good Party members or friends of the Party, they did not want to take upon themselves the burden of contradicting such a previous survey of conditions in prison about the principles and policy of the Communist Party. They would best leave it to the Party leaders.

However, it is well known from the treatment in the past history of our struggles against the British that such tales on pictures and principles with prisoners in jail, lead to complications both for the prisoners concerned and those outside, which it is best for them to prefer to avoid. So when I get the report, I thought it advisable to write to you.

My 1st at the very outset, tell me that I appreciate your goodwill in visiting our people in prison and the Telangana districts? I know it that your main purpose in these visits was to render powerful assistance of life to the mass of the people there and in their leaders in prison or in hiding. I hope you will believe me when I say that our Party also has no other aim in these. The question is how to do it.

From your talk it appears that you think that the Communists took to violence and persecuted the people to do the same to realize their demand and that is the cause of the "trouble" in Telangana. You seem to think that once we give up "violence" there would be "peace".

Do you think any good will come out of a situation in such lines? You yourself have shown that in Telangana the main question is not "whether" we are violent or non-violent. It has had been as you would have described your aim but to perpetuate merely the violence of non-violence and the evil of the so-called enemies of the Government.

Do you have not finished yourself to reach a decision. As I understood from the items reports you have shown yourself aware of the fact that the main problem there is of the present, the one who has to lead or very soon lead, the present who is created down by high costs and lower by forced labour and debt and the system of rule that maintains them. That is why you have found it to urge a sort of hard road to give food to those who have not got it. You have shown, I believe an appreciation of the fact that the main problem is of land and without solving it, the problem of our country cannot be solved.

If that is your conclusion, let me assure you that I agree with you there and so do my friends. And all these years, the Telangana struggle has been fought just for that main purpose. What had to be given in the present, unless the burden of high cost, lower and lower in debt deepened, which is to be met from being ruled by them and by forced labour, powerful conditions of life are impossible for the poor. If there are not worked and even if he were to drop the field or quit he may have picked up to defend himself, he would not get powerful conditions of life. He will get none of the goods. And what life and property are there for the people in such a place? It is all in a state."

Everyone is really now agreed that the present road to freedom from the brutal burdens of our hard problems, in fact, if any of our problems, is to be solved. Only the British do not agree with this. And when the present ruling life persists with poverty and starvation deaths

to take the first responsibility to stand up to the wicked and the meanest of the villages of the white dominion of India. Because I'm the only person willing to live on the land and to labour on it. In such a condition, if I'm not, then with life, which is higher." I am sure you will agree that life the life of villages is higher than life, because life here is not in accordance with the life of the workers but only a handful of this landless.

That is exactly what has happened in Telangana. The peasants there, living under the most outrageous feudal system of exploitation, were moved by the peasant struggle for freedom and democracy and in 1948 decided not to pay the high price of the landlords to do forced labour for them, and those who had no land took land that they confiscated and put their labour in it to produce food, and those whose lands had been seized by rapacious landlords and moneylenders came back to demand that they shall cultivate their own earth and feed themselves and their country. It was all in the tradition of our country's struggle as we had seen this in U. P. After all freedom is higher days. It was long before the Nizam Government came on the throne at Delhi. It was our independent national freedom fighting his traditional battle for the land and living.

What was the reply of the landlords and their government to this just demand of the peasants? They let loose the police armies of the kingdom and then the State police against the peasants to interfere the right of the farmers to carry land in the present and create their own.

I need not repeat to you the whole story. You have already heard the story from the Government side. I do not want to repeat what the Telangana peasants have to say. Hundreds of them were women and children have been tortured and killed or imprisoned in defence of their right to land and living.

I would certainly repeat how to police and land as to what has given them the strength to stand all the tortures. No philosophy whether of violence or non-violence. No Party neither cause of violence nor unity a people stand up to starvation, torture, and bloodshed. If they were not certain that what they themselves are doing or attempting is going to solve their problem of life.

It is now five years that the Telangana struggle is going on. It is a good sign that people like you have taken up to looking into the matter. I do not wish to go into all the details of that struggle. But you yourself seem to have seen the foot of the thing—the oppression of the peasant, his need for land, his need to be freed from a system that upheld with an oppression.

We shall not argue here about violence and how the land or law and order become a better violence than law-breaking is a creed or philosophy with us as is alleged. That would only lead us into misunderstanding the real problem. I can assure you that even Communists and peasants in Telangana if anywhere he has been found to take up the gun is ever ready to replace the gun by the plough and the danger of death by the price of peaceful labour if he were accused of it. The reason of that for the last five years all have been having only threat of destruction is him. Against the military might of the State machine proves superior to the might of the people. But has that ever happened any people for ever?

It is said that the peasants under our advice have broken the law in taking land and refusing to pay rent, and interest or do the traditional forced labour for the landed lords. For you can see that it is there just to make law conform to life. If it is not the handmaid of a law, then these millions to conform to law and this is the millions of a law because it is cancelled by an act called law. For example instead of making the landlords to come to you and offer a few thousand rupees the court holds in every peasant to show that their hearts have changed, would it not be easier to conform by law the lot of poor peasants and labourers who have seen the life and labour in terms of more of land but the law has

been the handmaid of the court for State before you should not understand, you should first land and then there is particular rule on this date and for you to give us nothing a land held for distribution on the other? What rights and means is there in such a process?

I am sorry I have taken a lot of your time in last five. But I thought about a man of your stature has decided to enter Telangana and look into the problem. I might approach you to see if an earlier and earlier solution could not be found to realize the same and you have in their that is regarding peasant revolution in Telangana, giving land to the peasants and replacing the oppressive feudal system there by a progressive popular one, and saving the lives of thousands threatened with death and imprisonment a higher Communism or non-Communism.

The reason to place what you stated were about a landless. Before I had chosen to write to you.

I would sorry have seen you personally to discuss or get conveyed to you but I do not remember but unfortunately the Bombay Government has launched a prosecution against me and is waiting to put me into prison. If not with the help of the courts then with the help of the all pervading Dominion law. Hence I am unable just at present to meet you to put all the facts before you.

It, however, you think I can be of service in the solution of the Telangana problem in such a way as to bring peace and happiness in the people there I am at your service.

If you want to reply I may be sent to the address given above.

Yours sincerely

DR. K. A. DANCE

Pratishthan, Ponnur -

11734

Dear George

I have received your letter and with much particular care. I appreciate the lines of the letter.

There is an difference of opinion about the proposal that the land problem has got to be solved and that law should come to be help in the matter. I have referred to this at several places during the last.

I have studied the problem of Telangana as much as I could from all sides and I have taken all possible care not to overlook any aspect worthy of consideration about it. I have come to the conclusion that this problem can be resolved by law, land and peace.

I have not stated that the systematic character of violence and non-violence and I do not want to do it. But I would not use any defence for the violent activities which were carried on after the end of the British period in Telangana. I have with the violent character prior to that. But I regard it to be a very gross error in thinking in considering the violence after that period.

I am definitely of the opinion that it is imperative for Communist party to bring to change its present policy towards the land problem. There is no one pool of the one means to solve of Communism.

Every possible help which I can render in order to solve the problem of land will be available to all who are eager to do so.

I repeat that you have to give understanding. I want that all should be able to work freely within certain limitations. It will be possible for us to talk more freely if and when we could meet. Please.

DR. YENDRA

Appreciation

The General Secretary of the Congress sends the following Resolution passed at the Bangalore Session of the A. I. C. C. on 15-7-61.

The Committee expresses its high appreciation of the physicians with Amartya Sena, Shree Mahesh Chandra in the one spirit of Mahatma Gandhi through the Telangana case of Hyderabad State taking the leading message of non-violence with him and thus helping people in facing down the violence and protest that have afflicted that over-cultured area."

HARIJAN

August 18

1961

IN REGARD TO COMMUNISM

The reader is requested to study the correspondence between Shri N. A. Dange the leader of Indian Communists and Shri Vinoba Bhave published in another column. It is important from several points of view. In this I shall deal with you.

There is an attitude—particularly in the West—of regarding the Communists and the creed of Communism almost as a class of personalities and unapproachable. That an underground Communist leader should have the courage and confidence to write a letter to Vinoba who is held in high esteem by a Government which is hostile to Communism; and, from their point of view, represents their activities with a strong hand, and that Vinoba should respond to it in an equally friendly tone might seem an understandable to modern party leaders, and nations violently divided in political ideologies in most countries, when one country declares war against another, the people of each country are taught to regard every subject of the enemy country as if he were their personal enemy whom it was their duty to hand over to the authorities and even kill outright. Even when there is no war, but the relations are very much strained, the attitude is one of fearful intolerance. Though most Western and Workmaned people have become sufficiently tolerant or indifferent about the religious affiliations of others, the old heritage of intolerance which was responsible for the persecution and violent deaths of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim prophets and saints, and later on of reformers and dissenters in them, for more than seventeen centuries after Christ is continued still today, and is formidable in the relations between democratic fascist and communist countries. Just as, at one time, it was extremely risky for a person to be a Protestant in a Russian Catholic country and vice versa; it is so difficult now for a democrat to stay and move about freely in Russia or for a Communist to stay in U. S.

Only a few months ago we had heard from the papers how Dr. Bhanu Prasad Kishore was suspected in U. S. of Communist hangings with the result that his lectures were suddenly cancelled. The reactions which give offence to the leading organisations were according to Shri Bhanu Prasad the following:

In regard to Communism, I had made it clear that we were definitely opposed to its violence and totalitarianism. But he said of establishing a social order where all exploitation would cease and the principles of distributive would be available to the 'lowest' and the last. I was supposed to be, especially in such these matters, very unorthodox. Under

these circumstances, I might have made this point by giving Communist examples, violent means. Then, that I said also to have adopted the Communist goal, the word 'to' is taken in a different method—the method of truth and non-violence taught by Gandhi.

In this connection I suggested that there was a fundamental difference in the attitude of India to Communism as compared with the attitude of the U. S. to Communism. For in Communism is chiefly a philosophy which can be developed according to the needs of each country. In his way, it is not necessarily according to the Russian pattern, and even possibly in opposition to Russia as for example in Yugoslavia, while the U. S. regard Communism as a serious but Russian imperialism. Since we look upon Communism as something which we may adopt as we will, it does not appear to us as fundamentally as enemy as imperialism does. Indeed it would have the advantage of possibly bringing new life and hope to vast sections of our people. If on the other hand Communism comes to us as Russian imperialism, to which I attached last long in Asia for all this is also being with imperialism and will not tolerate dissent to aid largely, power. China and India I assumed were being nations with special traditions and being working with new life. They cannot, therefore be restricted up to Russia like some of the smaller countries of Europe after the last war. We would progress, our National independence of all sorts. This I mentioned, was an important part, to represent in relation to my line of Communism, in the case of Russian imperialism, according to truth.

(From an article broadcast by K. P.)

But such one began attitude towards Communism could not be tolerated by one of the most democratic and liberty-loving peoples.

That is not the Indian way. Even Muslims who in account of their age long traditions have been generally more jagged and intolerant than Hindus, and Parsis were on a fair way to outgrow intolerance. As to Hindus they had eliminated it from their life as long ago that we can trace its existence on a by gone age only, through the puranic stories of Prahalad and Nachiketa. The line of reformers of even the most radical type has never been broken in Hindu life. Some persecution they certainly had to suffer. But it was nothing in comparison to what reformers in other countries had to bear. Had not British Imperialism intervened to reform the fanatics in the major communities of India, with the result that a reactionary revivalism has made its appearance for some years past in the ever tolerant and broad-minded Hindu life, it would have been regarded as unimaginable that the story of Prahalad could have ever taken place in actual life. In fact so far as I know Gandhi's is the only instance in India's historical records of a man of the calibre and enlightenment of Buddha and Mahatma, having been put to death by his own co-religionists for not being as orthodox, bigoted and communally minded Hindu as they wanted him to be.

The Indian attitude towards various political parties and their doctrines partakes equally of that tolerance. The mere mention of Communism or the right of its follower does not produce a feeling of horror in our minds, and if Communists did not resort to secret, violent and

decadent methods of preaching, popularising and putting into practice their basic views of a just and equitable human order, they would get the same protection and be allowed the same opportunity to carry on their work and make experiments in the Communist way of life as any other political religious or social body.

This does not mean that there are not vital differences between Servotage and Communism. An Virobaji has said at another place the real opponent of Communism is not Capitalism functioning under the name of Democracy but the Servotage of Gandhi. If Gandhiji has not lived and worked in vain, it is a Servotage which stands forth to defeat both Communism on the one side, and Capitalism on other, even as it wants to end the hostility between India and Pakistan. The military organisations with even A and H bombs and flame-propaganda and war of nerves will never succeed in either extirpating the one or the other nor can U N O bring about their reconciliation so long as its ultimate sanction is the joint maintenance of several nations. They can only create frequent wars with grave-void of truce. And yet the weaponless Servotage can contend with its armed opponents—Communism, Capitalism and Communism—with goodwill and without fear. This is the beauty of Servotage.

अहिंसे अहिंसे अहिंसे अहिंसे अहिंसे ।

"The soul itself is the friend and the enemy of the soul," says Gita. And so, in Servotage there can be an application of not only 'dare friend' but also of 'dare enemy'. And Viroba has asked us dear enemy Communism to reconsider its ways and surrender truly and completely to the methods of non-violence and work for even a more thorough and fundamental revolution than that aimed at by Communism.

I hope the appeal will go in vain.

Wacha, 8-8-61

S. G. SHETKIVALLA

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

(By M. P. Desai)

[We learn from a casual remark of the Chief Minister of Bombay that Government is considering the various universities of the State regarding the use of Hindi as the medium of instruction in colleges. This is corroborated by a similar remark of the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University that Government have suggested the use of Hindi as the medium. I do not believe that Government have so far officially moved as to suggest that Hindi should be the medium in the colleges of Gujarat. The question of the medium is more distant from the use and knowledge of Hindi as the national language. The whole matter deserves serious consideration from various points of view. I quote below some of the observations that I made in my Paper of Hindi in the Gujarat University Committee Report (1954-55) (1955, 228 onwards). As the matter has become relevant, the reader will excuse these being reproduced in present.

PAGE

— M. P. DESAI.]

It is significant to note that the medium of instruction has been the crux of the problem of modern education in India, and ever since its beginning in 1855, it has exercised all along till now, the chief and the best of the minds, both in

the official and the non-official world. Today we find that the question has come to the fore as never before—excepting perhaps as in 1855, the difference being that in 1855 those whose responsibility it was to decide the issues were foreigners and today it is we ourselves who have to decide as a free people. The decision we take today is going to be equally important and epoch-making, if not more.

That the true medium of education is the language of the child is a principle universally accepted, and there need arise no question on it. But unhappily, there has arisen a school of thought which would set aside this sound principle of education and advocate that the medium for higher education should be the National or Federal Language. As a result a situation almost similar to the one during the country in 1855 (English vs. Indian languages) has arisen now, calling upon us to decide between Hindustani or the Indian Languages. And on the questionable analogy of English which has operated as one common official medium for the upper classes all over the Indian sub-continent, this school argues chiefly in the name of Indian unity.

It is admirably right that provisions be laid. But as it alleged that it is born because of the provincial language? Surely not. Is it not there, even though we have English as the common medium today?

Surely a university must have a medium and if it is sound principle that it should be the mother-tongue, then like honesty, it is the best policy and the wisest approach. In the affairs of a nation or a people it is always sound policy and more wisdom to trust its future to Truth rather than to its realistic-looking counterfeits.

Firstly it must be realised that the problem of deciding the medium for higher education is not merely to find out a substitute for English, which, would superimpose itself on the various regional languages as English has been doing till now. That the new superimposition is to be an all India common language does not alter its character nor make much difference in the fundamentally unaltered class of the all-India common language to usurp the place of Gujarati, whose class is admitted on all sides. Unmistakable a pointer to us here.

There is another consideration to be kept in mind also. If we look at the history of the progress of democracy and culture among a people we find that the language of the classes is the chief barrier over the regional vernaculars, has given place to the latter, and these have in course of time grown to equal eminence. In Europe, in the centuries after the Renaissance and the Reformation, Latin gave place to the European languages and they are today mediums in their respective universities. It was the need of the common man to know and play his part along with the classes that

nessed (the Hindustani primerbook, *Look at the Wall and the Prison* and the *Shikon* (eye) movements against the wall). They involve in all 150 major Indian languages that have latter during the last six or seven centuries and which disappear not by a few thousands but millions of people are born of a similar historical necessity. They have withstood the worst days of the domination of Persian and English. They have in fact shown their vitality by continuation from birth and growing rather in spite of their extermination.

But there are some who, in their enthusiasm for the medium of the National Language, go so far as to say that they would not mind if due to that the provincial languages were eventually wiped out! But happily for us true nationalism does not require us to do so. As we saw above the development of these languages could not be destroyed and it is not merely possible but is really good and necessary that they, along with Hindustani, should weave themselves into one national pattern. There should not be created by our wrong devices a frontiered war between our languages. However, if the National Language is assumed and made to substitute English, what will surely happen is that the regional languages will continue to remain undeveloped, and not reach the university status, which is their legitimate claim and birth-right. Because surely if we may not use them as the media of all our learning, teaching and research, they remain undeveloped to that extent. As I have tried to show, such an eventuality would be a calamity, and would surely retard the growth of democracy and education.

And further, it will set in a tension between Hindustani and these languages which will really be very dangerous. In fact, the tension will work for the enervation of narrow provincialism which the advocates of the national language as the medium fear much.

The position of the Hindustani-vedic-sanskrit would have been at least intelligible if there was an commonly accepted National Language ready to start with. As a matter of fact the position is that it has to evolve along with our reformation. This evolution is going to be the symbol—the very expression of our national unity. But here also parochial ideas of Sanskritist Hindi and Hindi nationalists are trying to assert their narrow values and disrupt the march of true national growth.

The provincial languages are free from such reticent and commercial considerations. That they are not sufficiently developed is of course true. But Hindi also runs in the same boat. One thing however about these languages is that they have no real claims to assert against any one and are ready to develop themselves to university status in a joint and common effort, each in its own way. If at all, the National Language should supplement this common

effort but not displace it or stand as a rival to provincial languages.

It is necessary to remember here that the cornerstone of the National Language Movement has been the assurance to the people of the whole of our country that Hindustani was "not designed to replace the provincial languages, but is intended to supplement them and to be used for large provincial contact" (Gandhiji). If now we go out of our way to replace them in the very place of our history and culture that is their, viz. the obvious right of being the medium of all instructions, the whole edifice of the National Language Movement will come down, which will mean the undoing of the work of more than a generation, and it will only lead to the continuance of English.

TRAINING IN LITRAT WORK

Hindustani Literature Working groups in PART I training course for 10, workers at Lajpura Lajpura House under the sanction of the Gandhi Smaraka Mand. They are to be trained in such a way that they should be able to organize and run a Lajpura colony with practical help, if available. But in some districts are not available the trained by workers should be able to run colonies on approved lines.

Educational Qualifications: Students qualifications for admission is lower degree or graduate at recognized Indian faculty of Hindustani. Special directed Practitioners of Hindustani Practice will be given preference. Emphasis can be made in suitable cases by the Governing Body of the Hindustani Literature Mand.

Age: Between 21 and 35 years. Exceptions to the age rule in special cases.

Other Qualifications: Candidates must have learned Indian spirit of service, sincerity and devotion to such a type of work. The candidate may be of any sex but must be healthy and capable of undertaking pioneering organizational work.

Training Period: 12 months.

Place of Training: Main training will be given at Lajpura Lajpura House.

System of Instruction: Methodical subjects with the help of English, but non-technical subjects will be taught in Hindi or Sanskrit.

Examination and Certificate: At the completion of the course there will be a written and practical examination. Passing of 50 per cent marks will be necessary for passing the examination. The successful candidates will be awarded certificate of "Lajpura Dipoma." Only those candidates who fulfil all the conditions for obtaining the course regularly in the main bodies of the workers will be permitted to appear for the examination.

Allowance for Lodging and Boarding, Stipend etc.: At present the number to be admitted will not be more than 20. Each candidate, selected to undergo the training will be given a stipend of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per month according to the need of the individual for 12 months and then quarter. Boarding charges will have to be paid by the candidate. The period of the first month will be considered as a probation period during which time if the candidate is not found to be fit enough to profit by the training he will have to go back.

The candidate will have to give a bonding to serve for 4 years after training on a salary of Rs. 150 per month according to his need.

Candidates should apply for admission preferably through an agency who is doing some social service. In case of those who apply independently that should supply such information regarding their work that will enable the Governing Body of the Hindustani Literature Mand.

POLITICAL INTOLERANCE

In the main article I have referred to the modern revival of intolerance and bigotry in the Hindu society. I regret to learn that it has permeated politics also, and has been spreading also in the Congress. I understood that, of late, it has become not infrequent among local political organizations to issue instructions to their members that they must not attend a meeting addressed by a rival political leader, or a function to visit him, or join a purely constructive and local programme organized by it. Attempts are made even to see that he is not received as a guest by a Congressman. When Gandhiji first went to Bihar, the intolerance of the British ruler was such that Acharya Kripkaish's holdiness in removing him to his own apartments cost him his professorship. That was in 1917. His association with Gandhiji ever since is well known. Until a few months ago he was still a Congressman. The last Presidential election showed that he commanded the confidence of almost half the Congress, including the Prime Minister. The Congress High Command tried its best to persuade him to remain in it. Rightly or wrongly, he has decided to work in opposition, and frankly wants the present Congress Government to be overthrown in the next elections. His judgement may be wise or unwise, and he may succeed or fail. That is a different matter. But it is a perfectly democratic way, and it does not mean that he has become an enemy of the State, any more than Gandhiji was an enemy of the British in 1917.

The same situation is repeated in 1931. The same Kripkaish happens to be a political opponent of the Government now in power, and the latter employs against him the same policy which the British employed against Gandhiji and his workers. He is followed by C. I. D. wherever he goes, police reporters stand with their old habits and cheer as if to inform the people that he is a suspect, detectors are sent by Congress organizations to tell the people that the resistance should be boycotted and so on. I understand that in one of his towns local Congressmen saw to it that he was not received as a guest by any Congressman. They also disapproved that a local constructive organization should have invited him to visit the institution.

I do not believe that men at the top approve of this. Ministers do not run away from him. But smaller leaders and papers encourage pettiness. This intolerance is poisonous. It is not the Indian way of dealing with other ideologies. Until now it has not been unusual to find houses, in which the head of the family has been a liberal, he was a Congressman and his grandsons and daughters Gandhian, Socialists, Communists, Boyers or

even Communists, all staying together in unity under the same roof. If the Congressman or the Gandhian member took to civil resistance he individually suffered for it, and if the Communist or the Communist was took to violence, he too paid for it individually. Even though the head of the family was a Minister or official of the State, the son suffered as in the case of Dr. P. Subbarayan. But that was not for believing in a particular ideology but for his specific breach of law. It did not entail expulsion from the home.

Congressmen may not sit, and I also do not see, eye to eye with Kripkaish in all matters. But there can be no gainsaying the fact that Congress, if for no better reason than win the votes of the people, will have to curify some of the gross evils which the Acharya has been tirelessly pointing out with intense energy. Is it not a matter of great pain that the sixty years old Congress organization should have lost its reputation so greatly and quickly and that the Gandhi cap and shawl should have come to be regarded as symbols of corruption, dishonesty and other evils by the masses? Let the Congress ponder over it.

But whether it would profit or not by the attacks of its opponents or advice of its friends all political organizations must carefully guard themselves against pettiness. It is another form of caste-mindfulness.

Wardha, 5-8-31.

L. D. MATHURWALA

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AMRITSAR—SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1931

TWO ANNAS

A MISCONCEPTION MOVED

I give below the gist of an article by Bala Bagherdas of U P. in the Hindi America Patrika of Allahabad, dated 25-7-1931.

"The late Sardar Patel by his restoration of the famous, historic and sacred temple of Somnath made it clear that sacred places of worship would never be recovered in free India. Again, when on the inauguration of our freedom struggle got back for the Muslims those mosques which the Hindus had usurped by forcibly annexed so that those temples which had been plundered in the Muslim period or taken possession of by the Muslims, would also be recovered.

"With Kashi, Ayodhya and Mathura (all three in U P.) is deeply associated the life of the Indian people. Kashi, Ayodhya and Varanasi are the most beloved spots of India. Their sanctities, therefore, has a significance of its own.

It is not a commercial question, but that of the honour and the approval, if the Hindu faith can be upheld for the thousands the Nation for the Hindus then those glorious holy spots can also be recovered. And if a temple of Somnath, destroyed a thousand years ago, can be recovered under the patronage of the Government of India, then why should there be any stick to the restoration of these three places in U P.?

"Even as we are glad to see Somnath recovered we are at much pains to see these great spots being restored."

"Hindus are in the offing. We have to secure our millions of men and women of justice. And I am quite confident that the spiritual life of these three great historical places having been restored to their previous glory, and honour will grow in the people a greater faith in justice."

Bala Bagherdas has not made it explicit what he wants to get done at Kashi, Ayodhya or Mathura. Which are the temples that he wants to be recovered? Does he want that the great mosque of Kashi built by Akbarshah or the one at Hammanagarhi in Ayodhya or a lot one in Mathura should be recovered into temples as has been attempted to be done at Ayodhya?

The reference to Gandhiji and Sardar is absolutely incorrect. Somnath was a dilapidated temple in the possession of Hindus. No mosque had been built there, and no possession of the site was claimed by any Muslim ever. A body of influential Hindus desired to rebuild it and they were entitled to do it. Of the influential

Hindus a few like Sardar, were also members of one or the other State or Central Government of India. It naturally created misunderstanding, partly because the move followed closely on the accession of Junagadh to the Indian Union, and partly on account of the past communal associations of Somnath. One might hold that it would have been better if the Hindu leaders in Government had not involved themselves in this movement. But it cannot be said that they were not within their rights. What Gandhiji did was to take care to see that the restoration was not done at Government expense. His reference to this matter on 24th Nov '30 is reported more fully in Harijan Speech of 7th Dec. '31 than in Harijan of the same date. As it throws light on the attitude of not only Gandhiji but also of Sardar towards this project, I give below a translation from Harijan Speech.

"A friend writes that Government funds should not be spent for the restoration of the Somnath temple. I am glad to understand that fifty thousand rupees have been provided by Sardar Vallabhbhai, who has formed the Provincial Government of Junagadh, out of the funds collected by him from the people for his movement, and one lakh have been provided by the late Sardar. Sardar Patel told me, 'Sardar is not a man to spend money from Government treasury for a thing which pertains to Hindu alone. We are all Indians, our religion is our personal affair. We shall gladly accept money from Hindus for the restoration of Somnath and shall do what is possible within that amount. If we don't get such great funds the work will not proceed. I heartily was glad to hear this.'

I have not seen anything that shows that Gandhiji took any personal interest in the project. In fact, he had no heart for it. He was, as every one knows, engaged in a "do or die" attempt for establishing communal concord, and would not do anything which might create the least misunderstanding.

Bala Bagherdas is a renowned construction worker, a prominent member of the U P Legislative Assembly, and of the executive council of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee. He is also a great demagogue and the head of a religious mob. Consequently he commands a powerful influence with the authorities, and still greater with the credulous masses. He took part

in meeting him/her about the Babu Mangal matter at Indore "This is a more pragmatic and extensive move than the above. He compares his suggestion to that of Gandhi asking the Hindus of Delhi to return the mosques to the Muslims in 1947-48. Babu knows perfectly well that it was a matter of an altogether different nature. It was not the taking of an old freed. It was a thing which had been virtually and violently perpetrated in the present almost before his eyes, by the very persons who were asked to return them. It was not restoring a quarrel more than 200 years old.

I am sorry to write about Babu Bhagwadas so severely, for I had always proclaimed a high personal regard for him. But I must regretfully charge him of being grossly communally mislead. And he is not the only Congressman who propagates communal poison among the credulous masses. There are several such, particularly in U.P. One of them has gone to the length of fabricating a letter and an article in the name of Shri Mahadev Desai and Gandhi respectively. If the Congress is as it claims to be, not a Hindu communal organisation I am unable to understand how such people find place in it. Does it realise that this is a grave matter, which might involve the nation again in a communal blood bath? The Congress claims to be the only political party capable of 'delivering the goods'. What are the goods which it will deliver?

I am not an enemy of the Congress. Even without regular membership in it, I have served it in all its major movements for the liberation of the country. But I cannot, must not side with it if it swerves away from the right path.

Varanasi, 11-8-52 K. C. MANDWALA

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MATHURADAS' LAST WISH

(By Dr. Arjun Mehta)

[In the obituary notice of Shri Mathuradas (Madrasi) at Bombay, 23/7/52, a mention was made of his having bequeathed his body to the medical sciences for research. In the course of an article on the deceased, Dr. Arjun Mehta refers to this subject as follows:]

The severity of his last illness was such that an ordinary man would have succumbed to it within two or three years. But his determination, self-control and understanding of the nature of his illness enabled him to get the better of it to a considerable extent. He realised the debt he owed to medical science, and in his usual remarkable way he decided to pay his tribute to the science and art of healing. Realising that he was losing grip over his health, he addressed a letter to Dr. Ghisler and me on the 17th June, 1951, which we feel we should share with the public. Is that letter he writes: "It was due to hope that we came in contact, and our contact developed into lasting friendship. You bestowed devoted care and attention on me during many long periods of my ill-health which served by itself a tonic to me." He continues by saying, "Medical science and medical fraternity has done abundance for me. I therefore explicitly express my desire that when I close my life, dissection may be performed, lungs, heart etc. may be examined, and presented for study and demonstration, if at all possible, preferably at the G.S. Medical College and K.E.M. Hospital. I hope you will not hesitate to give effect to this last request to you." It was in the progress of medical science, he observed, that he owed so much for the prolongation of his life, and he felt that he should render service to science and to humanity in return to the best of his ability. He therefore voluntarily surrendered his body for a post-mortem examination, which Dr. Chappade, Dean, K.E.M. Hospital and Shri G.S. Medical College and his colleagues, kindly carried out, and as a result gave us valuable information as to how he successfully fought his illness for two long years. The decaying of his radiant spirit and the strength of conviction which formed a prominent part of Mathuradas' public life.

For seeking such noble self-sacrifice to be carried out, Dr. Ghisler and I would like to express in the name of our profession our sincere gratitude to the members of Mathuradas' family who willingly and readily gave assent to the carrying out of his last wish. It is such comprehension and study which Mathuradas desired to be done of his body that has made the medical sciences so progressive in foreign countries; and let us hope that the noble example set by him and the members of his family will be understood in the right spirit. It is such sacrifice that invokes the spirit of progress in a nation and enriches it. He has taught us a lesson which many of us may rightly follow in the interest of medical science and that of humanity in general.

"SHRI" OR "SRI" ?

A correspondent draws attention to the spelling of श्री in Roman characters variously as Sri, Sree, Shri, Srees. After going deep into the matter and referring to Sanskrit-English scholars, he has come to the conclusion that Sri should be preferred to all other spellings and be unanimously adopted.

I have always advocated that there should be a uniform system of transliterating Indian words in Roman characters. In most of the European languages short and long vowels are often spelt alike, and even where the long vowels are distinguished, there is no uniform method about it. Thus a, ā, may be both short and long, and long ā might also be indicated by aa, ai, u etc., and long u by oo, ou etc. Hence has arisen not-uniformity in transliteration of Indian words also.

A similar difficulty arises in respect of consonants. Thus, in non-scholarly writings in North India (including Maharashtra) श्र and र are both indicated by sh, र by a, र and ऌ by i, र and ऋ by d, र and ऋ by sh, and र and ऋ by sh. In South India, on the other hand, s stands both for र and र, and sh for ऋ. Also, i and d stand for र and र and sh and dh for र and र respectively. There is no exact way of indicating र and र or र and र. The differences have arisen from the absence of certain sounds in the various languages. Thus people in the North pronounce र almost as र or rather as ʃ or sh in cash. Hence र has come to be transliterated by sh in North India and by simply s in South India. If an exact transliteration has to be made र must have its own distinguishing mark, as indicated in dictionaries that as it is not usual to show diacritical marks in popular writings, the poor letter has to oscillate between s and sh according to personal usage. र after all is a less troublesome consonant. But a greater confusion of pronunciations is caused by the confusion created by र-श, and द-ध. Thus the ignorant Northern pronounce Maharashtra as श्रुष्टाश्रु or श्रुष्टाश्रु instead of श्रुष्टाश्रु, Thanks as श्रु or श्रु instead of श्रु, and Northern as श्रुष्टाश्रु instead of श्रुष्टाश्रु. In the same way the ignorant Southern will pronounce Thakurda as श्रुष्टाश्रु, Disorganised as श्रुष्टाश्रु. Still further confusion arises on account of several consonants like र-र र-र र-र र-र र-र being not well distinguished in Tamil, so that श्रुष्टाश्रु might appear in South Indian transliteration as Shruṣṭaśru and might be rendered by North Indians into श्रुष्टाश्रु and Kasterbha might be pronounced in South India as श्रुष्टाश्रु. Unless the Government of India standardises a uniform system, this con-

fusion is unavoidable. Till then, I have to follow the Roman the system current in the North, as that is published from Gujarat, that is, श्री and र alike and render it by sh. It is after all a matter of convention.

Wardha 11-3-51

K. M. KASHIYALALA

"HEALTHY MORE FOOD" CAMPAIGN:

All honest students of nutrition will admit that grain which goes into a biscuit and confectionary factory comes out as a damaged and expensive item. It is no longer healthy food fit for the masses, but has become unhealthy fancy dainties for the upper and middle classes. There are plain facts which nobody who goes into the question can deny. Very well—now read the advertisement.

"The biscuit and sweet-making biscuit factory in the East village has produced a great step forward in better industrial progress. The output of any factory in the East 10 new biscuits and 10 new confectionary per day. A great achievement" (Hindustan Times, July 1949, 1951.)

Thirty tons biscuits and daily tons confectionary per day! How much grain and sugar does that mean? And this for only one of many such factories.

I should be most grateful to readers who are in a position to find out, if they would let me know what is the yearly consumption of grain and sugar by the total number of biscuit, confectionary, and breakfast-cereal factories in India.

It should be clearly realised that these products are not eaten by hungry people at meal times, but are taken as light refreshment and dainties in between meals, thus taking basic food from the hungry and serving it dressed up to the facilities.

I do not blame any particular manufacturer. These biscuits have been brought up from their childhood to think in terms of earning wealth, and they are not usually in touch with the kind of people who could show them that they are playing havoc with the health of the nation. It is therefore, quite natural for them to think that processed-food factories are a nice way of making pots of money and serving the public at the same time. But I do blame the Government which encourages such enterprises, and even made no attempts to grace their opening ceremonies. There are two expressions which the Government is always using: "Goodman Leads" and "War-time Rules". Neither of these principles admits of the usage of food grains and sugar in the manufacture of fancy processed foods.

That there is no "Goodman Ideology" in the Government "Grow More Food Campaign" needs no argument, it is self-evident. That there is also no serious "War-time Rules" is, I think, equally clear. The above example is a glaring proof.

Pilkh, 24-7-51

MSR

HARIJAN

August 25

1931

GANDHIJI AND COW-SLAUGHTER

At the Bangalore session of the A I C C (July 14 '31) Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said:

Much has been said about cow-slaughter and Gandhiji's name has been invoked in that respect. Gandhiji was, however, against legislative measures on cow-slaughter.

The practice of invoking Gandhiji's name is resorted to by every one, whenever it suits one's purpose. It can be natural and proper on certain occasions. The reprehensible feature of the habit is that his name is often inaccurately invoked. And I regret that in this case Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's relation is even more inaccurate than his relation by the other party.

I have tried to hunt out Gandhiji's references to prohibition of cow-slaughter by legislation. I find that the point was expressly discussed by him in *Young India* (7-2-'27) in his article, "The Cow in Mysore." Several Cow Protection Societies of Mysore had requested Gandhiji of being "totally against legal prohibition of cow-slaughter under any circumstances whatever", and sent to him letters of protest. The misunderstanding had arisen out of extracts published from Gandhiji's reply to a questionnaire of the Mysore Cow Protection Committee then appointed by that State. Hence Gandhiji published his full letter for clarifying his position. The article is also important for various constructive suggestions to make cow-slaughter economically impossible and the sponsors of the Government Bill now pending before the Senate (Parliament) will do well to study the article carefully. For the convenience of the reader it is reproduced in another column.

The following are further extracts showing Gandhiji's attitude towards cow-slaughter:

"The philosophy of cow-protection, therefore, is, in my opinion, sublime. It immediately puts the whole question on the same level with one as far as the right to live is concerned. But it is no part of Hinduism to prevent by force cow-slaughter by those who do not believe in cow-protection." (*Young India* (11-11-28) *Hindu Dharma*, p. 304)

"Though I regard cow-protection as the central part of Hinduism—central because it is common to classes as well as masses—I have never been able to understand the compulsion towards the Mussalman on that score. We say nothing about the slaughter that they take place on behalf of Englishmen, our major business and yet when a Mussalman slaughters a cow, all the riots that have taken place in the name of this cow have been as heinous waste of effort. They have not saved a single cow but they have on the contrary widened the breach of the Mussalman and resulted in more slaughter. The Hindu cannot, in all, if they cannot prevent cow-slaughter at the

hands of the Mussalman, and they do so primarily when in order to save the cow (they quarrel with the Mussalman). (*Young India*, 20-5-30)

"I know what would spare the Hindu's feeling in the matter of the cow. It is nothing short of complete voluntary cessation of cow-slaughter by the Mussalman, whether for sacrifice or for food. The Hindu Dharma will not be satisfied if some tyrant enacted by force of arms immunity of the cow from the slaughter." (*Hindu Dharma*, pp. 304-305)

It will be seen from the article and the above extracts that what Gandhiji was opposed to was the prohibition of "cow-slaughter for purposes considered to be religious by any of its subjects, without the consent of the intelligent majority of such subjects" (*Hindu Dharma*). The present demand for the total prohibition of cow-slaughter. Under the British regime, the desire and the sentiment for this were undoubtedly there, but being a subdued nation, the people had not the necessary courage to make the demand, and like all weak people, they made their co-subjects, the Muslims, the scapegoat for giving vent to their feelings against cow-slaughter. Gandhiji, the Bhaiyagiri, that he was, could not agree to such cowardly and weak manifestation of the protest. I have no doubt that he wanted cow-slaughter to be stopped absolutely—but in case it was held by Muslims that the offering of the cow on certain occasions was obligatory according to Muslim rites, he would have conceded to them that right even in a Hindu State. But I cannot imagine him saying that he would not make a law to stop cow-slaughter because the slaughtered cow gave a better meat or hide than a cow dying naturally.

I understand that it is now accepted on all hands that the offering of a cow is not a religious obligation in Islam. All that the Muslims say is that the offering is not prohibited in Islam as it is in Hinduism. And I believe that most Muslims have been themselves voluntarily giving up cow-slaughter on festive occasions. The subject has thus changed its form altogether, and Gandhiji's name need not be wrongly invoked either in favour of the movement, or against it. His opinions can certainly be quoted and should be considered as respectfully as those of any great leader, philosopher or authority on a particular subject. But it is high time that in all public matters, we learn to take decisions in accordance with our own statements and lights, and muster courage even to differ from him if we must. That would be more Gandhian than quoting or misquoting Gandhiji for putting a nail on the eye of the opponent.

Wardha, 21-7-31

E. S. MANSURKAR.

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THE COW IN MYNORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received letters from Cow Protection Societies in Mysore protesting against my letter to the Mysore Cow Protection Committee appointed by the State. My letter was in answer to a questionnaire issued by that Committee. Extracts from that letter published in the Mysore Press led the Cow Protection Societies in question to think that I was totally against total prohibition of cow-slaughter under any circumstances whatsoever. I was surprised to receive these letters, and I wondered whether, in a moment of forgetfulness or inadvertence, I had ever said that there should never be any legislation against cow-slaughter. I therefore asked for a copy of my letter from the Cow Protection Committee, which they have kindly sent me. As the letter reproduces my considered opinion and as it has been given some importance by the Committee and has caused misunderstanding among the public of Mysore interested in the very important question, I reproduce the whole of it below.

(The letter begins with an apology for the long delay caused in replying to the questionnaire. —ED.)

"In matters of religion I am against any State interference, and the cow question is in India a mixed matter of religion and economy. So far as economy is concerned, I have no doubt that it is the concern of every State, whether Hindu or Musselman, to conserve the cattle supply. But, if I have understood your questionnaire rightly, the underlying note is whether the State would be justified in intervening itself between Hindus and Musselmans and regulate cow-slaughter even for purposes which Musselmans considered to be religious. In India which I consider to be as much the land of Hindus here as it is of Musselmans, Christians and others born in it, even a Hindu State may not prohibit cow-slaughter for purposes considered to be religious by any of its subjects without the consent of the intelligent majority of such subjects, so long as such slaughter is conducted in private and without any intention of providing or giving offence to Hindus. That the very knowledge of any such slaughter would give offence to Hindus is inevitable. But unfortunately we know, that in India cow-slaughter is often resorted to to defy and wound Hindu sentiment. This should be put down by every State that has the slightest regard for its subjects. But in my opinion the economic side of the cow question, if it is properly handled, automatically provides for the debate religious side. Cow-slaughter should be and can be made economically impossible, whereas unfortunately of all the places in the world it is the sacred animal of the Hindus which has become the cheapest for slaughter. To this end I suggest the following:

1. The State should in the open market buy out every cattle offered for sale by out-bidding every other buyer.

2. The State should run dairies in all principal towns ensuring a cheap supply of milk.

3. The State should run tanneries where the hides, bones, etc., of all dried cattle in its possession should be utilized, and should offer to buy again in the open market all private-owned dried cattle.

4. The State should keep model cattle-farms, and instruct the people in the art of breeding and keeping cattle.

5. The State should make liberal provision for pasture land and import the best experts in the world for imparting a knowledge of the science of cattle to the people.

6. There should be a separate department created for the purpose, and no profit should be made in the department, so that the people may receive the full benefit of every improvement that might be made in the different breeds of cattle, and other matters pertaining to them.

"The foregoing scheme presupposes the State upkeep of all old, maimed and diseased cattle. That no doubt constitutes a heavy burden, but it is a burden which all States, but above all a Hindu State, should gladly bear. My own study of the question leads me to think, that the running of scientific dairies and tanneries would enable the State to cover the expenses of the upkeep of cattle, that have become chronically useless, apart from the revenue they paid, and to sell as market value leather, leather goods, milk and milk products, besides manure and many other things that can be manufactured from dried cattle and which today, owing to want of scientific knowledge or false sentiment, are practically going to waste, or from which the greatest advantage is not derived. If you desire any further information on the scheme submitted, by way of elaboration of any parts of it, you will please let me know."

Neither the discussion with the members of the several Cow Protection Societies, nor the correspondence before me warrants any alteration of the opinion expressed in this letter. The reader will observe that I have nowhere said, that there should never be any legislation against cow-slaughter. But what I have said is, that there should be no prohibition of cow-slaughter by legislation without the consent of the intelligent majority of the subjects adversely affected by it. Therefore, the Mysore State will be perfectly justified, and indeed bound to undertake legislation prohibiting cow-slaughter, if it has the consent of the intelligent majority of its Musselman population. The members of the Cow Protection Societies that met me assured me, that the relations between Hindus

and Wasmuthen in Mysore were cordial, and that a majority of Musulmans in Mysore were as much in favour of legislative prohibition as Hindus, and I was glad to be assured by them, that many Europeans, especially missionaries were in favour of such prohibition. So far, therefore, as the question of legislation in Mysore is concerned, if the statements made to me are correct, the way is clear for legislative prohibition. But let me restate what I have pointed out in my letter, and what I have emphasized so often in these columns, namely, that legislative prohibition is the smallest part of any programme of cow-protection. The trend of the letters referred by me, and the activity of most Cow Protection Societies, however, show, that they would be satisfied with mere legal prohibition. I wish to warn all such societies against making them all on legislation. We have already too much of it in this law-ridden country. People seem to think, that when a law is passed against any evil, it will do without any further effort. There never was a greater self-deception. Legislation is intended and is effective against an ignorant as a small evil needed merely, but no legislation which is opposed by an intelligent and organized public opinion, or under cover of religion by a fanatical minority, can ever succeed. The more I study the question of cow-protection, the stronger the conviction grows upon me, that protection of the cow and her progeny can be attained only if there is continuous and sustained constructive effort along the lines suggested by me. There may be, probably there is, room for experimenting or attending the constructive programmes sketched by me. But there is no room for delaying the absolute necessity of a vast constructive programme, if India's cattle are to be saved from destruction. And the preservation of cattle really means also a step towards the preservation of the surviving welfare of India's men and women, who have also been reduced to the condition of her cattle.

(Here Gandhi refers to the duties of Hindu princes in general and the particularly disastrous condition of the Mysore State as it was in 1897 for cows.)

(— 353.)

Unless the State and the people co-operate with one another to control and regulate the breeding of cattle, the production of milk supply, and the disposal of dead cattle, for the benefit of the people as a whole, the cattle of India will be bred but to die an unnatural death at the hands of the butcher, notwithstanding all the legislation that may be passed against cow-slaughter. The ignorance of Nature's Law will be accepted as an excuse when men and women of India appear before the Throne of Judgment.

I was shocked to learn from the members of the Cow Protection Society, that beef slaughtered in Bangalore and in Mysore was given to the animals in the State gardens, that beef was much cheaper than any other meat, and that the

Adi Karmachars who claimed to be and were recognized as Hindus, and who knew the Sanskrit and the Vedic Mantras as well as any other Hindu were addicted to beef-eating. If all this is true, the better placed Hindus are clearly to blame for such a state of things. If the Adi Karmachars do not respect the sanctity of the cow, it is because they know no better? But what is to be said of the Hindus, who have so criminally neglected their brethren as to send to support them with a fundamental truth of Hindutva?

NINE VISITS AT SHIVANAMPALLI

II

[part II. 'a' — With merchants]

—The world is created by truth. It abides because there is more truth in the world than all truth. If truthfulness became greater than truth the world would come to an end."

Visahe was addressing about a hundred merchants who had come to understand his far-reaching point of view and how it would be applied to daily life, when, according to them it had become very difficult to conduct business without resorting to dishonesty, when they were introduced to Visahe by that Maharaja, Secretary of their Association. Visahe commenced with the words quoted above. Continuing he said:

"I believe that a majority of people are born wicked. Under Gods dispensation, a majority of men come to the right. Musulmans have been very much benefited by this. Their religion has gone far. But I am not prepared to accept that the people in general have lost character. No doubt, the general character has become unwholesome and it is responsible for the present condition. In a society a few people remain unaffected in any circumstances character and maintain their righteousness unchanged. They are exceptional. On the other hand, a few are bad even in good surroundings. They are dishonest. The rest — and they form a majority — react to the good to bad atmosphere. They show the faces and the wrong currents round about. Right actions — righteous men among unrighteous — arising from these it is necessary to maintain the right atmosphere to maintain the morals of the people. India is passing at present through an unhealthy atmosphere. It has developed every thing — the abuse the public morals, the marriage and the domestic life. When the same place improves time people will regain their moral strength. They are in it except in an epidemic of moral disease as they might be in case of cholera or plague. It will subside as soon as there is improvement in the atmosphere.

There is lack of co-operation between the people and their Government. The Government are incompetent and lack the knowledge which experience gives. The public servants follow the same old method. They are the same old men and have their power more behind the unscrupulous money-lender instead of entering into a compact with the farmers in maintaining away the whole system of the villages. One with a criminal master, as almost a third a money-lender. Thus they rob the villages of their industries. Visahe is from the Marathas, their ideas and concepts are directed towards individual self-interest. They state that they take the responsibility because the people need sugar. But it diminishes the per industry. They say that they manufacture soap because there is not available in sufficient quantity. They argue that although it is a little dearer than oil it is a good substitute for ghee. But finally they have both costs and expenditure. First as regards stock they suffer the most agonies. And they claim to put up thousands of persons, women from slavery in the fields. They argue that women are already overworked with work and the Government is a place of service to the wife and

the matter. But merchants should ponder over the fact that by their taking away the industries and occupations of the villagers the latter have been deprived of their means of livelihood.

"Every one should find his life as a merchant or not. It is not their fault which is merchants. But the fact that they are doing wrong is a fact. Consider the houses. It shows clearly the village industries, some industries and handicrafts will leave villages and go to the cities. The cities will be responsible for the maintenance of the villages, and none can say what will happen. If the village population gets desperate and takes to the towns, I am certain my son and I repeat it here that the cities are already overburdened by foreign industrialists and villagers might also start breaking down from the other side. As a result the merchants and the city people might get subdivided between the two. The merchants themselves should themselves put forth a new type of enterprise, and should place industries on new lines.

"Merchants think that their function is merely to send out and bring in goods. When we speak to them about production they point to the manufacturers of super-luxury goods. Industry is one of the duties of the merchant community. But they do not take to occupations which really belong to them. There have been the functions of the village. That is why they have lost their population. Why is it that the village is haunted? Because it has given its life to the country at a price of strife. The makers instead of producing the country's products at a different period are busy in advancing their own interests. Why was it that the Jews laughed at their efficiency and skill in trade and commerce, did not understand respect? Because they discarded their talents and changed talents according to needs only. They had nothing before them for which they could make sacrifices, even give their lives. So they have taken. Nations did possess some talent in life, but it could not manifest itself in the lives of Indian Nations. Merchants should show faith, understand their duty and should regard all their energy in creating a good healthy atmosphere in the country. They should give up selfishness and acquire the trades and industries for the good of the country.

"There was a time when people carried weapons, and with Gandhi's name on their lips. They are now selling arms to the army. The transformation of our materials into finished goods does not mean that you should be prevented in the path of virtue. Was not Gandhi himself a soldier? He served the Hindu in duty. Immediately after a leader appeared in the world his first is the service of the poor. He is compelled by his life that commerce can be conducted without resorting to dishonesty. Not many merchants think otherwise. They are not aware of the limitations of dishonesty. But they consider it as to be necessary like salt in food. They are so dumb blind why they produce charity, but they believe that the law of commerce is different from that of charity.

Gandhi had put the course required. But the merchants refuse him. Gandhi did not mean when his death must have given the mercantile community some shock. But in course of time they forget his teachings. There have been several questions in the history of this country, when the merchants instead of joining hands with the country, looked to their own selfishness. They had miserably benefited from the British movement but every time they failed the country. They did not think of the good of the country. All their talents were employed in discovering loopholes in the laws of the Government. There is no it was an unbroken tag of war between the Government and the merchants. The working together of the interests of the employers and the employees, instead of resulting in an efficient becomes a contradiction. The country therefore does not get the most good of their combined talents, but their difference persists. If the one is not right and the other is right the resultant instead of being efficient is not two. This

is all very tragic. The social order or co-operation can survive only if merchants adhere to their duties honestly. But I hope that you will give your entire thought to all this."

His discourse was followed by questions and answers. One of the questions related to how far an occasion could arise in the life of a trader for making a sacrifice similar to that of a soldier.

Frankly, Commerce could not have been termed a duty if it did not also involve the sacrifice. If it had been so, unlike the functions of the priesthood the landlords and the states, which have been denuded of their sacred functions, those of the village would have been assigned sacrifices (like or without death).

After the partition Indian merchants who took pride in calling themselves capitalists (including Hindus) and have no particularly friendly feelings towards the Muslims, nevertheless traded with Pakistan in an open market.

The situation of the country can be changed at once if businessmen realize that whatever business they carry on, they shall do it in the spirit of service to their country and not for their own sake. Let them realize as to who their ultimate master is. It is the State. And how can we give rights upon the master who is himself subjected to tyranny? And what is the condition of the oppressed class today? There are supposed to be men of rank and position, and placed in happy circumstances. They themselves are also aware that Muslim but they have no power. They acknowledge this is not happy. The aim is not to put peace with the leader, the rich class have over the poor class."

Heads, Maruti said [42-43] :- The means are not right. This is 50 per cent of the population should be soldiers because it is there who are engaged in agriculture, cattle-rearing and commerce. The number of the soldiers should be the smallest. But it is quite the reverse today. The farmers are regarded slaves. It is wrong. They are soldiers beyond doubt because they are the producers. The wealth (money, directly the means) of the community started really to flow the more is the vehicle of food and drink. The more things needed for food like passes on everything to the stomach. The stomach too does not keep what it receives so long, but discharges it in the whole body. The soldiers—the stomach of the nation, as he is called—should follow this in his death. This alone can save the merchants to the position of the merchants (traders or society). A heavy responsibility, even on the shoulders of the soldiers. They are designated makers (great men) and people follow their example. Rightly it is: We are open; it is the right way in that by which a great man goes. The soldiers are described as "dressed in green-coloured", like the velvet garment of the Lord Vishnu. The colour is a symbol for sacrifice. Another inscription says: "Called with a hundred hands and directions with a hundred arms." Whenever the soldiers take from society he has to serve it, himself, and if he takes again, he again serves it after harvesting it himself. That is commerce. That is the duty of the commercial community. There is only sacrifice and nothing but merit due to this. That is why Gandhi asked the business community to become the trustees of their possessions.

□ ■

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HINDI vs. REGIONAL LANGUAGES

In the last issue of the *Varaha* I had drawn attention to the advice of the Government of Bombay regarding the use of Hindi as the medium of higher education. It would be interesting to know what drove the Government to do this. Having established Hindu Hindu regional universities in the State and having left the question of the medium in their universities to decide to it not considering it important as there is come out with such an undiscriminate suggestion? Is it universally admitted that so long as university education is imparted in a foreign language the ordinary level of popular education can never be raised? And for this purpose all languages but one are foreign more or less. They may be called more or less Hindi and Gujarati are less. But that only shows that Hindi as compared to English will be very well placed up by a Gujarati. That does not however warrant us to take Hindi as the medium. But there are various other considerations—social, educational and cultural—that make us consider that the regional and not the national language should be the medium of all education. These had been duly recognised by the Tripartite Committee of the Tri-Channelled of the Indian Universities when they declared in 1944 that regional languages should be the media of higher education and Hindi should be taught mainly through in colleges. And later on the whole question was thoroughly gone into by the Inter-University Commission in their Report. Material points from this worthy document are reproduced below.

204-11

—M. P. Dasgupta

To choose the language of the Indian Federation (here the United is an understatement) is the solution of the problem of higher education. For so much is this problem settled, that a fresh crop of difficult problems arise. Granted that Hindi will be the Federal language of India how will it affect the participation in the affairs of the Federation by those whose mother-tongue is different? Will it give to those whose mother-tongue is Hindi an undue advantage and a disproportionate influence in the affairs of the State? Will this arrangement deprive the Central Government of the valuable services of the hundreds of thousands of India irrespective of the regional and linguistic boundaries?

Another set of questions which come for stated concern the relationship of the Federal language with the regional languages. What will be the language of the provincial governments, provincial legislatures, provincial High Courts, the language of inter-provincial relations between the Centre and the provinces? What will be the medium through which higher education will be imparted in the regions and the provinces? And to what language will be conducted the respective examinations for Provincial and Central Services? In view of Hindi as the language of the Central Institute of Higher Learning, science and technology how would they maintain their all-time character to students and scholars?

We have to find a solution for the questions posed above which will satisfy the two requirements of Federal unity and local variety. Through the federal language Indian unity must be secured and consolidated but without overlooking the educational and cultural advantages of the use of the mother-tongue at all stages of education.

If the matter is looked at in this way the solution proposed is seen that the Federal language should take the place of English and therefore should be recognised as the medium of higher education all over India and the language through which all administrative business should be transacted has to be decided for Hindi does not enjoy in India such natural supremacy over other provincial languages as to justify introduction of these provinces to accept a secondary position for their language in their own regions. Hindi is the language of the minority, although a large minority. Undoubtedly it does not possess any advantages—historical or cultural—over the other modern Indian languages. In the circumstances while national unity cannot be secured, the use of Hindi (Hindustani) as India's Federal language, is a difficult to accept to the role played by English. What now shall be the language policy for all India? The Federal language will be used for all Federal activities—cultural, educational and administrative. The regional languages will occupy a similar position in the provinces and units of the Federation. But in order to enable every region and unit of India to take the proper share in the Federal activities and to promote inter-provincial understanding and co-operation, educated India has to make up its mind to be bilingual and pupils at the higher secondary and university stages will have to know three languages. Every boy and girl must obviously learn the regional language, at the same time he or she should be acquainted with the Federal language, and should acquire the ability to read Hindi in English.

We must like to see the introduction of the Federal language in all schools at the secondary stage and the teaching should be continued at the university. This will ensure a general knowledge of the Federal language of use for all practical work. In addition for those who desire to obtain greater mastery over the Federal language facilities should be provided for intensive study. In the Hindi-speaking regions it will be an advantage if students are required to learn another Indian language. This is proposed not merely as compensation for the efforts of students in other regions but also to secure the eligibility of young men of one region to serve in other regions and to provide an adequate supply of those Hindi-speaking persons who can mediate between the provinces.

Higher education in the State through which some of the educated youth will pass into Federal service and Federal politics. But much the greater proportion will remain in the provinces. With this the point of view of education and of general welfare of a democratic community it is essential that their study should be through the mother-tongue of their regional language. Education in the regional language will not only be necessary for their provincial activities. It will enable them to enrich their literature and to develop their culture. Stimulated naturally by the regional language they might to achieve higher standards of learning and of thought and should be able to give a powerful stimulus to research and creation of the frontiers of knowledge. Equipped with the requisite knowledge of the Federal language the Provincial students will have no difficulty in taking facilities of an attitude character and the provincial scholars in undertaking to teach them.

SARVODAYA

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PRICE 4 ANNAS

BRIEF

I read the other day the report of a speech by Shri Hanappiahbhai in which he almost seemed to justify Government servants for receiving bribes and illegal gratifications. He appeared to defend them by saying that they were more to be pitied than blamed for their weakness. It was the wicked public who held temptation before them in order to get their work served and blot all filthy lucre, Government servants succumbed to it. After all they too had to carry on their struggle for existence and make both ends meet in a hard world.

While every one will sympathise with the lower-rank public servants who do not receive adequate salaries for their economic difficulties, with their acceptance of illegal gratifications and bribes this never be justified by any one, far less by the Government itself. It is for the Government to see how they can be suitably remunerated. If they manage the matters squarely they would see that the ratio between the salaries of their lowest- and highest-paid servants of several departments is as much as 1:15 to 20. This disproportion should be considerably modified. There is no justification for it. Secondly after taking all matters into consideration, even the lowest-paid Government servant is better paid than a man doing similar type of work in private life. Most of them come from the class of peasants, small servants and petty clerks. They prefer Government service, because it gives them better returns, the service is more secure and they get some prestige in society. Government pays them on a better scale ostensibly for securing the most efficient men from amongst the people. That this end is not always achieved because of the reputation or corruption of those authorised to employ them is a different matter. But that means that even inefficiency in Government service is better remunerated than efficiency in private employment. Hence too there is no justification for corruption.

Then, why should the public accuse Government servants? Surely a bribe is not paid as charity as one pays doles to a Brahmin or dote to a beggar to achieve some or the next world! And what is the justification for the corruption of those whose salaries are anything between Rs 300 and Rs 3,500 per month besides allowances on a magnificent scale?

That is not to justify those among the public who bribe officers to get unobtainable things done by them. Indeed, there is a class of unscrupulous people who hold out such big temptations that sometimes even an Honourable Minister is unable to resist them. But that is no defence for the motives of the bribe.

Wardha 17-8-51

L. S. MANDAYAKA

A CRITIQUE OF THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

(By Professor S. N. Agarwal)

The Planning Commission has recently published its Draft Outline of the First Five Year Plan involving a total outlay of Rs 1,750 crores on various sectors of national development. The plan is evidently a valuable document containing a flood of data and statistics regarding the different phases of reconstruction in India. It is the first attempt of its kind in the country and cannot be dealt with lightly in a spirit of indifference. The Draft Outline contains several hopeful and sound features of economic development and social evolution. Its emphasis on agriculture, rural uplift, small-scale and cottage industries, basic education, decentralisation of political, economic and administrative power is indeed, to be welcomed. But there are several other features of the Plan which cannot be called satisfactory from the standpoint of India's national reconstruction.

The basic defect of the Five Year Plan is its failure to present a clear-cut picture of future economic development. This is partly understandable because the plan has been drawn by a Commission more or less committed to develop the economic policy of the present Government of India. But I have always strongly maintained that a plan must always be such as cannot be ignored by any Government that might come into existence, and in order to make the people enthusiastically co-operate with it, it should be one, which after being once set in motion, would be worked out by the people themselves as much as possible. We, therefore, expected that the Commission would try to present a bold and definite plan for Free India, a plan that would be in conformity with India's indigenous culture and traditions and, then, catch the imagination of the people. The present Plan, I repeat to say, is not capable of making the masses feel the glow of freedom and dignity. It is supposed to

believe in "mixed economy." Mixed economy is bound to be a hutch-potch of several principles of economic reconstruction, often contradictory and therefore, making for confusion. In the modern world there are two main economic ideologies namely, Capitalism and Communism. These two ideologies are at war with each other and threaten the very existence of humanity. In India, Gandhiji has shown a third ideology which beautifully combines the good points of the other two. It is now recognised by eminent thinkers that the only alternative to Communism can be Gandhism. The Gandhian way of life is not a "fad" but a sound and scientific pattern of socio-economic reconstruction. If the Plan had been able to envisage such a new order in our country it might have been possible to present an attractive but genuine picture not only for India but for the whole world.

The other chief drawback of the Plan is its rejection of the aim of "full employment" which is the ideal of all modern economic planning. The Constitution of India also guarantees to every citizen the "right to work" and "the right to an adequate means of livelihood." I therefore, honestly feel that the Planning Commission is laying emphasis merely on greater production rather than on full employment has gone against the fundamental directive of the Indian Constitution. In fact, any plan which does not try to provide employment for all citizens on the highest priority cannot be called a plan at all. In order to achieve the objective of full employment in India, it is essential to organise decentralised cottage industries on the widest possible scale and on the very basis of economic planning. With the exception of the basic industries which ought to be owned and managed by the State, all the consumer goods industries including cloth, oil, sugar, paper, rice and much more to be organised on a small scale in the rural areas so that the nation may have "Grisa factories and workshops" for solving the problem of unemployment, and what is even more under-employment. Obviously, the Plan has not been able to face this basic fact with courage and boldness.

As regards the details of expenditure in the different sectors of national economy, the Plan has attached too much importance to "grandiose" schemes of multi-purpose river projects and development of transport and communication. Out of the total outlay of 1,495 crores of rupees in the first part of the Five Year Plan, the power and irrigation projects will consume Rs 450.25 crores. While the importance of large-scale industries and their power supply cannot be under-rated in any plan of economic development the fact remains that the nation cannot afford to rely on long-term and centralised projects which might ultimately prove to be "white elephants" for the poor cultivator and artisan in India. A decentralised plan of irrigation with a countrywide network of village

well take-ways small canal tanks, reservoirs and smaller other devices would have been more practical and useful. Improvement of railways, roads, shipping, and civil aviation, according to the Plan, will involve an expenditure of Rs 385.25 crores. This huge amount could also be reduced by about Rs 100 crores which, could, instead, be more profitably spent for providing better social services.

Rs 100.25 crores have been earmarked for the development of large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries. Out of this amount, only Rs 15 crores are to be utilised for small-scale and cottage industries. Moreover, the Commission maintains that "programmes for cottage and small-scale industries cannot be viewed in isolation from programmes relating to the corresponding large-scale industries. The Plan, therefore, envisages cottage production programmes." This clearly shows that the planners do not visualize a decentralised type of economy for its own sake, they favour cottage industries only for the sake of certain immediate advantages and expedients, particularly relating to capital and investment.

Social services including education, health, housing and social welfare, have been allotted Rs 254.85 crores in the first part of the Plan. This is, surely, inadequate in a country which is proverbially poor and which desires to grow into a Welfare State. The chapter on education is, unfortunately, the least satisfactory. No lasting socio-economic reconstruction is possible without a radical change in the educational system. It is therefore surprising that the Planning Commission should have discussed the vital problem of education in such general terms. It is necessary that the country should be given a comprehensive picture of the future educational structure in the Five Year Plan.

The sources of finance envisaged in the Plan are by no means very certain. The Plan also admits that the items of public loans, small savings and additional revenue due to freer taxation are "a matter of speculation." Under the prevailing money-market conditions it is very doubtful whether the expectations of the Commission are reasonable. Even if these expectations are realised, there will still be a gap of Rs 215 crores over five years. The Commission has indicated the possibility of "gold, financing" to the extent of Rs 250 crores. This would "impose a definite strain on the economy" of India by adding into motion the inflationary tendencies. The Plan further mentions that "if foreign aid is available for financing development expenditure, the sterling balances can be used for importing consumption goods and thus bringing down domestic prices." The use of sterling balances in the manner mentioned above appears to be highly unsatisfactory.

The Plan does not present the problem of controls in a convincing manner. Obviously enough, the Commission thinks that if—and this

is a lag 'd'—the controls are efficiently worked, they can "raise the moral standards of the community." Can we export any such miracle from the existing administrative machinery? In regard to the Food Policy, the Commissioner argues that during the next few years actual imports of food grains in the tune of 3 million tons should be planned for, and adds that in exceptional years imports may have to be larger. So, this is the brilliant picture of the much-boasted national self-sufficiency programme!

There are several other aspects of the Plan which could be discussed here in detail. But consideration of space in these columns prevents me from dealing with them. There is, however, one basic question that must be answered. What is the future of the Plan? The Commission have so far been able to publish one Draft Outline which is to be finished only after "further consultations" with the Central Ministries, State Governments and its own Advisory Board and Panels, and Members of Parliament. This procedure will easily take several months. By that time, the country will be in the grip of election fever. After the general elections the altered strength of different political parties at the Centre and in the States might necessitate a change in the personnel of the Commission. This would mean a further revision of the Plan and a fresh chain of consultations. So, unfortunately, the Plan has left to remain only a paper Plan for endless discussions. It would have made a world of difference if the Plan, after receiving final touches had been launched in all seriousness on the 15th August, the fourth Anniversary of India's Independence.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE SITUATION

A President of a District Congress Committee in Andhra seems to be very much worried over the illicit distillation of liquor in his district and elsewhere and after describing it in a long statement he goes to the length of saying that "simply because it is a bid of Mahatma we should not be blind to the practicality of the experiment and overlook the realities. Even Mahatmas need to change his ideas and opinions after realising from practical experiments." It would have been better if this Congressman had not dragged in his untidy argument the holy name of the Mahatma. If this is the stuff and calibre of which our Congressmen are made, is it any wonder that prohibition does not progress further? The District Congress Chief seems to be worried out of a sure outlook on the question of seeing people drink illegally. He gives a long description of how law-breakers have laid out a chain in the area to ply their nefarious trade. I may not give it here, as it can be easily imagined by the reader. I only ask, what does it prove? Does it prove that prohibition should go? Does the District Congress President, who, as he says, believes in art. 47 of the Constitution of India, and is loyally bound to implement it as an

Indian, and particularly so as a Congressman, —does he wish to suggest that prohibition is wrong policy? The hyper-sensitive description of law-breaking that he gives only proves a serious case for vigilance and action both on the part of the police and of the people. It shows that public opinion must not be unserved by the spurge of universal illegality but must remain true and held steadfast to prohibition. That will create a moral strength which is bound to deter the evildoer. Does the District Congress Chief shirk this duty of his? Let us rather face this great reality of the situation and mend our business and not descend to a situation that challenges us to be true to ourselves. Like many others, he also falls into the fallacy of the learned that we must first educate and work through moral persuasion. The reader is requested to act in this connection Gandhiji's speech under the caption, "Legislation before Education" reprinted in the *Harper* of July 7, 1948.

28-8-51

H. P. DODAI

MR. BHU G. N. NANDARKAR has, on going through the statement of the President of the District Congress Committee above referred to, written a note on it which is given below.

Note by G. N. Nandarkar

This is a statement by no, less a person than the head of the District Congress Committee. The whole scene has been a huge misunderstanding on his part. On the one hand, he comes to art. 47 of the Indian Constitution which prohibits the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs and on the other, he doubts prohibition as Gandhiji's bid.

"The President was a staunch supporter of prohibition in the pre-independence period. Even today he is not an anti-prohibitionist as such. But he holds that the proper legislation for the effective implementation of this reform has not yet been laid, and without which the policy is doomed to failure. In support of his argument he cites the instance of Adoni Taluk where illicit distillation has increased on an unprecedented scale and where corrupt officials and ineffective Congressmen have miserably failed to check it.

"The above statement makes two things plain: (1) that the administrative machinery has become corrupt beyond correction, and (2) having a few, individual Congressmen have become incompetent to work or have lost moral influence over the masses.

"Taking these two considerations into state, every social reform is bound to fail at the same time, not to talk of prohibition alone. The real remedy lies not in abandoning the policy but in purifying the administration and raising the moral stature of Congressmen and other social workers so as to propagate prohibition effectively. The President has side-tracked the fundamental issue and has found fault with the policy itself."

HARIJAN

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1951

THE LAND PROBLEM OF HYDERABAD

As seen in the Dange-Vinoba correspondence published two weeks ago, the extreme inequality in the distribution of land is one of the tough problems of India. Though the correspondence is confined to conditions in Telangana, it is not merely a local problem. It exists throughout India—maybe it is a world problem also. That the vast Good Earth should be possessed by a handful of individuals or nations with many populations while scores of men have not as much of land as a slice of officers which must create the sympathy of every citizen of the poor. Though the violent method of solving this great injustice provided is objectionable and fruitless and will ultimately defeat the cause of the poor, still one has to realize that the injustice is real and has to be removed.

Two steps have been taken in this direction: abolition of the Zamindari system and laying down the limited maximum holding. But in this connection, the principle of compensation laid down in the Constitution has set a great limit to the restoration of land reforms. Firstly, ownership over land need not be distinguished from ownership over other forms of capital. And if other forms of capital and income are liable to reduction by death duties and graded heavy income-tax, there is no reason why ownership over land should not be so curtailed. There is justification in the Socialist criticism that "it has made the abolition of Zamindari almost meaningless in practice. Financially the proposition is nonsense. Even in equity the Zamindars have no right to huge amounts of the title to which is attached." Their proposal, therefore, "to abolish Zamindari without compensation but providing for rehabilitation grant to the petty Zamindars." (Platform of the Socialist Party) cannot be repeated as a violent measure.

But even the abolition of Zamindari and fixing limits of maximum holdings do not solve the entire problem. They grant relief only to those cultivators who until recently cultivated land on a conveyer less than full ownership. They give no relief to that great number of men, who aspire to rise from the condition of landless laborers to that of holders of land. This great body can get it only if Government grant them new land or acquire part of the privately owned lands for distribution among them. In the latter case the principle of compensation creates an insuperable difficulty to surrender. Hence, has arisen the Communist principle of forcible expropriation provided by a violent revolution. Vinoba's mission has shown a third alternative.

He stressed Ambedkar's urge in men to donate land and this demand succeeded sufficiently enough to show this idea of that materialistic age was not a dead end. He can be made generous. Compensation and forcible expropriation are not the only ways. In this connection the following views put forth by Shri Vinoba in the course of a letter to a friend in Hyderabad will be read with interest.

I have studied the problem from the various points of view that of the Government, the public, the landlord, the tenants, the people in general, and Congressmen. I had the opportunity to observe minutely the nature and character of all. I tried to come into contact with all of them at one who wanted to serve and desired the good of all to a mutually non-conflicting manner.

I think the landowner problem concerns not only Hyderabad or India but the whole world. It is not the problem of underdeveloped alone, it would have been just a specific local problem requiring one mode and practical remedies. But as it is a world wide problem, it is in my opinion, an ideological one. My observations and study have confirmed my views.

It will be a long list if we think about all the steps that must needs be taken in order to solve the problem. I shall mention here only one, which to me, is the most important and fundamental one.

In Telangana, the position of land is, for the poor a question of survival. I used to collect the statistics of every village. There is hardly one acre of land per head and eighty per cent of it belongs to a handful of people at the rest of them being landless. There is no village industry worth mentioning which could provide a supplementary income to the mass. The daily programmes in which almost all the people are engaged in order to bring their misery to be got done with almost no result. But even then there is no relief, and it is this very situation which is exploited by irresponsible elements.

It was hence that the idea of Ambedkar's plan for land-reform came into my mind in order to awaken the noble sentiments of men. The moral urge of the people did create.

One of the ideas underlying the inauguration of this Bhagavad-gita was that it would facilitate the enactment of a legislation. I desire that the legislature should be as liberal as possible, and not be totally impeded by a narrow and biased one. I hope that the Hyderabad Government have issued a law for the protection of tenants and that is good as far as goes. But along with it another law limiting the maximum holding to an individual is necessary. Unnecessary time should not be wasted in debating the issue. If we wait to solve the problem let us come to poverty and misery.

"Be my friend, every one of the rich, to every man must have a right and a claim on Mother Earth. In the same way as he has over air and water. But in view of the present difficult situation, I have recommended a special law allowing a maximum of one hundred acres of dry or twenty acres of wet land to a single land holder in a district like Warangal. I shall all lands on these farms, which may be alienated or either sold in consultation with responsible and trust worthy persons.

"But I understood that the maximum of one hundred and fifty acres of dry and fifty of wet land are under consideration. I must declare that these limits upon proprietors. When a block of two hundred and fifty of dry or fifty of wet land, I regard to be too much. I wish the Government to derive of a solution that may be reasonable and acceptable to all.

Ambedkar's plan should be continued even after the legislation. There cannot be any delay.

possible and revolutionary method of providing food to the poor directly and without intermediaries. It will be necessary to build school and other facilities for all such lands as have been distributed till now, and may be distributed hereafter."

This method needs to be explored further, so that it might be possible for Government to create an atmosphere for passing a law obligating each owner to part with a part of his land for distribution among the landless, without compensation. It would be a good instance of law following public opinion.

E. S. MANDRIWALA

SHRI VINOD AT SHIVARAMPALLI

XII

April 11 & 12 '61 With the Students

A small group of young Students were Vinodaji's trainees at Shivarampalli during the Conference days. One of the questions which they asked related to the Indian Government's strategy and economic policies. "If the Government claimed to follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi," they said, "how is it that it maintains an army? Why does it not disband it?"

Vinod: You must be aware that the Indian army was deployed to defend Gandhi while Gandhiji was still alive and that he did not object to it. We must not forget that the Indian Government represent the Indian people and not not only to the extent of the strength of the people, it is for intention to lead the people to the higher stage. They must tell and teach the people to keep their hearts pure and full of goodwill to give up fear and to create a situation favorable for the disbandment of the army.

The attitudes of a favourable attitude means educating public opinion. This led to a discussion on the forthcoming elections. One of them asked:

"What will be your line for voting? Will you prefer to vote for a particular party?"

Vinod: I have often spoken about it. You should first have every candidate fully. If the candidate is good and accepts your ideology you can vote for him provided these people around him who know him, also trust him. You should not vote for a man who is not trusted by those who know him even if he belongs to any particular ideology. Blind voting cannot and must not go on any more. The fact is that Congressmen do not want to discuss the masses about their programme. They do not want to take the trouble of explaining their ideology to the masses. They want to fight the elections on the past reputation of the Congress. This is not proper.

This was followed by a discussion on village service. During his tour from Vindola to Hyderabad Vinodaji had clearly studied the conditions of the Hyderabad villages. The Students friends wanted to know if Vinodaji could outline any particular programme in view of the local conditions. They asked: What according to you would be the best programme for the service of the villagers here?

Vinod: During my last journey I have pointed out that the working class who are evident in Karnataka and Maharashtra was not to be seen in Telangana. In my tour through the villages I observed that the reason for this was that it is mainly responsible for the backwardness of these people. And that I was sympathetic with the view of this class. But I feel so keen that this very could have gone as deep as that. This is, therefore, in my opinion the most important task here. Workers should organize themselves in this work, which affords a genuine programme for all parties. But simultaneously such programme is not direct workers. They need something revolutionary and this comes to them in the form of a programme of social reform. They need a programme which will ensure an improvement in themselves.

Q. But is it necessary to have a Government which is more important than others? Is it not governmentally responsible to the Government?

Vinod: Certainly. I would like to know the Government's view on this. You must have seen how they act.

Q. But what responsibility will have the Communist class?

Vinod: Constructive work has no place in their ideology. They want to exploit the discontent of the people and are dissatisfied at the incapacity of that classless Government. They would destroy life in the face of discontent.

"Then returning to the original question about the constructive programme for Telangana, Vinodaji said, At every place during my tour I captured if there was any industry, going on in the village and I found that there was some small agriculture. You should therefore start successful small cooperatively production, village industries and relief from distress in removal of the day-to-day difficulties of the people.

The friends had a complaint against the Congressmen also. They said that the majority of delegates seemed to be Congressmen.

"But we have not invited them as such," replied Vinodaji. "You are not welcome. Those who come here do so in their capacity as the students of the Narayana Samaj. It is not confined to Congressmen or Socialists or any other political group."

Q. But why don't those people feel the cooperation of others?

Vinod: You should take a lesson from Gandhiji in this respect. Constructive workers had to create their own in constructive organizations when they wanted to join any integrative movement. So too must you constructive workers wanting to join parties have to create their positions in the constructive organizations. The reason for this is that not only the Congress but even others should not interfere any doubt about our interests. They should be enabled that our work is not of a political and narrow character. There are many leaders who would betray their party-service. This should not be done. Gandhiji never did so. He considered a privilege for his politics. Let us also do likewise. Today workers has power as in past but Gandhiji founded and conducted many an institution for the purpose of service alone and got many Congressmen involved with the work.

The Student friends then put their basic question: What is the programme of the Narayana Samaj in any organization?

Have you read the objects and rules of the Narayana Samaj? Was the counter-question.

No.

Vinod: Then you should read them first. One of a programme complete in itself. Whenever the Narayana Samaj has been holding its deliberations for the last four days, many doubts are fully clarified there. The thing is that you do not come to find out Narayana. What is the meaning of your question without reading the Narayana? Vinodaji pointed here for a moment, and then narrating his experience of the Students, he said,

I feel that even to give organization the youth is not free. Freedom is necessary in order to acquire knowledge. But even you are wanted in a party there is the beginning of mental slavery. The party men fill the heads of the youth with their ideas only. They want to put all in one and the same mould.

The talk was all informal and honest. The friends felt that they were talking to one of their own men. They were all young men and chosen young men have always a doubt on Vinodaji. And he always talks at times with them and sometimes himself with them.

The friends again asked without any hesitation: We are afraid that in the Narayana Samaj the majority is of Congressmen.

"What harm is there?" The Narayana Samaj does not take any decision by majority."

They say, was once demanding that the method be used (i.e., barbed wire fence) and it was not natural and just and non-violence when it is to be observed. (Madison) (Madison) said "Do you mean truth and non-violence? These principles? That is the fundamental principle. But I am not prepared to accept truth and non-violence as basic principles. If these two are accepted and then are applied even for the Hindu faith, then they do not come to us because they do not believe in non-violence."

We differ only about non-violence. There is no difference of opinion as to truth is universal.

That is not correct. Suppose you are preparing for a war. Will you put all your weapons before the enemy? In the enemy, you will perceive that you have no intention to go to war. Where is the truth then? Now also, you then claim that there is no difference as to the acceptance of truth but only as that of non-violence. (The last is that just as in a division, God alone is the last word and in your violence, and not non-violence is the ultimate matter.)

—There was no question of denying this, that I probably violate the policy of the Socialists with at Madison. "The policy statement has categorically stated that under present conditions in India non-violence methods are the only methods to follow. It states that if conditions change, our methods also will change" (Madison said). Obviously denounceable methods for the Socialists are denounceable, that is those who have an absolute faith in truth and non-violence there is no question of reasonable acceptance. I am not sure if Vinodini stated in this statement of Earl Thompson's words while making his remark. The left had given sufficient food to the young friends in power over, and they left intending to join to again condemn during the Telengana War but before leaving they put out more questions regarding maintenance of the unity of the vote in the next election.

Finally, People should realize the necessary taking regarding violence. Every party should be equally responsible for maintaining the peace of the country. Party staff be subjected to trial if we found should be the idea while conducting the election. The British people have set a great example in the matter. Our history is reflected. They did not think it proper to resist Churchill in their post-war period contemplation, although he was their wartime, who has led them to victory in the great war. There is no doubt that they cannot forget Churchill's service as far as the war was concerned, but when they are that Churchill was not useful for the peace time problems, they elected him.

(Translated from Hindi)

B. B.

More Gifts of Land

Since the completion of Vinoba's Telengana tour the Land-Gifts-Mission Committee has received over 1,500 acres of more land, the largest single gift being of 500 and 400 acres.

D. V.

Training in Leprosy Work

The Secretary Mahatma Gans Mandai Dattapuri (P. O. Nalawadi, Wardha) sends the following address to his mother, "Training in Leprosy Work", published in Varanasi, 1953-54.

The training will commence from the 2nd October 1953. On Gandhi Jayanti Day. The candidates should send their application for training so as to reach the Secretary before the 15th September 1953. Applications of candidates who have passed Inter Arts will also be considered. (The previous notice mentioned only Inter Science.)

PANNAI ASHRAM NOTES

(There has been a constant demand for information regarding the work that has been started at Pannai Ashram. About P. O. (D. I. P. H.), K. S. but natural that people should be curious about this new venture. It is not possible to give a report of work done before the work has actually started. However, what we do want to give a running account of the activities that are being carried on daily. From such a report, readers will be able to gauge the purpose of the Ashram. If there be any point in it other constructive workers may draw their lessons from it. If there be mistakes we shall welcome corrections and suggestions. To this end, we have chosen a chronicler who will record and report our activities. These will appear in these columns from time to time as space permits.

—J. C. K.

It will be remembered that the Pannai Ashram was inaugurated by Acharya J. B. Kripalani on the 18th of May. The function of the Ashram is to help bring about an all-round enrichment of rural life in general and to carry on agrarian research, the aim being the building up of at least one unitary basis of a non-violent democracy.

The Ashram starts with the proposition that the heart of the exploitation, whether it be by industrialists or through channels of commerce and trade falls back on and is borne by the landless labourers ultimately. Before we get down to the landless labourers, there is the string of agrarian workers including land-holders, farmers and tenants who also are victims of the urban exploitation while they in their turn exploit those below them in the hierarchy of the rural economy. The special problem that it is to be investigated is to see how the exploitation of villages can be stopped.

The Scheme of Work

The method that is proposed is to carry on balanced cultivation and find out how much acreage would be needed to support the workers on a well-balanced diet. At the same time, it is suggested that clothing and a certain amount of purchasing power should also come out of the agricultural occupation. To this end some constructive workers have joined together under Shri. Kamasappa's lead and guidance to work out this scheme. Every member of the Ashram will be expected to give his whole energy, time and thought to this programme. Nobody will receive a money salary or remuneration in the ordinarily accepted sense. Any income laid over that required to supply our immediate needs will be used to cultivate certain new materials, like oil-seeds or cotton, for other water institutions from which we may take articles that we do not produce ourselves.

Our Site

We have not yet been able to secure all the land that we wanted for our purpose as the agricultural season had well advanced by the time our scheme matured. However, we were able to secure on two poor plots on which the Ashram might be located. We may have to secure more and better lands as soon as we are able to do so. Our choice of land has been considerably limited as Kamasappa insists that we should not dislodge poor farmers from their

lands. The Indian villages have either abandoned landless or comparatively big families who cultivate with hand labour. Usually therefore it is going to take time before we can get all the land we need. Shri G. J. Purnani, who was in charge of the agricultural work at Nagasavadi, has taken up the agricultural part of the Ashram programme. At the moment our 16 acres of building land is being cultivated with different crops for wheat or a cash product. We have some pomeo, cotton, rice, tomatoes and other vegetables.

The Well

Our first activity was to sink a well and while doing so we had to hole out the water and that water was utilized to raise our vegetables. We secured a water driver who hoisted to the central part of our plot water within 15 feet and this was in the middle of May when most wells go dry. We set to work on it and we found excellent water within 12 to 15 feet. We have dug another 30 feet and we are fortunate in having such good water that some of the villagers are coming there for their drinking-water requirements. Though the well has been dug the masonry work has not yet been started.

On the 4th of July, this well was inaugurated so that it may be brought under use. The function was held for 16 a.m. when people from about five or six villages were expected to attend. Kanasappay had arrived from Wandia a little earlier and those villagers who had come before noon were talking to him. One of them offered to put up a little shed of zinc sheets for Kanasappay's camp. At present the Ashram dwellers have been accommodated in various verandahs in Sakkid village. Kanasappay himself has been housed by Janba, a Gaud farmer, in the Gaudsah which is next to the Haripur bank.

Bettered Economy

Kanasappay, when docking the ashram camp, explained to them why we should not use the products of large-scale industries freely for our prime necessities. This led to a good deal of searching questions and disconcerting answers. It was explained to them that steel is a natural product and therefore it is limited in quantity. And the use of such materials whose supply is not abundant leads to violence. And in so far as we use them we become parties to work we do.

He also explained that these articles made by mills are substitutes for tiles and bricks which are village products. Utilization of these mill products is equivalent to cutting the branch on which we are crawling. When we come to a village for its reconstruction, we should not do anything which is part of its destruction. The villagers are losing their industries one by one because of the patronage of the village people being transferred to mill products. Similarly he drew attention to factory-made shoes displacing village-made choppals. All these were raising

an old issue. The village group is eating while the village home is selling good deal of wealth. They themselves propose to return for these various articles. The villagers, who offered to build this ashram camp, immediately withdrew that offer and proposed to put up a wood and mud hut and they were all appreciative of the explanation given. This led on to a keen discussion on village industries and the economy that should be our aim.

A simple ceremony of breaking a coconut and distribution of palm-leaf papers followed. The well water was freely distributed for drinking as it was a hot forenoon.

S. R.

BANDAR VALLEY CORPORATION

(By S. Doris Chief Information Officer, BVC, Coimbatore)

The following statement might be have been published long ago. I recall, on arrival of visitors whom I contacted on my posting to working at BVC. The statement is in answer to the questions of the BVC officers in Liverpool & N. Agreed published in *Work* of March 5, 1961. (In response to the statement is also published at the end.)

—K. D. M. I.

The Committee set up to explore into the alternative mode of the Damodar in 1958 recommended the building of four storage dams which would provide flood control for the Lower Valley and could also be used to produce hydro-electric power and irrigation. Accordingly, the Government of India borrowed the services of one of the American TVA planning engineers and after the most careful investigation he concluded that the cheapest and the most effective scheme for achieving the three main objects was an amalgam of eight dams with associated hydro-electric installations, a large steam-power station to run out the surplus electricity of other power, a nuclear installation and an irrigation scheme and a small portion of potentially irrigable 5,40,000 acres including of 1,50,000 acres already under canal irrigation from the Ashram Vale.

This multipurpose project, estimated to cost Rs 70 crores on the basis of 1958 prices, was examined in detail by a Board of Consultants composed of two expert U. S. engineers, the general Chairman of Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and one of the two-known South Indian engineers, and they were satisfied about the feasibility and economic justification of the scheme. Unhappily the political and other changes which were occurring then made considerable postponement of the project inevitable and by July 1960 when the Damodar Valley Corporation was set up, it was no longer practicable to proceed with the earlier scheme all at once. Consequently it was split into two parts, and further savings suggested by the consultants showed that proportionately better results would be obtained by extending the scope of the first phase which comprised four dams with hydro-electric stations, the thermal power plant, the transmission system, the barrage and irrigation works.

On the 1958 figures, but without taking account of the cost material advances that have now been incorporated into it, the cost of the first phase works ran to Rs 26.02 crores. But in the last six years prices both in India and abroad have risen sharply. The index number of wholesale prices in the U. K., U. S. A. and Canada have registered an increase of 50 to 70 per cent since the war ended. Therefore, for example in France and Italy, the steel has been cheaper while in India the wholesale price index has gone up by 70 per cent, by from 242 to 412. However the cost of heavy construction has risen much higher than the general prices. The U. S. construction cost index, which was 262 in January 1958, stood at 528 in August 1960 and there has been further increase since.

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY KARNATMA GANDHI)

Editor, L. G. MANGAPALA



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TWO ANNAS

ELECTIONS WITH AMITY

Shri Jayprakash Narain was at Wardha from August 15 to 17, after a long time, and the institutions of Wardha gave him a suitable welcome. He saw Vinoba at Pannar on the 15th and held discussions with him for over two hours, on various current problems. The discussions covered a wide range of topics— food, clothing, land, the Five Year Plan etc.

Shri Jayprakash went round the Parashram Ashram and watched closely the experiment of non-violent anarchy, the experiment of self-reliant co-operation, that is going on in the Ashram.

He stayed on to participate in the evening prayer. Vinoba wants the prayer to be joined to work accordingly, for some time past, the prayer knows held at the water-wheel, that is, they pray while they turn the wheel. The wheel has eight poles and each pole can accommodate three workers. Vinoba and Jayprakash took hold of the same pole. The prayer and the wheel moved together. While the former watered the beams of the workers, the latter watered the crops in the garden.

After the prayer, Vinoba said

"It is a great pleasure to have Jayprakash Harijan in our midst today. We are a big family and we should love like the five Pandavas in complete union. India, our country, is a vast land, its problems naturally are as vast. And we try together to tackle them as brothers should do. But since the problems are vast, there are also differences among us about the way they should be solved.

"There is Jeevachariji. He has to shoulder the burden of the whole country, an onerous responsibility in all matters. The situation in the country today is by no means easy. He expects co-operation from all. But he has his own ideas, and inevitably he has to walk with the short-sightedness of those ideas. Then, there is Kripalaji who feels that the most pressing need of the hour is the eradication of corruption. He is working according to his lights. Jayprakash has his own ideas and his own remedy for the country's ills. He is also serving the country, and trying to remove the sufferings of the poor.

Then, there is Kharolalji and others of his way of thinking who believe in Sarvodaya. They are also guiding the country in their own way. Thus, all of them have but one aim—the service of the country. They are devoting whatever energy they have to the service of the land. God is behind them, and He is directing them to the service of the nation.

"But at times, when I am alone and think of it I wonder why we, the servants of the people, devoted to the cause of the service of the poor, should not put only those things before the public on which we are all agreed and keep back things on which we differ, remembering that neither our number is very large nor are the differences in our ideas too great. I, for my part, bear this rule in my mind, in putting my ideas before the public. The elections are impending. Suppose, both Jayprakash and I stand as candidates, then, what should happen is to let the people outside choose either of us, while we work together here, ply the water-wheel jointly, and draw together. Though we stand as separate candidates at the elections, that should not disturb our unity in other spheres. If that happens, elections will pass off peacefully and people will choose whomever they like. Bhattacharya said, this world is a big sport. Elections too are a part of the sport; we should enter the sport in that spirit, our love and admiration for one another remaining constant.

"Hence, I say to the villagers: let not the elections destroy the unity of the village. Differences should not be allowed to disrupt your life. I do not care whatever may be elected. There is no fear that people will elect those who are inimical to our views. But if elections are allowed to create factions, then, even though good and honest men are elected, the loss will far exceed the gain. This should not happen. Let not the cord of love which binds us together be snapped.

"When I look at things from all these sides, and ponder over the part which God wills me to play, I feel at times that He perhaps wants me to act as a lubricant between the different parts of the machine, so that it may function smoothly. And I think that He has also endowed me with the capacity to do this part of the work well.

"I will tell you your words to you, being inspired by the fact that though Jay-punkahy and I have our ideological differences, yet we have united together at the watershed. It was a night which we would never forget."

(Translated from Hindi)

D. M.

PROHIBITION IN MISAL, ARKAS

In his reply to the members in the dead Session "Students of the A.L.C.C. Union at Misal, Arkas," the Misal referred to the programme of prohibition, is not very encouraging terms. Particularly he is reported to have described that prohibition is both in good and desirable. But why go out of one way and return it, for example, in the United States? The life of the Misal is reported to have been, being more, would possibly be better, and, indeed, etc. If prohibition is imposed on them, they would rise in revolt.

I do not know whether the Prime Minister has been completely reported. I read the report in a Marathi newspaper dated 15th July and have rendered its substance freely in English in above.

(Going to my limited experience I shall not venture to say with regard to the Misal in the United States of America. Others say, so far as the State of Kentucky is concerned, the Prime Minister's statement is incorrect. The Government of Kentucky have introduced total prohibition in the whole State of Kentucky including the areas inhabited by the Misal. I have been working amongst the Misal as aboriginal tribes of the United States, for over four years now. When in 1927 I first went to this area, I was probably shocked at the appalling poverty and the degree of social degradation of the Misal. Nothing is more so — and even the bulk of families for education and their provincial application by the area, the money-lender and the local politician — who were responsible for this pitiable condition of these two last-mentioned people than the degraded and of drink. As rightly observed by that distinguished life of these people is completely different. Unlike missionaries or missionaries in meddling their habits and customs. Every instance of public decency or sobriety used to be noticed by the Misal. The law and social distribution of today and liquor. There was no social stigma attached to drinking and hence women and children also participated in it freely.

And yet what a degradation it was! Under the influence of today in liquor even professional men used to behave like beasts against with their neighbours and lost their reason. I have witnessed and heard of many suspicious circumstances in cases of birth and marriage, married by drunken brides resulting in permanent sterility and in a few cases leading even to murders. In these days it was a great sight to see some of the Misal living "soberly" in the vicinity of today's houses in the evening and daylight of the major amount of hard work earned during the day. No explanation of human dignity could view such sights without feeling guilty for not demanding of the law, helping to enforce prohibition.

With the introduction of total prohibition in the State of Kentucky from 1st April 1930, all this is over a day now. And you are aware by that Misal, there have been no complaints, not even a murmur from the Misal as to the thought of revolt. Only the larger community shuns out of employment and the world interests directly affected by the policy of prohibition here, with the obvious support of anti-prohibitionist Press, raised an emotional hue and cry. The Misal and their sympathisers in particular are thankful to the Government for having referred total prohibition. Only being un-expected, they have not held conferences and passed

resolutions backing the Government. This does not, however, mean that there is an ideal satisfaction of liquor or tapping of today. But it was really to prove that compared to the open sale of alcoholic drinks and today in the prohibition, days the quantity of liquor or today comparatively produced and consumed in Kentucky State of the State's health and wealth are all celebrated with perhaps the same superstitious belief in evil spirits and with the same superstitious observance of time and rituals as of old. The only difference is that the Misal will and will go beyond of only liquor have taken the place of today. There are dangers also in tolerable to stop, though there are no tolerable to stop.

One has only to stop amongst these Misal for a few days and observe their life carefully to be able to appreciate fully the benefits that prohibition has brought to these backward people.

It would be no exaggeration to assert that without prohibition all efforts for improving the social and economic conditions of the Misal would have been fruitless. It is to be hoped that the Misal which will be formed next year after the elections would be so firm on the policy of prohibition in the present case, in spite of opposition from some great and several personalities.

VARUN KAPOORAN

SIRI VIDYA AT SHIVARAMPALLI

III

April 12, 1931. Inauguration of a Maternity Home

Vidya inaugurated a Maternity Home this evening at the village of Shivarampalli. It was situated in the woods of Shivarampalli and other neighbouring villages without disturbance of caste and creed.

After performing the opening ceremony, Vidya said that after the inauguration of the Conference the previous day that was an auspicious beginning for his undertaking a new year of service. The Home was just a stepping-stone, but it was sure to grow into a big tree and provide shade and shelter to all who needed it.

The people here have the work of the Karmaveer started there. It had been started by that Karmaveer, Karmaveer. He was known as "Karmaveer" and Vidya preferred to call him "Karmaveer" for he had received everything so that he might become himself a student of service. God would run to the aid of the devotee, wherever he needed it, wherever he might be. The Karmaveer Karmaveer was held at Shivarampalli, because a devotee had chosen that place for his work. This had a lesson for all. If there was a single man devoted, success would be found in doing his work through the grace of God.

It was a matter of delight that a maternity home was being started in a village. There were big cities in India, but the soul of India lived in her villages. Her service had everywhere got to move in the villages. India's life depended on the people of the villages. Karmaveer gave them a life and showed them more to others. They were not alone. Villages were grateful for the progress that was shown to them. The reason was that the hearts of villages were always filled with love which manifested itself in the best service. It was good that they had made their beginning in service. Similar service should be undertaken in the villages wherever possible.

God was glad of those who explained His name but did not explain. What did He expect them to do and why, asked Vidya. God was not asking them to do anything and not need anything of them. But those who served His creation really served Him. God would be pleased and happy even if His name was not mentioned, provided His work was done on. The collection which makes

"A name which has remained all worldly attachments and connections."

derived from their service was a reflection of God's active factors.

The content of such service where there were no differences of caste or creed were the children of God. They were the real temples and sanctuaries.

The workers naturally intended to serve children according to tradition, service to children—the Aishwariya. In God is the form of children—his service per se means God had neither name nor form. But the devotion for their own pleasure gave God names and forms according to one's view. In both the propositions, namely, all the forms and demonstrations in the world are but God's manifestations, so also that He is nameless and formless, were right. Man with the help of these forms and demonstrations could purify his own life. The service to children, is the service to Lord Hari-krishna, had a special significance and was to work upon amongst His devotees. Hence the service to children which the people there had inaugurated that evening was the best of all if at all any distinction was to be made between one form of service and another. Mothers were included in the children.

The Kashiwa Trust made its beginning with the service to mothers. Later they realised that such service was impossible without service to children. They therefore started service to children also. At Mirzapur, they had started with service to the children and found that it led naturally to service to mothers as well. For, unlike the father the mother could not be separated from her child. In the natural world, the father did not even recognise his progeny. But that attention did not exist there but where the father was not inseparable from his progeny, he did not count.

"What a sorry, indeed, what a kingdom, that He Who bestowed a mother bestowed also with wife too! In the words of the Quran, God is all beneficent and merciful. He alone is the Beneficial, He alone is the Beneficial. He has several names. By which one shall we worship Him? Names like the described, the friend, appeal to us directly.

"It is said in the Quran: 'You sometimes call Him Allah sometimes Rahman. Do they differ from each other?' And Muhammad had to explain. Both these names, Allah and Rahman, speak of one and the same Lord. He alone is the Lord, the Allah. Who is all merciful, and the all-merciful alone is the Lord. If we develop the quality of mercy within ourselves and experience a progressive growth of that quality a day may dawn when this high may not survive and we may find ourselves very near to God. Mercy is but another name for God. If we look within ourselves we shall know how much we are. We are under obligation to Him. From our very birth, there were one many who have been kind to us from whom we have received in abundance. Is there any link to His Kingdom. Who has bestowed and continues to bestow infinite gifts on us? But our hearts do not link up all this—so interconnected are we! Let us therefore realise, brothers, that we must devote ourselves to such acts of service and go on softening our hearts and make them gentle. With gentleness our hearts will also grow broader and we shall experience His presence within our souls. Our body will then no more be ours. It will be transformed into the shade of the Lord. Our eyes will no more remain our eyes—they will shine with His mercy and kindness. Our hands, our limbs will all be full of kindness. Whatever will be offered by our tongue will be a message of love and happiness to others. It will not prick any one, but will be such as to attract every heart towards it. It will be not a mere word but a drop of nectar. All this realisation will come to us when we devote ourselves to the work of service and larger service to Him.

"My dear brothers, I have said enough and it is easier said than done. But we have to do and our only

prayer is that God may give us the necessary strength for it. I am grateful to you for your invitation. God had so desired that I should offer my cooperation in the very inception of this work. My presence to you all."

The volunteers who had been rendering voluntary service for the whole of the last week wanted a message from Vinodaji and he gave them this:

"You have rendered good service for the last eight days. But that is not enough to satisfy me. It is not much if I expect you to practice in your life what you have seen and lived here during your stay. Some of you are students. There are part-time workers and have your other occupations. That is good. Then you will carry on the work of knowledge side by side with your own occupations. There is a vast field of service in our country, and more so in the city of Hyderabad. Not a few are scholars and officers. Can you spare an hour a day for their service? You should, if you can. You need not give up your occupations for that. A day in a week will do, if you have got day to day convenience. There are large men of experience and they are too few. I will speak to them to make use of your services."

We wanted to know how many of them would take up the suggestions. All raised their hands and indicated their willingness to do so. So he said to them again: "You have all responded to my request. And we have such a big army. That is good indeed! I shall surely speak to the others to start on a programme for you."

April 12, 1951

This was the last day of our stay at Mirzapur. We had been there a week. Immediately on arrival, Vinodaji had taken a round and seen the work that was going on there. He had also come into contact with the workers of the Sarvagya centre that is being conducted at Mirzapur by Sri Ramachandra Chaitanya (now Anandaji). The workers hoped for a message from Vinodaji before he left, and even for Vinodaji. It would have been difficult to part from them in silence. Acknowledging them, therefore, that afternoon, he poured out his mind:

"I have spent a week here. I have been very happy. I believe the memory of the Conference will remain alive here in the lives of work. Let the people here so strive to say that the Conference at Mirzapur is a story of the year. On the contrary, people should be able to read themselves of the flowers and the fruits and the shade of the tree that has been planted here. Light should spread from here, as it did from the tree of knowledge (algebra)."

But he had to say something more, and of greater import, for all of us who claim to practice non-violence in our private and public life. So he added:

"Feelings of brotherhood and fraternity should be manifest in us to a greater extent than in Communism or those who do not believe in non-violence. Even violence after having built in violence live with hatred love and affection. We claim to win over men, not opponents with love. There should therefore be a constant growth of affection amongst us. Let us realise that we are one and indivisible."

What else can be the message of Sarvagya? Then came the first part of Vinodaji's historic hour, now known as the "Sarvagya hour."

Vinodaji left Mirzapur for Hyderabad, with many happy memories in his heart. Before he left, all the auspicious ceremonies were performed—kumbha, shakambha, yagna-parvata and everything else. When will he return?—this was the thought apparent in the minds of all.

And thus he left for the Kashiwa guest station in Telangana.

HARIJAN

Sept. 8

1951

INDIA'S LANGUAGE POLICY

(By Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

[The Hon. Prime Minister and Universities in India are considering the question of their official language. The States for their administration and the Universities for their teaching and research functions. The Constitution of India has clearly laid down the line of progress in this very important branch of our national, cultural and democratic life and progress. While it has specifically shown the line of progress for the language of the States and the Courts it has not done so in regard to the Universities. That was thought out by the President Committee of the Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities followed by the administrative work of the Universities Commission, presided over by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. But there are all from that the States may deviate from the present policy, as can be seen from the suggestion of the Government of Bombay in which I had referred in the previous issue of the Harijan. Some issues of August 18 and 25. There is authoritative suggestion regarding the language policy of the Indian Union and its various States was felt to be very necessary, even to ward off such deviations by the various States. This has been very clearly done by no less an authority than the President of the Union himself. He gave this statement in the course of his conversation address to the Congress University on 15th August. This is reproduced below from the Harijan issue of 22-8-51.]

12-8-51

—Dr. P. Prasad

I thank you for the honour that you have done me today and I may assure you that I shall always value it highly, coming as it does from the University, which was not only the first University in our country to make one of the languages spoken in this country, the medium of instruction, but which had also done pioneering work in getting textbooks in that language on all scientific and non-scientific subjects prepared and published.

In its own way and within the limitations of the language chosen as the medium of instruction, that work appeared to me to be quite encouraging as I was and have always been keenly interested in this question ever since I began taking active part in public affairs. I am glad to say that today public consciousness has been thoroughly aroused on this subject and it is generally recognised by the intelligentsia and the educationists that if there is to be no avoidable and unnecessary waste in our educational effort it is absolutely necessary that education should be imparted in the indigenous tongue. But with all this there is yet some hesitancy in certain sections of the people about the language policy but calculated to serve the objectives we have in view.

Democratic Society

I would like, with your permission, to say a few words about it. I believe that every one in this country knows—in any case I would like everybody to know—that under the Constitution that the Sovereign People of India adopted

through their Constituent Assembly, it is our duty to establish a democratic society in this country—that is to say, a society in which every individual and every group would have the fullest possible rights and opportunities to realise all his, her or its potentialities as also would have equal opportunities with others to shape the policy of the Government in the States and the Union.

When thinking of the policy to be adopted with regard to the medium or media of instruction we must all keep in our mind this mandatory obligation on all of us. I need not say that education is a power by itself and that in any case a person bereft of it cannot have any chance of either realising himself to the full or making any effective or worthwhile impression on the policies and actions of the Government of his country and region. It is therefore plain that the methods and means of education should be such as do not prevent any discrimination between one man and another or between one group and another.

It would thus appear that all kinds of education—primary, secondary and university—should be available to every linguistic group at any appreciable size in its own tongue. It is only then that it would not have to spend more time, money and energy than any other group for acquiring the benefits of education. Any other course of action would put it at a disadvantage in comparison to the group in whose language its children have to acquire education. This means that education in all stages in each linguistic region must be in the language of that region itself.

Linguistic Regions

I would like to emphasise, however, that this can be feasible only if the linguistic group is of an appreciable size and in a compact region. It cannot be reasonably demanded by those living in very small numbers and scattered in different parts of other linguistic regions that the Governments of these linguistic regions must make arrangements for the imparting of education to their children in their own mother-tongue except in the lowest stages. The financial and other implications of accepting such a demand can be easily perceived.

In such well-defined linguistic region of India small numbers of persons speaking other languages are to be found. If separate arrangements have to be made in each school, in each college, and in each university of that region for the teaching of the children of all these different and differing linguistic groups the cost would be colossal. Moreover, from the political point of view, it is desirable that each scattered remnant of any linguistic group in any other linguistic region should identify themselves with the latter group instead of remaining entirely distinct from the latter and thus bringing up a difference which may bring about ill-feeling and misunderstanding between them and the large

bulk of the population around them. Much of the complexity of the language question in this country would have been solved if each linguistic group recognized this cold logic of facts—financial and political.

Each regional language has to be developed and its literature enriched so as to enable it to become a fit vehicle and rich store-house of knowledge of all kinds—ancient and modern. It is the duty of the regional government or governments to help and encourage this development and growth so far as a governmental can help. This can be best done by building upon the foundation of the existing form and vocabulary of the language and by embedding it with whatever can be naturally and easily adapted and adapted from other sister languages. Any purpose attempt to exclude words, idioms, and even grammatical constructions on the ground that they were borrowed and did not originally belong to the source from which the language was derived is bound not only to fail but to result in impoverishing the language instead of enriching it.

Poverty Considered

Finally, we have to conserve our energy to the utmost for devoting it to the urgent tasks of the abolition of poverty and ignorance from our country and can hardly spare any for a wholly unnecessary, if not mischievous, purpose like this. I do not see any justification for linguistic purism, for language after all is but a medium of communication and if a word evolved in well understood by the people there is no reason why it should be thrown out on the simple ground of its alien origin. Also the growth of the language should be in a direction in which it becomes more and more acceptable and intelligible to the vast masses of the linguistic region concerned. Its themes, its style, its vocabulary should be as near as possible to the life and the tongue of the common people. I believe that language, like other institutions of society, would benefit greatly by going to the bosom of the masses.

Apart from the urgent need of developing and enriching the regional language there is another question which also demands careful consideration. Ours is a multilingual country. We must have a common language that would enable the different linguistic regions to communicate with one another in matters of inter-regional and national life. After full consideration the Constitutional Assembly provided in the Constitution that that language shall be Hindi in the Devanagari script, the form of Sanskrit for the official purposes of the Union being the international form of Indian Sanskrit. It was a unanimous agreement and arrived at after due accommodation of all the relevant interests.

I think there is no reason whatever why any one in this country should feel that his or his group's interests would be adversely affected by this decision in any way. I do not think that I

need say more than that within the educational system of each linguistic region there should be arrangement for the teaching of the Union language. It is necessary to emphasize this so that those speaking languages other than Hindi may not feel themselves at a disadvantage in any respect whatsoever. How and at what stage instruction in Hindi can be fitted in with the general scheme of education of non-Hindi regions has to be worked out without delay and steps taken to implement any plan that may be adopted so that within the time allowed by the Constitution we may be able to do without the use of the English language for official purposes of the Union.

The State has three languages spoken by the people in regions which are more or less madras and had been making every earnest effort to develop Urdu which I consider to be only a style or form of what has been adopted by our Constitution as the language of the Union though it has its own script and distinctive vocabulary. It has thus the same problem that our multi-lingual country as a whole has to solve. But it has had the advantage of having made headway with a language for the purposes of the State which is distinct from the three regional languages. We should conserve and derive what benefit and lessons we can from the experience so gained and I feel that that may prove of great value as giving us a foundation on which to build. It is the duty and privilege of this University to erect on that foundation an edifice which will redound to its credit and to the great benefit of our land.

I thank you once again for your courtesy and kindness in conferring on me the honorary degree and I wish this University ever-increasing success and prosperity.

Lord Giffa Murkha

The Lord Giffa Mission Committee, appointed by Shri Vinoba to carry out the objects of the Lord Giffa Mission, has started the work of distributing land among the landless people from August 5, 1951. The Government and the people are helping in the work of the Committee. The Government by removing legal difficulties in the work of land distribution and granting facilities in effecting leases etc. have made the work of the Committee easier.

Now the Committee will move from village to village to carry out the work of land distribution. It is estimated that the expense per acre will be Rs. 1. The Committee requests those who appreciate this work to help it by rendering financial help. The workers who had taken the pledge at Mandheral to carry on the work of *Shi-shi-paise* are requested to approach the people and take as much help from them as possible in this work.

Money contributions may kindly be sent to Shri Kishorram, c/o Shri, B. Karna Kishorram, Education Minister, Barakpura, Hyderabad.

(From Hindi)

RAMKRISHNA BHATT

THE NEHRU-TANDON CONTROVERSY

Shri Vinoba's Statement

Friends have expressed a desire to know my attitude towards the great question that is agitating the country over Pandit Nehru's resignation from the Congress Working Committee. Hence this brief statement.

I must at the outset make it clear that, although I have very great regard for the Congress and although I have had an enormous privilege of serving it as a soldier, I have not been even a primary member of the Congress since 1939. I should not therefore be expected to give expression to my ideas regarding the internal problems of the Congress. The importance of the present position, however, is not confined to the Congress only. It is a question that concerns the country at large and is bound to have its repercussions even *outside*.

Who is to be the nation's leader—Nehru or some one else? The question, however, is not one of personalities and should not be considered as such. Nehru is undoubtedly a great man, but others can also be great. The real greatness of a man is due to the ideas he stands for. We have therefore to forget personalities and to think from the ideological point of view only.

Let us examine the ideas Nehru represents. Let us accept his leadership only if those ideas are acceptable to us. Otherwise let us relieve him of his responsibilities.

The main ideas for which Nehru is fighting with all his might are two and the two together make one complete whole.

1. The attitude of positive neutrality for India in the international sphere. Nehru does not want India to join any of the power-blocs. Instead, he wants to utilize India's moral influence as the interests of world peace and freedom. He therefore upholds an independent foreign policy for India. But there is a group in formation among Congressmen which considers that India will benefit by signing herself with the Anglo-American bloc.

2. Nehru regards the Hindu, the Muslim, the Christian and all others as equals and in the name of co-existence. He wants India to be a secular State. I call it a Federal State. But there are within the Congress men who think that the Hindu culture should prevail in India. Their Hinduism may not be as bigoted as that of the Hindu Mahasabha, but it is of the same stock.

These are the two main issues on which Congressmen have to direct attention and come to a decision. Nehru, the individual, like every other individual, has his merits as well as demerits. But it is not Nehru's person, but his ideology that is under consideration here. In my opinion it is the Nehru ideology that will help the country at this juncture.

I have not taken into consideration here the question of Nehru's administration. There are many, including myself, who are not satisfied with Nehru as an administrator. Perhaps he himself is not satisfied with his administration. We have for centuries been deprived of the experience of running the Government of the country. Mistakes are, therefore, only natural. Even so, the mistakes cannot be defended. They can and ought to be rectified.

I have left out of consideration even Nehru's National Planning. I am greatly dissatisfied with it. But Congressmen do not seem to be so. Hence it is not necessary to discuss it here.

Lastly, I must refer to a question that has been raised by some people recently. It has been asked—Is there no need to check Nehru? Will he not otherwise become a dictator? As far as I have known Nehru, he can become anything but that. He lacks the mental make-up needed for building up institutions and manipulating them which are indispensable for a dictator and in which his opponents might be far more efficient. Perhaps Nehru's followers might desire to supply this deficiency in him. But that will strengthen, not Nehru, but his opponents. In short, I have not the slightest fear of Nehru becoming a dictator. But I feel that some control is necessary even for him; for without such control of public opinion even Roosevelt might not last. What then of this Lokrajya? I believe that Nehru himself will like to have some control. And the Panchayat is there to exercise the necessary control. Why then should we be anxious?

Such, in brief, are my thoughts. I do not regard myself a politician in the sense in which the word is used today. I am a humble worker in the cause of Sarvodaya and it is in that capacity that I have given expression to these thoughts.

Purnadhara,
Peanar, 29-8-51
(Translated from Hindi)

THE CONGRESS CRISIS

Shri Vinoba's statement on the Congress crisis is already before the public. It was not necessary to add anything to it immediately, and so I withheld one which I had prepared. Thereafter I had also the advantage of reading Shri Nehru's statement before the M. P. Legislative Assembly.

While the people are perfectly entitled to demonstrate their love and regard for Pandit Nehru, the rage against Shri Mahata for having dared to strike a different note is not fair. Every one knows, Shri Mahata himself knows perfectly well, that he is too small a man in the country to stand against Jeevashankar Nehru. And yet if he has taken courage to attack him, fairness demands that his side should be patiently heard.

In a democracy the tallest man of the land might be criticised by the youngest citizen. The question is not whether Shri Mishra's stand is correct or otherwise. The views might be rejected if they are found to be unreasonable, after due consideration. But the people should be grateful to him that he has begun to take the public into confidence about the exact difference between Shri Nehru and Tandon. The public know very little about them. Shri Mishra has begun to unravel the mystery, which is very welcome.

Shri Mishra's statement, which seeks to indict Pandit Nehru and his policy, is really an indictment of the Congress itself. It almost says that the Congress representatives in the various Governments and legislatures the Working Committee and the AICC never played their part truly and fully and were not loyal either to Nehru, or to themselves, or to the people. In effect, it endorses the complaint of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, that though the Congress passes resolutions drafted by him and adopts his policies, it elects a President and a Working Committee who have a different approach to the subject-matter of the resolutions, and harbour views contrary to his outlook. They would, if it were possible, reverse the Nehru policy almost on every matter dear to him or take steps different from those pursued by him.

Then, Shri Mishra's statement charges the Nehru Government at the Centre with weak administration, inconsistent policies, and too much interference in the States' jurisdiction, and it lays the blame for all this on Nehru personally. It is complained that he does not go into details, and is surrounded by flatterers and so on. He is believed to be an 'administrative man'. But the remedy for this would be for the administrative 'managers' of the Congress to go to Nehru's help and work out in detail his ideas, from his point of view and not to ask him to reverse his policies.

Thirdly, Shri Mishra's statement complains that the Constitution has given too much power to the Centre, and made the States helpless in various important matters affecting the life of the people. If there is truth in this charge, it is the Congress and the State Governments that stand to blame rather than Nehru. They were all eager to make the Centre as strong as possible, much contrary to Gandhi's advice. Indeed, it was with great difficulty that a direction in favour of decentralisation and rural uplift was got included in the Constitution. What did the State Governments do when the Constitution was being framed? It is not known if they ever raised their voice against too much centralisation of power. So far as the public know, the only point in which the Tandon group created head was the language controversy, and the adoption of Arabic numerals. But the past may be forgotten. The defects of the Constitution might be

still removed. But it should be confessed that the responsibility for the defects belongs to the Congress and the States, and not to Nehru alone.

Kripalani and his people wanted to remain in the Congress as a separate bloc. This was rejected. Unhappily he had to leave. But that has not left a one-minded Congress. It is now a contest between the Tandon ideology and the Nehru ideology. Kripalani did not wish to leave the Congress, because he wanted to capture the Congress machinery some day by creating his majority. The Tandon bloc has captured the Congress machinery and now wants to cast Nehru from the Government. Of course, it can be done under the Congress Constitution, if the Congress supports the Tandon bloc.

In my opinion, as between Nehru and Tandon, the latter's is an unprogressive bloc, and if the Congress is not to be dissolved formally, it should preserve the wisdom of giving a line clear to Nehru. It must not seek to have him with letters. If it believes that it has a real majority in the Congress, it must courageously discuss him and put an end to the present show of false unity. Of course, if it does not carry the people with it, it will have to bear the consequences.

Several Congress bodies have passed resolutions expressing confidence both in Tandon and Nehru. I am afraid there is insufficient understanding of the word confidence here. 'Confidence' does not mean a certificate that they are both honest, good, respectable gentlemen and worthy patriots. That is perfectly true of both and each of them will pay a warm tribute to the other personally. But 'confidence' here has to be in their respective policies. It is clear that the approaches of both are mutually incompatible, and for the Congress bodies to say that they have confidence in both, means that they want both war and peace with Pakistan; they want to join the Anglo-American bloc and at the same time keep an independent foreign policy; they want the preformance of both the Hindu culture and the composite culture of all and so on. They must realise that this cannot be done. They must decide in favour of one, for better or worse.

If Congress wants to build for the future, and to function as a well-knit homogeneous and solid party organisation, with a constantly progressive pathos, I humbly suggest that it should combine the part of the leader of the Central Party and the Congress President, and be satisfied with electing a Chairman and an Executive Committee to work under him for non-Parliamentary work. This body should be appointed with an eye to keep in readiness a second line of statesmen and administrators of Congress ideology. Hence, it should be a body of persons, whose approach to various important and far-reaching problems and plans are as much as possible identical with those of the Prime Minister. Otherwise, the Congress President, with his

Cabinet and the Prime Minister with his Cabinet can hardly feel at ease with each other, and sooner or later one would have to leave or expel himself.

Wardha, 30-8-53

K. G. MADHURWA

PS Upon reading the above, Shri D. P. Mishra felt that my statement was likely to convey the impression upon the public mind that Shri Tandon and he held the same opinions on all matters discussed by me. He desires to make it clear that the statements made by him in the Press and in the M. P. Legislative Assembly represented his personal views and he was not sure whether Tandonji or others agreed with him on every point.

Wardha, 30-8-53

K. G. M.

SHRI TANDON'S STATEMENT

"Shri Kishorelal Madhurewala has in a recent statement attributed to me directly and indirectly views which are so far from me as to detract from truth. For instance, he describes me as a representative of the upper class of orthodox Hindunism with something of the Arya Samaj added to it, and he also accuses me as a proponent of reactionary Hindu culture. This is a caricature, not a portrait, of me. My whole life is a repudiation of what Madhurewala writes of me. I have often said that there is no lock in the world which I place above the authority of the street. In that one doctrine is contained the reputation of the false accusations which Madhurewala imputes to me in the name of orthodox Hindunism.

"On the question of culture, I have said several times that I do not recognise that there is anything like Hindu culture, or Muslim culture, or Jain culture or any other variety of culture associated with any particular religion. Culture is to my mind associated with and born out of the soil. I always speak of Bharatganga culture which implies the culture of our country. I have compared it to a highly river which rises from its source courses in the Himalayas and flows on to the sea gathering the waters of the tributaries which add to its strength and change its course while merging themselves into it. This culture is thus made up of the continuous contributions of the old and the new, the past and the present. It embraces the thinking and workers belonging to diverse ways of thought in our land. It is not a narrow thing confined and confined within any communal group but a majesty and everlasting current moulding the life and destiny of our people."

(From The Hindustan, Nagpur, dated 23 Sept. '53)

(Note: I am glad to learn Shri Tandon's view of Indian culture and accept it fully. I shall feel glad to be united that the whole Congress accepts it wholeheartedly.

Wardha, 4-9-53

K. G. M.)

HUMILIATING AND DISASTROUS POLICIES

Earlier Patel unified India and Pandit Nehru has been for several years the American-Soviet rivalry for the leadership of the world, and we are deeply grateful to both for these outstanding achievements, but the fiscal, financial and other policies pursued by Delhi during the last four years have been fraught with failure, humiliation and disaster.

Only last year about 1,100 million yards of cloth were exported to foreign countries with the result that our women had to stand in queues before cloth shops and were thus subjected to the mockery and insulting behaviour of traders and their managers. This is an intolerable and monstrous situation.

Then again we paid cash in importing petrol and cars, heavy silk, costly textiles, plastics for the manufacture of Coca-cola and what not. Let us note in passing, that Coca-cola contains phosphoric acid which destroys tooth enamel according to Dr Olive M. McKay of Cornell, chief nutritionist for the American Navy during World War II. Dr McKay and his associates reported that white rats for five days or more of drinking 'colas' suffered severe destruction of tooth enamel, and that monkeys were similarly affected. And when it comes to buying food grains for our starving people, we had to ask for 'long-term loan.' Is it too much to hope that now at least every single dollar we earn will be devoted to the full repayment of the loan at the earliest opportunity? For no debtor can long remain independent, sooner or later he must surrender to the creditor unconditionally.

In 1938 only 25,000 tons of wheat and barley moved off farms in U.K. as compared with about 55,000 tons in 1942. If England doubled her surplus grains in 4 years, why cannot we?

Lastly must we grovel in the folly of importing French grapes for 540 shales each costing a hundred rupees? Can we not do without molasses cream and soap from Britain, now that sterling balances have shrunk to 500 from 1,500 crores?

T. G. D.

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TWO ANNAS

MAHATMA GANDHI AND PROHIBITION

No man possessing reason is expected to believe that Mahatma Gandhi, whose life mission was the welfare of the backward and the down-trodden, would have looked upon the introduction of Prohibition by law with disfavour. The very thought is unheard in the champion of the suffering masses. Despite this, protagonists of Prohibition are searching vainly through the writings of the Mahatma for something that would serve their purpose and in that effort they sometimes pick up examples drawn from their context.

Compulsion—If Necessary

Unfortunately, the Mahatma is not able to contradict the statements attributed to him. Nevertheless his writings in Young India abound in expressions that leave no doubt about the working of his mind on this question. They clearly show that not only was he for the banishment of drink, look, work and barrel but he was a champion of banging about that scheme with the members of the legislature and the executive. For he says: "You will not be deceived by the specious argument that liquor must not be made sober by compulsion, and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The State does not cater for the vice of its people. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution, is it not often the parent of both?" (Young India, February 22, 1922)

No Need for Refrascence

Mahatma Gandhi was also emphatic in his views that there was no need for taking refrascence on the question of Prohibition, for, in his opinion, drink and drug habit are universally recognised as a vice. He says in Young India of April 22, 1922, "Drink is not a fashion in India as it is in the West. To talk therefore of refrascence in India is to trifle with the problem." For the same reason Gandhi thought that India is the most promising country in the world for carrying out total Prohibition.

For Mahatma Gandhi, drink was a crime worse than thieving and so he would not countenance the argument that Prohibition was in any way an interference with the rights of peo-

ple. On that point he was very emphatic when he said: "There is as much force in the argument that it is an interference with the right of the people as there would be in the argument that the law prohibiting theft interferes with the right of thieving. A thief steals all earthly possessions, a drunkard steals his own and his neighbour's honour." (Young India, January 5, 1927)

What He Would Have Done

Mahatma Gandhi's reaction for the use of State machinery for the enforcement of Prohibition can be found in the following excerpt from his article in Young India of August 5, 1922: "I do not hesitate handsly to prevent my children from rushing into fire or deep waters. Rushing to red water is far more dangerous than rushing to a raging furnace or a flooded stream. The latter destroys only the body, the former destroys both body and soul."

Again he says: "If I was appointed doctor for one hour for all India the first thing I would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops, destroy all the jolly palaces such as I know them at Opatka, convert history-museums to produce lecture-rooms for their workers and open refreshment and recreation rooms where these workers would get innocent drinks and equally innocent amusements. I would close down the factories if the owners pleaded want of funds. Being a doctor, I would refuse my surgery in spite of the persistence of one hour's dictatorship and therefore, arrange for the examination of my European friends and distressed persons who may be in medical need of brandy and the like at State expense by medical experts and, where necessary, they would receive opiates which would enable them to obtain the prescribed quantity of the fiery waters from certified chemists. The rule will apply instantly to intoxicating drugs." (Young India, June 22, 1921)

Temperance

The Father of the Nation was always against using taxed money on progressive measures of the Government. He states his point of view on this subject very vehemently when he says: "It is a reform which must be sacrificed and while it lasts, it should be held as sacrosanct and be wholly dedicated to the purpose of smothering

the drink and. But today it is being utilized for advancing our children with the result that a tremendous barrier has been put against the necessary temperance legislation. People are made to think that they will not be able to release their children if this revenue stops. If things go unchecked like this, a whole nation might have to perish. If the evil spreads, it may be too late for "temperance legislation" (Punjab India, April 11, 1939)

SHRI VINOD'S TELANGANA TOUR

I

April 14 Gurgaon

In the course of inaugurating the Sarvodaya Conferences at Hyderabad, Vinoda had given the message of the Dandi programme. It was good not only for India but for the whole world. The programme, as already published, consists of internal purity, external cleanliness, labour, peace and dedication. This message did not come to Vinoda as if a revelation, but was an expression of his lifelong synthetic culture. Did not our students come conscious manifest as a result of this experience and reflection? The Dandi programme was born of a vision based on experience.

Vinoda's Telangana tour was a part of the practice of the first-dandi programme propagated by him at the Sarvodaya Conference. Vinoda, but in his mind the idea of underlining the tour of Telangana when he left Waroda for Hyderabad. The visitors are aware that at the time of leaving Waroda, he had said before a gathering that he did not know that he would return and that that meeting might prove their last meeting. This had touched the hearts of the people who had gathered there to give him a send-off. They had no idea then that he had completed the Telangana tour. Hence it was difficult for them to understand what he meant, but with the announcement of the tour we could realize the import of the words uttered by him at the Lakshminarayana Mandir at Waroda.

The programme of the tour was arranged after consulting Hyderabad. The attitude in Telangana was said to be serious and a tour without police protection was not possible safe. But what protection other than that of love that a soldier of Christ does expect? On being asked therefore about protection by the Government, Vinoda informed them that there was absolutely no question of armed or unarmed protection by the police, whether uniformed or otherwise. The message that brought Vinoda to Telangana demanded, as a matter of fact, that no Government employee or officer should accompany him. The Government requested Vinoda's wish.

The next point to be asked was why should accompany Vinoda in this tour? The tour from Waroda to Hyderabad was of a different nature. A few workers more or less in number did not matter then. But this was an area where internally was oppressed. Vinoda therefore decided to take only a small number with him. They were also asked to keep only the minimum baggage with them. Hence several workers were asked to return, and the baggage was greatly reduced.

Anybody could have imagined that a touring exhibition of all the promises from within to which should accompany the party. This idea was a welcome one because we had to be used during our stay on the way to Hyderabad. But even this idea had to be given up in this programme, and we had to be content with only speaking.

It was suggested that Vinoda should avoid hospitality from the peasants that the harem women the Chakrabarti and the son. That would create, it was suggested, misunderstanding about him and injure the cause. Some well-wishers, who were also representatives of the Government, urged to the length of suggesting that even Congressmen should be avoided. But Vinoda did not agree, he would stay with any one who came forward to accommodate

him and his party. He was not prepared to differentiate between one and another. The man made no such distinction that he was the son, and that should come to the police and the peasant, to give more and demand more. The consciousness of staying at one place and not doing or at another was not at all in Vinoda's nature. Being being was a form of Vinoda, and he would not say that one was better than the other.

Thus began the tour to Telangana. The day happened to be the Anantaram day.

Between Hyderabad and Hyderabad Vinoda was introduced to both at Gurgaon another week of constructive work started by Shri Lakshminarayana an extent degree of Gandhi and an extraordinary worker in the cause of peace. He had spent some years at Waroda and Hyderabad during the work of peace and had now returned to Hyderabad, his birthplace. He devoted every single minute in furthering the cause of peace. At the Hyderabad Conference he opened his eyes to see that the delegates were supplied with good warm milk. In Hyderabad he has been able to create an atmosphere favourable to the idea.

At a distance of two miles from Hyderabad, near the village of Gurgaon, Shri Lakshminarayana had secured some land for the Gurgaon Mandir founded by him and his colleagues. Vinoda spent the day at this house. There was not a few workers, the Food Minister of Hyderabad State, Shri Yashwanth Narasimhaiah, some constructive workers and other Government officials were among them.

A Kankaria centre started with the help of Shri Gurgaon, near the village was declared open by Vinoda, addressing the villagers in his postgraduate meeting. Vinoda said that the attitude of power has to be a witness of service at the village. Life without the cow had become an impossibility in India. Children the old and the diseased, all need cow's milk. The cow and the calf are a part of the family. Both give food work and provide their milk and the villagers should take care of them till they leave their last. Vinoda further said that the Government should not be responsible for their animals should not be purchased from outside but should be produced in the village itself. Milk should be made available first to the children and the people of the locality. Only the surplus might be sent to the city. The workers and their families from the village should work on equal. The goats which they could should be utilized for home use, samples. Similarly chickens should be given with a view to extend all the best use. If there was that proper maintenance of the surplus of the cow the bull was the man the workers who stayed there would not require to purchase anything from outside.

Some time, Vinoda continued would have to be given so that they might serve them as milkmaids in the house. The children of the workers should be educated locally along with the other children of the village. Thus the villagers and the workers should identify themselves with one another completely. The villagers should join the evening prayers. Prayers should be recited in both Telugu and Hindi.

The picture of a self-sufficient village and of peaceful activities of service should manifest itself here. This work should become a source of inspiration to the people around. This should help in establishing the use of money in the life of the villagers. This is possible only when the workers identify themselves with the people of the village.

A Kankaria centre is also being started here through the efforts of Shri Lakshminarayana. This means that this centre will provide service to children and to women also. In short it will be a centre of Gurgaon from Gurgaon in all fields. You should look upon the workers as self-appointed servants to serve you. Some people have been at Lakshminarayana for having gone too far away from the city. They feel that it would have been better if he had stayed in the city. They are astonished at Lakshminarayana's decision to stay in this jungle. My view is that city is

another man for jungle life, the jungle is saturated with forest life. Will you call it a divided place, where people do not know one another but like friends of the forest are not another's friends and destroy each other? Let all those who are opposed to village life, realize that these forests and forests to God are forests are in the village, and this is a violation of justice to them."

□ 10.

EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL

The following statements about alcohol are taken from Health Education, a publication issued for teachers in England by the Ministry's Stationery Office on behalf of the British Government's Board of Education. It will be seen that they relate the claims and allegations of anti-prohibitionists, who have become so conspicuous of late in the Times of India and other journals.

"The effect of alcohol on the nervous system is in degrees rather than in categories. The apparently stimulating action is due to its depressing action upon the highest and lowest developed part of the brain namely, that which is associated with the control of the intellect and of the will. The stimulus referred to above, cannot excite the left hemisphere to respond to the intellectual environment in which the drinker finds himself.

"Among the successive steps (of the action of alcohol) the following may be listed:

1. Weakening of self-control. Among the resulting effects of this weakening may be cited—

(a) Incoherence manifestly in regard to mathematical calculation or such kind of work as demands and eye-working.

(b) marred self-regulation of the body acted with its work and action.

(c) disregard of conditions normally regulating conduct of art and work.

(d) Impaired upon rules previously accepted.

(e) Impaired appreciation of the passage of time.

(f) talkativeness.

(g) an uncharacteristic frame of mind; quarrelsomeness.

2. Interference with the performance of skilled movements, indicated by clumsiness of behaviour by the shuffling of words, and by incoherent utterance (argot).

3. The blurring of the senses—of hearing, taste, touch, and vision.

4. The display of the primary emotions. Anger at one moment, irritation at another, shakiness with indecision and depression, laughter and tears.

5. The failure to respond to external stimuli, and the eventual lapse into a heavy sleep (pp. 44-45).

"If one takes such economic offences as, for example, embezzlement, fraud, damage to property, it has been held that a relatively high percentage of such offences is attributable directly or indirectly to drink (p. 50).

"The policy of certain law enforcement officers of late years has been to give maximum more favourable terms to road violators, as it has been recognized that such persons are on the whole likely to live longer than non-violators. Accident Insurance companies frequently allow to road violators a reduction of premium varying from 5 to 25 per cent (p. 41).

"Alcohol may lower the resistance of the body to disease (p. 47).

"The Royal Commission on Licensing (1926-27) point out that the use of alcohol as an aid to work is regarded as physiologically unsound.

"The Health of Mainland Workers Commission states 'A few of the workers are abstemious from alcohol in any form. These men are usually the most reliable men' (p. 50).

"Alcohol has been found to predominate in some strikes (p. 48).

"Alcohol usually weakens alcohol because they keep the harmful effect it may have on their strength and endurance" (p. 35).

General Booth of the Salvation Army was a wise man with some experience of the world and knew what he was talking about. Well, the General held that "more-truths of our poverty, squander, vice and crime spring from the poisonous tap-root."

"Wine," it has been said on equally high religious authority, "is a prophet," and "it hatches like a serpent and strength like an adder" (Proverbs XII, 1, XXIII, 34).

Y O B

"HINDI VINI" EXAMINATION

The Bombay Government has decided that all its employees except class IV should qualify themselves in Hindi by passing "one of the higher examinations conducted by the various Proctor Sahas in the State within a period of three years if they have not already done so." And for that it has recognized the Hindi Vinai examination (the fourth examination) of the Gujarat Vaidya, Ahmedabad, as one of the four qualifying examinations.

Many inquiries are made regarding this examination. So it has become necessary to make the announcement. The Gujarat Vaidya holds five graded examinations in Hindi and the Hindi Vinai examination is the fourth examination in the series. The first three examinations are the Hindi Patah, Hindi Dossari and Hindi Tassari. To qualify oneself for appearing in the fourth i.e. Hindi Vinai examination, the first three examinations, viz., the Hindi Patah, Dossari and Tassari have to be passed. Those who can prepare themselves can sit directly in the Hindi Dossari and having passed it they have to pass the Hindi Tassari to go to the Hindi Vinai i.e. the fourth examination.

These examinations are bi-annual and are held all over Gujarat in various centres, in the months of April and September every year. The application forms for the examinations are accepted some six weeks before the date of the examinations. Regarding the date of the examinations and the last date of the acceptance of the application forms an announcement is made in the papers at the suitable time.

The next examinations now will be held in the second week of April, 1932. Detailed information regarding the syllabus, the textbooks and the rules and regulations of the examinations can be had on sending 5 annas postage stamps from the undersigned. No preparation unaccompanied by postage stamps will be attended to.

Gujarat Vaidya,

Ahmedabad-9

9-8-31.

Gujarat Vaidya,

Parbhani-271.

Hindi Examination

HARIJAN

Sept. 13

1951

TANDON'S RESIGNATION

Circumstances left no alternative in Tandon and the A.I.C.C. but, for the former, to resign the Congress Presidency and, for the latter, to accept it. Tandon's conduct throughout was correct constitutionally and upright morally. He deserves highest tribute for preferring to relinquish the Presidency to accepting resignations given "under pressure." The mistake lay, as my humble opinion, in placing him in that position last year.

Jawaharlal has apparently gained his point. He will be able now to reconstruct the Working Committee as he may wish. Let us hope that this step will revitalize the Congress in the way he desires. This is possible only if the A.I.C.C. has installed him willingly and with an intelligent acceptance of his ideas. If it has accepted his leadership either helplessly or for considerations other than ideological, this hope will be a day-dream.

This is a serious situation. An organisation becomes sterile when it ceases to provide a succession of able leaders and is closed to dispute with the servants of its first man. Such feebleness results when it maintains its important places weak or sycophantist followers and gets rid of or drives out those who have the courage to honestly criticize their leader until they are convinced.

Neither the Nehru Government nor the Congress can become strong and helpful to the nation with such followers. As soon as they perceive that Nehru is no longer in the ascendant they will desert him and worship another strong man even with a drastically opposite ideology. It is such following which brings about the fall of both the leader and the organization with a crash.

I hope Jawaharlal will encourage in the reconstruction of the Working Committee men who want him to explain to them every step in his policy before endorsing it, and occasionally say hard things to him for the good of the administration. An organisation becomes vitalised and provides a succession of leaders to the extent it allows freedom to able and intelligent men to express themselves unreservedly and even dissent from the leader's opinion.

Words: 100/31

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REMOVAL OF ENGLISH

As stated in these columns before, the Government of Bombay wrote to the various Universities in the State "seeking your cordial co-operation in the proposed action and policy of Government in this vital matter" of the medium of instruction at the University stage of education. The letter of Government at the outset describes its policy regarding English and Hindi in secondary schools. As we know, "the teaching of English in the first three standards of secondary schools" has been discontinued and the letter adds that "from 1951 the teaching of English is permissible only in the 5th standard." On the other hand Hindi has been introduced in these first three standards of secondary schools and Government proposes that "it will be extended year by year upto the 11th standard."

From that the Government letter proceeds further to argue that:

"Pupils who complete the 11th standard and appear for the B.A. B.S. in March 1951 will have studied Hindi for 7 years and English for four or five years only at secondary stage. This is large number of students passing the B.A./B.S. in 1951 will have better knowledge of Hindi than of English."

And thereafter the letter concludes:

"For this reason it will be deemed advantageous to continue English as the medium of instruction for University teaching subsequent to 1951."

It is a sound statement so far as it goes. One only wishes that the arguments hopes entertained by Government come true. For, it is not true to say that "teaching of English is permissible only in the 5th standard", nor is it that Hindi is taught in all hops in Stds. V, VI, and VII. It is well known that Government has allowed optional English in Std. VII, to the great detriment of its own policy regarding English, thus endangering the smooth working and harmonious progress and efficiency of Std. VIII, which today receives both kinds of students—those who had English for a year in Std. VII and those who had not. Again Hindi is not taught in Std. V, VI and VII of our primary schools except in a few cases. Moreover, it is not compulsory there. Thus as both these counts Std. VIII has had a very bad beginning so far as the work of secondary schools goes. It will surely tell upon the work and progress of our secondary schools. Government will do well to remedy these defects before planning or suggesting anything for higher education.

There is another thing also which should be set right before going to do anything for the colleges. As we know, the regional languages are to be the media of secondary education. Again the SSCCE rules allow a student to replace English by Hindi, i.e. a student may pass his SSCCE without English. But the anomaly that persists as a vestige of the rule of English over the whole field of our education, is that the papers for the SSCCE are drawn and given to candidates in English and in spite of repeated demands both from the public as well as the

students, this state of things is not improved. This should have been done long ago. It must be done at least from March, 1951 onwards. Again English still continues as the medium of instruction for some subjects in the secondary schools. Will Government issue a directive in this regard? Like universality which has woven itself into the very texture of our society, English has had its sway over almost the whole of our educational, administrative and cultural fields. With out a basic and thorough-going change in the primary and secondary stages of our education it is futile to suggest or expect any sudden change to come over at the higher level. Government will do better if it mends first things first and mends the order at the first two stages of education which are entirely under its control and guidance.

Further consideration of the Bombay Government's letter will be taken up in the next issue.

S. S. JOSHI

M. P. DESAI

AN EXPLANATION

I have published in the last issue of *Hindustan Times* and my statements in the Congress crisis, a statement by Shri Parashottamdas Tandon in reply to me and my note on it. The reader will feel confused by the want of any relationship between my statement and Tandon's reply. I must explain it.

In addition to my published statement, I had written the article "Nehru-Tandon Controversy", which is being published today. When I prepared it, it was too late to include it in the last issue. Hence, I sent it to the *Hindustan Times* and the *Jamshedpur Gazette* so that it might be published before the meeting of the AICC. I also sent advance copies of it to Shri Tandon and Nehru along with the full texts of Vazir's and my statements. Shri Tandon assumed that my article must have been duly published and so immediately issued a statement in reply. The article, however, is published in both the papers only today. Thus Shri Tandon's reply became known to the public while the basis for it was unknown to it. The public will now understand the relevancy of Tandon's statement.

It will be noticed that Shri Tandon's public statement deals with only one of the points discussed by me in my article, "Nehru-Tandon Controversy". The rest, equally important, are omitted.

Wardha, 7-9-51

K. S. MAHESHWARI

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NEHRU-TANDON CONTROVERSY

The situation arising out of the Nehru-Tandon controversy is apparently an internal affair of the Congress. But it may easily develop into a matter of great importance to the whole nation, with representative results.

I believe that under the new shrouded writing out of independence the President of a party tries to a prompt response of being elected the leader of the Parliament and tried to assume the responsibility of the Prime-Ministry of the country in that party has a majority in the (Indian) Parliament. The leader of the party in the House and of the opposition as a whole cannot be two different individuals. The post-independence writer that the Congress President was the elected leader of the Congress and the Prime Minister of Government were synonymous. It has now to be stated, revised that the convenience of organization were possible the Parliament, there might be a Chairman capable of relieving the Prime Minister (Chairman) from routine work and acting as an interpreter of Government policies and measures to the outside public and to the lay members of the party. But he cannot control the Prime Minister in his administration. If he insists that the Prime Minister is immature or disloyal the position and reputation of the Congress he may report to the AICC. That body of course, has the right to dismiss him. If he has lost its confidence, in that case it would be necessary to elect a new leader (i.e. a new Prime Minister and a new Cabinet).

If Shri Nehru is to be dismissed after the Party in the Parliament can do so, or the AICC. If both of them want him to continue, and if the post of the President is kept separate the leader must be subject himself to be set in his place.

In the case of the Presidential election last year I had stated:

"I think that the Congress should consider the election of the President as, in a way, a vote on the Prime Minister. If they want the present Prime Minister to continue to govern the country they should give him a President, who will be a source of strength. If not also temptation to him. If they want him to leave that office they should give him a President who will be a thorn in his side."

I held the same view still.

As I judge the situation the Congress as the whole knows is becoming perfectly well, the present body of Congressmen have Nehru with all his merits and demerits. They love him whole and adore him for his merits, and forgive him for his faults. However regrettable the situation might be for a long-year old organization the fact stands that the AICC is not in a position to suggest any other man, into whose hands it would deliver the Presidency of India—with confidence and the general approval of the people. Instead of giving angry with PMD for remaining in what he did to be able to have kept easily an unbiased perception of able leaders, it is angry with Jawaharlal for getting too big for it.

Congress leaders should have known sufficiently that Nehru and Tandon, though each of them individually an honorable man were mutually incompatible and it should not have tried to join them together. But they tried the experiment and have realized that the Congress struggle is unable to turn the earth. The wise course is to retire the mistake.

The people are not clearly told what Nehru's grievance is against Tandon. Nehru's views are well known. He is an internal limited. He does not want India to enter into any of the power blocs. He believes in the Nation in one of individualism and peace without surrendering to its bullying. He is correct in war. He knows he is a friend of the Muslims, the Christians and of the minorities and cannot think of allowing to them a status lower than that of the present and called Hindu. He is not a supporter of any communal culture and does not think that because a particular community there is very large majority of India he should be the ruling and exclusive

culture of India. Tagore and his people represent the upper class of orthodox Hinduism, with the rest of Jains, Muslims added to it. They worship the past in memory of reform of social institutions and would like measure less different customs as much as possible. Nehru is a Marxist, and a cosmopolitan. He governs India, but regards her as only a part of a greater region, namely the world, and his social eye sees the picture of India as she should look in 1950 A.D. He would like to see it well established on that path, which he is still able to see. Several Hindu leaders, perhaps Tagore and his followers also regard the period between 1920 and 1950 as that of Hinduism, Hinduism and Islam for India. To Nehru there has been no period of absolute darkness, struggle there was of course of every stage as there is now. And even in the most dark stage the struggle ultimately led to progress. It is not a descent from Surya Pura to Kali Pura, but a gradual evolution from inferior to superiority of the nation. He does not notice the Muslims for having ruled India for some centuries and would not wipe out every thing that they might have left. He does not hate the British for having ruled India and would not change the names of New India's roads named after the British and Victoria or remove the statues of British monarchs. There is no trace of "return to the past" in him. In my mind Nehru is an individual with a strongly Marxist outlook. He does not fit in the Gandhian economic programme, because he supports in it the weakness of the old and backward side—a spirit of "return, first". When he will feel convinced that the shudras and the plebs of India are not their oppressors of 1930 or before, but producers of what we equally with him want the world to be like in 1950 A.D. I have a hope that he will be a more ardent admirer of the shudras than now. But that is in God's hands.

For the present he differs from us in his economic approach, and as every one knows constructive workers are severely skilled in his economic programme and politics.

On all these matters Tagore and his colleagues have a different way of thinking. On international and communal matters even if they have already declared their views in favour of the Anglo-American bloc, and the supremacy of the Hindu culture and Hinduism, they are on the economic side, even if not all of them are capitalistic, rather than British-inclined. Their personal character and education is not always suited with the declared aims and resolutions of the Congress. Some of them would be more appreciative right in the Hindu Mahasabha and similar bodies than in the Congress.

Congress hopes to win the elections. Does it want to continue the service of Britishers? If so, it is its duty to see that he does not get much British-inclined in his own party whose views on grave matters are different from his. If the work of the collection of candidates is to be done by Tagore and all some of his views are in very sharp. Every time he would have to face up and he would be constantly told that he was slacking and not acting democratically. It is not fair to him.

Of course the Congress has a right to revise its policies, if the majority of Congressmen are so inclined. In that case I should frankly ask Nehru and the people of his way of thinking to leave the Congress or remain in a minority and endeavour to secure their majority. They must of course inform Nehru of the Presidency immediately.

The charge that Jawaharlal is wanting for democracy seems to me to be quite groundless. The information that, being the head of the State and Minister of the Army and the Police when he is elected in time to night, would himself as a dictator appear to me very unthinkable. There is no fear of my own being happening in the case of Jawaharlal Nehru. When leaders democracy for more intensely than those who speak of it. There is rather ground for an

apprehension of the opposite type. Surely, an attempt to perform a coup d'etat by the reactionary elements, and maintain an oppressive Hindu feudal regime. Gandhi was believed to be an enemy of the Hindu, and he would have to be well considered.

As suggested by me more than once during the last three years, if the Congress wants to build for the future, and to function as a well-knit, homogeneous and socially solid party organisation with a reasonably progressive outlook, I heartily suggest that it should combine the goals of the leader of the Congress Party and the Congress Front, and be satisfied with electing a Chairman and an Executive Committee to work under him for non-party necessary work. This body should be appointed with an eye to keep in existence a good use of tradition and achievement of Congress history. There it should be a body of persons whose approach to various important and demanding problems and plans are, as much as possible, identical with those of the Prime Minister. Others who the Congress President, with his Cabinet and the Prime Minister with his Cabinet can hardly feel at ease with each other and money or later one would have to leave or suppress himself.

Wardha 14/9/61

J. D. BHAMBHANI

THIS PICTURE AND THAT

Satyagrah by Welsh Nationalists

(and application to the Army)

(From Sir Francis Low)

London, August 21.

Some demonstrations of the civil disobedience days in India were witnessed yesterday in Wales when 15 men and women sat down four deep on the roadway to prevent army horses from entering or leaving an army camp at Trawsfynydd, in Merioneth.

When horses approached, the Welsh satyagrahis stretched themselves at full length in front of the vehicles thereby compelling them to stop. This unusual demonstration was undertaken by the Welsh Nationalist Party as a protest against the requisitioning by the War Office of a further 5,000 acres of land for army purposes. It is claimed by the Welsh Nationalists that the requisitioning of the land "would gravely harm Welsh national life" and that for the Government to disregard the Welsh people's conviction could be described "as nothing less than shameful aggression."

Among those who lay down on the road were the Vice-Principal of the Brecon Congregational College and several Ministers. The satyagrahis were called off their by the afternoon out of sympathy for the police who, however, did not arrest any of the demonstrators.

(From The Times of India, Sept. 2, 1961)

And

II

Satyagrah in Darbhanga

(By Shri Bhakprasadgagan Chaudhary)

In the village of Maru, about 9 miles from Darbhanga, the Government constructed an embankment at a cost of Rs. 4,000/- for "irrigational purposes". The embankment, it was calculated, would irrigate 25 to 40 acres of land. Some time later, floods rushed on to lands to the north of the embankment, putting the crops and the houses in danger. The villagers approached the officers with a request to break the embankment. Their request was granted.

When the officers along with the police came to the spot to break the embankment? On getting to know this, the villagers of the south ceased saying that the flow of water might damage their crops and homes. The officers perpetrated no action that day.

But the next day they returned fully armed as a protest, the villagers, among whom were some women, lay down on the embankment. The police opened fire and 5 persons including 4 women succumbed to bullets. From the reports published, it does not appear that the soldiers had committed any act of violence. The soldiers injured were admitted to the Barabunga Hospital.

It appears that the Government follows no carefully thought-out plan at all in constructing roads and dams. Consequently, at one place they create a dearth of water, and at another people suffer from its excess. Even the Marwa in North Bihar is attributed to the way the Government follows in constructing various roads. And when suffering follows and there is resistance by the people, they are sought to be suppressed by police and soldiers.

(Translated from Hindi)

LITERACY OR KNOWLEDGE?

(By Narayan Gopal)

In a small Indian village less than two hours by car from Calcutta I spoke to one of the most conservative folk I have been my pleasure to meet anywhere in the world. He was a farmer of 50 years, the leading citizen of the village, renowned in the area for his knowledge of Hindu religion and philosophy and for his profoundness. However, he connected through an interpreter. After about forty minutes of philosophical exchange, however, by the farmer's questioning, whether I put up to leave, I expressed the hope we might be able to continue our discussion by correspondence after I returned to the United States.

The farmer hesitated before saying anything, then looked down at the ground while the interpreter translated the reply.

"Our friend is deeply concerned at the suggestion that you and he correspond but regrets he is unable to do so as he has never been taught how to read or write. He would be glad to correspond through a brother-in-law but there is no one in this village or the next who is qualified for such work. But he is grateful indeed for your kind thought."

In Madras, following a lecture at the University, a young man of about thirty got up to ask a question about political opportunities in America. I did as best as I could in the five minutes I had been given to budget for such questions. After the talk, however, I sought him out and offered to send him material from here in three days' time. Then I thought that a pen and pencil to write down his name and address.

"If it would not offend you," he said in English with an accent that revealed some slight Indian influence at least, "I should be grateful if you would write my name and address down for me. I have never learned how to write—in English or Hindi. I understand and speak English because for eight years I was a learner for an English gentleman who was kind and patient with me. I am intending to go to an adult school so that I may read and write English, and perhaps some day I may be able to send for myself the material you will send me."

Incidents such as these were repeated perhaps a dozen or more times during my visit to India. And each time I had the same feeling of extraordinary shock. It was difficult to reconcile the ease and frequency with which illiteracy and intelligence went together. When you come from a part of the world where the only persons who don't sign their own names are idiots or idiots, names you can't readily remember, placed in the idea that people can be well educated, industriously and yet have no contact with the written word.

There is very little real contact between the world of events and ways and the world of the village. This is not necessarily the result of the widespread illiteracy but of the fact that the two worlds are separate and apart. When you get things or keep others outside one of the large cities you have left behind just a way of life as far removed from the life of the village as the pre-Christian world is from the twentieth. This is not by way of saying progress, for, I am speaking to you just that there are material values inherent in the Indian village way of life which have not been reached by the modern world. The point I am trying to make is that the gap between the life and thought of the educated few and the uneducated many is so wide and deep as to be almost unbridgeable. Geographically, historically, and politically, the village is a sphere of life. Whether to express facts or more of a mixture of which he is a part than a well-defined nation, which has jurisdiction over him in many respects and to which he has special obligations.

An English journalist in Calcutta told me of an experience he had in a village some twenty miles from the city. He was interviewing some people about progress in India since the British had left and discovered that some of these people didn't even know the British had gone. I remembered finding an address in India, but did go into village after village where the names of Roosevelt, Truman, Churchill, Lister and others were ordered or that the name Mahatma I spoke to village after village were completely in the dark about Communism and democracy or atomic energy or the Korean War or the Civil War in China or the United Nations or any of the major issues and events that dominate the times. In one or two instances, I met men as I have seen, I met women who were educated with the same of Mahatma Gandhi.

What does this widespread illiteracy and lack of knowledge add up to? It would be a serious handicap for us to conclude that the folk of the Indian people are backward or uneducated or stupid. The products of the West for measuring intellectual capacity or cultural wanting are something out of place when applied to India. Many of the Indian people may be uneducated about the material struggle going on in the world today and they be unable to read or write but their personalities are so richly integrated as those of any people in the world. Whatever the shortage of literacy skills, there is certainly an shortage of intellectual awareness or awareness. They were ignorant in the past but that there is a highly developed sense of justice and moral obligation which would enable the administration of kingdoms and otherwise look. A discussion about the purpose in life or about man's relationship to his fellow can be stimulating and revealing, and though your correspondents may be unable to read or write, you are not afflicted by any lack of philosophical understanding.

(Adapted from the Saturday Review Vol. April, 1941)

AN ATHRIST WITH GANDHI

With Introduction by Rao K. G. Mohandas

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(G. Ramachandra Rao)

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prosperity. Once again the destiny of the Indian civilisation was both bitter and sweet. Indian civilisation was tremendously affected and in fact a new composed in the process of formation. A new way of living and thinking has been introduced. The new thought-currents, like Buddhism, Communism, etc., have flowed from the West and they have come to stay.

Necessarily there is a struggle between the two. I believe that ultimately Indian culture will lose nothing thereby. The scum will be washed off, and a new composed culture will be produced. I say this because in spite of a great import of new ideas and knowledge from the West India has not ceased to produce profound original teachers, thinkers and investigators all along. Of course, in the present formative stage, we witness both good and evil.

The Varna Invention

Though I had not directly attended to the Communist problem of Hyderabad so far, ever since Gandhiji's death I have been watching it and keeping myself informed of its violent developments. I consider that disorderly and lawless activities peaceful as they were, did not deserve me, because I knew that the birth of a new culture has always been accompanied with blood-baths in the past, and hence there is nothing new in it. What is needed is not to get panicky, but to keep our heads cool and find peaceful means of resolving the conflict.

The Government have kept a special police force in Telangana to restore peace. Policemen are not expected to think out and initiate reforms. They can only use their arms and strike terror. If it were a question of clearing a forest of tigers, their employment would be quite useful. But here they have to deal with human beings, however mischievous and misguided. There is a new idea and a goal behind these activities, and where a new ideal is born mere repression cannot crush it. Now that the Government do not understand this, but they have a responsibility to protect life and property, and so I do not blame them for the measures employed by them.

But I had all along been seeking a better remedy while I (Chavakuntla) — Move on, my Mr. Vedar and I thought that a tour through the district was essential to seek it. But I wondered how I should do it. Thought develops during a tour. But the tour which does that is not the one undertaken in modern times through motor cars, railway trains and airplanes. In older days horses and camels were considered to be the vehicle conveyances. They could cover as many as two hundred miles in a night in an emergency. But teachers like Buddha, Mahaveer, Kabir, Nanak, Ramanand, Chaitanya, preferred to go on foot in order to deliver their messages far and wide. Thought becomes clear, mature and remodelled while you walk.

That I intended to do so, I walked to Rajahmundry from Myrion on the way I was making a solution of the problem which the Communists tried to solve in their own way. One day, the story of the Varna Invention flashed through my mind and I realised that I was. I took it up and continued tapping gobs of lead.

(To be concluded)

SUBSTITUTE FOR ENGLISH

In the previous issue of the *Horizon* we saw how the Government of Bombay in their letter to the Universities of the State have argued that it will be unwise educationally to continue English as the medium of instruction for University teaching subsequent to 1955.¹ What then should be substituted for it? Government answers this question in their above mentioned letter in the following manner:

However it is universally admitted that in University education it is impossible to a foreign language, the ordinary level of popular education can never be raised.²

Nature will demand to this, and will naturally expect that the major Indian languages of the land, which are spoken by masses of people, will obviously be named as the substitutes for English. Instead of this the letter goes on for a special pleading and says:

"The fact that the national language is called to the national language in the State and is derived mainly from the same source is a factor which distinguishes Hindi from English in this respect."

I do not know how far this philological opinion of Government is true or warranted, by Karmada asked to think.³ And which is the same source of the three main languages of the Bombay State? But we may not go into discussing this special pleading, our concern why it is false. It is asserted to be superior a language other than the student's own, as medium of instruction, which is untested, viz. Hindi for higher education in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka.

A further argument for this culturally and educationally bad suggestion is given by Government as follows—

"Further, it is provided in the Indian Constitution, Hindi is to replace English in all the spheres of our national life (Article 344). At the latest by 1960, the replacement of Hindi as the medium of instruction for colleges education appears to be one of the first steps in the direction of facilitating the changeover from English to Hindi."

I invite the reader to examine how far it is true to say that the Constitution of India provides for the replacement of English by Hindi "in all the spheres of our national life". The Constitution says, Hindi is to be the official language of the Union. It further says that the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of the State.

Thus the Constitution of India definitely provides for the legitimate and proper use of the great Indian languages mentioned in its schedule VIII. There is absolutely no mention in the Constitution regarding the use of Hindi as the medium of instruction. This is a question that can only be decided, not by the administrative but mainly by the cultural, democratic and educational needs of our people. And as the President of the Union said recently at the Congress University, looking to the forerunners of our Constitution and "the language policy best calculated to serve the objectives we have in view", "all kind of education—primary, secondary and university—should be available to every linguistic group of any appreciable size in its own language."

The Government letter says at the end that the transformation should be effected smoothly, efficiently and expeditiously and it adds that it will be in the best interests of the community in general and of the student world in particular. This is obviously a questionable proposition. The letter acknowledges that the S S C E students in March 1963 will have studied Hindi for 7 years. But what about the teachers in higher education? How are they to do their work in Hindi which most of them do not know? The subterfuge that they have ready at hand at present is merely their own language. And merely the language of the student, at the system—that only and not the Hindi acquired in a manner within a few years—can be in his best interests. In the circumstances" as the Radhakrishnan Report says in III, para 47, "while national needs compel the recognition of Hindi (Hindustani) as India's Federal language, it is difficult to assign to it the role played by English." And as it further affirms, "From the point of view of education and of general welfare of a democratic community it is essential that their study should be through the mother-tongue of their regional language." And from the mere point of immediacy and expediency also, it admits that "we recognize that in the near future the regional languages will be the principal media of instruction at all stages in all provinces." It is pointed to see that the Government of Bombay did not recognize the force of all this and took the view which is neither in the best interests of the community in general nor the student world in particular, nor is it helpful to the growth of democracy and sound education in the State. Such a grave mistake is a dangerous thing, and if I may hazard a guess it is born of a too administrative view of the matter. But that brings us to a new point which I leave off here for separate treatment hereafter.

14-9-64

K. P. DESAI

TO THE STUDENTS

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CORRUPTION AND ELECTIONS

[Mr P. M. Desai the member of the Kerala State Table Group Discussion, has sent copies of two notices from passed by the group on 14/9/64. As they are of general interest, I give below important extracts from them. —Eds]

Resolution No. 4

A declaration and practical demonstration should be made by enlightening people that a life based on truth in every dimension of the can be a practical, workable proposition on this earth.

The practice of collecting political funds needs more vigilant scrutiny. Political propaganda in the form of newspapers, pamphlets etc. are highly commendable. The provision for public speeches before elections and the supply of agents at election booths have meaning and value in them, but the candidates providing transport and paying money to influence voting is an unhelped corruption. Because at such a cost is not worth having. Because there is no sufficient public opinion against such corrupt practices, political funds are built up by questionable means. A political party with discipline in the ideal has no justification to tolerate and even resolve at such practices. Public opinion is to be created that we shall not have candidates elected under such conditions.

Candidates contributing fair amounts can build up party funds commendably with usual expenditure, leaders too to make transport for any other purpose, and the public should be vigilant in the matter.

Newspaper propaganda has considerably deteriorated in the country. Exaggerations and misrepresentations and inducing personal attacks have to be controlled.

In regard to education in educational institutions, declaration and written elections corruption has been declared as the biggest with the advent of political parties and with the "increase" of education. The habit of approaching the candidates and the election authorities with a view to influencing them, has been developed in the most subtle ways. It shows public opinion and corrupt disciplinary action are called for. In all spheres, Hindu must now be respected and not shown as a cover for favouritism towards Government servants, politicians and others who are able to exert personal influence.

Corruption has often become a dirty name of corruption and corruption. In any case personalities and conductors in Government should not be considered as candidates and if they want should not be supported by the electorate.

Resolution No. 11

If the public are to support any candidate in the next election, the parties or local bodies are to build up a written understanding by the candidate—

(i) that he would spend at least 5 days in a month in the constituency addressing the public bodies in the area and meeting them during weeks when the Assembly or its Committee, of which he is a member is not in session, and

(ii) that he would resign within a week in case three-fourths of the elected Panchayat or Municipal members of the constituency in a meeting after offering him a chance to explain any alleged misdeeds or neglect, call on him to resign. Notice may be given also for the above matter to any party or person whom the candidate was elected.

It is also stipulated that preference will be given to candidates who undertake to maintain publicity in detail their election expenses and earnings as Assembly members or Ministers, including daily or travelling allowances, remuneration got for representation before Ministers and the Government on behalf of others and give them before the public.

We make an appeal before the next election of New India that no corrupt effort may be made to see that truth may prevail at all levels and in all departments of life including the political. India of Millions should should give the lead.

HARIJAN

Sept. 22

1950

CONTROLS AND HONEST LIFE

(By Shreekrishna Jais)

A friend from Ranchi, in a letter to Shri Madhusudan, writes

"You write in the course of an article ('The Congress Movement', October July 26, 49) 'It must be accepted even by demoralisation that the impact this of controls is to cause for their masters and corrupt practices. Good citizenship and honest life require upright conduct and honest change. It exists by the law, however (because it might appear as the part of every citizen)' This is perfectly true. But how is one to abide by the laws which are not valued and impracticable? Every one has to work his level and discharge their responsibility to the nation. We have worked for two years and have reached the conclusion through experience that, outside the the sole cause of the widespread corruption and moral degeneration of our people. The primary responsibility for this unfortunate state of affairs rests on the Government. The people are led to commit it to suffer consequences in their daily lives. I write this to you not out of any selfishness. I shall not believe you a corrupt example and leave it to you to judge.

People wanted their livelihood and supported their families through agriculture, trade services etc. even when India was not independent and we were ruled by the British and the worst work was had to be done. There was not so much corruption then. People distinguished between right and wrong between fair and unfair, and earned their livelihood honestly. From the very early days, Congress set its face against the way when the markets were impounded. Thousands of a few people have certainly made too much money through unfair methods, in collusion with the officers, but the majority have been distressed because with no means to support their families as in other villages.

In the Ranchi District, the Bihar Government has ordered the Municipality, Purnea and Purnea District Collector from 22nd May 1949. It says that, the price may not rise more than a rupee if rice or a rupee and a half of paddy is anywhere except a Government agent. The order applies to the Ranchi city also. Now, as rice is grown in the city it has to come from the villages. The normal channel through which it reached the consumers in the city from the producers in villages was this. The villagers brought the rice to small markets in the village market, where they sold it to small traders, called 'pachas'. The pacha sold it to the retailers and they brought it to the city to their carts and kept it in the price (except of their agents). From the price it was sold to the retailers of the city through the commission agents. The retailers in their turn brought it for sale in the markets and thus every one was able to get the rice at its proper price. The carters, having disposed of the rice, took back to the village markets where various sorts of pulses, oil, cloth, etc. were sold and thus made their livelihood, besides serving the people. They did it every week. But their living has been destroyed by the controls. A cart carries a load of about 20 mds. The above order forbids any one except a Government agent, from selling or purchasing more than a rupee of rice or a rupee and a half of paddy. Now, tell me how is a man to make his livelihood and support his family and children? The poor village villagers can neither vote the government nor is there any wrong and unfair, or Government officials to blame for this.

I may refer to one more matter in this month. One or two people contemplating protesting against the Government, order by stopping on the roadside in the open markets while working the Government, of all the due taxes but the Government officers put in charges thereby encouraging corruption and the black trade."

This is an important matter, and deserves serious consideration. First let us consider why the Government is led to make such detailed and complicated laws which result in so much inconvenience to thousands of people. If people show readiness to abide honestly by a few fundamental principles of conduct and law there would be no need to frame very strict laws. Thousands of prisoners live in a jail but very few try to escape. Still the jail rules and regulations have to be framed with an eye to the most dangerous of them. The result is that all prisoners, good and bad, have to suffer hardships. In the case of control rules we find that people actually try to circumvent these laws. How much blame can we then lay on the Government? If we can assure them that their plan will work well, and people will co-operate with them honestly I think the Government could be made to enact such rules as would cause the least hardship to the people. It is our duty therefore to render such help to the Government.

The British Government wanted to crush an nationalist movement. Hence they issued such offensive orders as attendance at the Police station etc. They were meant for humiliating the people or getting some reason to send them to jail. They created new offences through arbitrary laws. It was the duty of the people to defy these laws. But now we have our own Government. There is no conflict between the interests of the people and those of the Government. Normally the laws are made to serve the interests of the people as the Government understands them. Therefore we cannot think of violating them lightly. Nevertheless, there are instances which disturb our equanimity. Difficulties like those pointed out by the correspondents and others of the same class exist in many places and people ask for guidance. While we cannot advise infringement of laws, yet we think that in such cases observance of law is very difficult. It is an intriguing question, especially where it is evident that the mistake lies with the Government. The Government, at times in their excessive insistence on implementing particular economic policies do not take into account their effects on the comforts and livelihood of the masses. The ban on the manufacture of gar by jutees imposed last year is an instance of that type. Then there are officials who are led into passing unreasonable orders out of ignorance or under the influence of advisers who misguide them. At times corrupt subordinates help the enforcement of good laws or use them for harassing the public or favouring friends and relatives. Government themselves at

times create situations where people have no alternative but to evade the law. Some time back, they controlled the price of gram. Many people felt that it was unnecessary. Even if it was necessary, they should have controlled small-quantity prices of gram pulses also. But this was not done. Gram is mostly used in the form of pulses, and it is quite easy to change the farmer into the latter. The result was that gram continued to be sold at higher prices in the black market, and pulses correspondingly at a still higher price in the open market. Traders openly purchased gram pulses at these high prices. By the time the article reached the place where it was to be actually sold, the Government had issued another control order and fixed the price of pulses on the basis of their price for gram. The traders stood to lose, at the minimum, a third of their investments. No wonder then, that instead of going into bankruptcy they resorted to selling the commodity in the black market and tried to save their social status and themselves from economic ruin. This is not the only case of its kind because can be quoted where the prices of an article at both ends,—at the point of production, and at that of sale where it is carried at some expense—*are the same*. How can one carry on trade under such conditions?

Ordinary traders regard the fluctuation of prices to be the established custom of trade. The prices vary according as the demand goes up or down. One may partly feel fed up with a trader who is after excessive profits. But how can any blame attach to him who is merely earning enough for his livelihood? Some even argue that this breach of law is wrong only legally, but is not so morally; hence there is no unacceptableness in its infringement. But we must realise that even these laws are designed for the good of society, and hence it is improper and immoral to infringe them.

However, the problem, what is one to do where there is no alternative but to break the law, still remains. Well, I shall say, one may infringe the law if the situation is compelling, but one should be prepared to suffer its consequences. Defiance of the law and avoidance of the consequences that is, defiance of law under conditions of secrecy, is quite wrong. It is cowardly and hence unbecoming to resort to secrecy to serve one's convenience even though the consequences in question may be justifiable. If it is necessary to infringe the law, it should be done openly and the infringer must be prepared for the suffering that it may entail. The ordinary man will not be prepared to accept this advice, but the morally sensitive and the brave should have the courage to take this step. The courageous step may influence the Government officials to modify or withdraw their erroneous order.

Such perplexing questions will often crop up in the course of the Rastriya Life Move-

ment. It seems that ultimately a few good and honest people may have to take measures to Satyagraha. Satyagraha raises other questions such as the fitness to offer it, as also the particular positions on which it should be offered. These may be considered if and when the occasion arises. Those who think of resorting to it will seek guidance from proper quarters. But in the interest of moral principles, it is necessary that in case those who feel concerned about the growing corruption in the country feel called upon to disobey the law, they should do so openly and not covertly.

Bengaluru, 20-8-61

(From the original Hindi)

(Note: This Satya has been listed at the possibility of a case for Satyagraha, and of the conditions precedent for it. Let me urge that the Rastriya Life Movement is a necessary condition precedent. The only sanction for a successful Satyagraha movement is the righteousness of the cause. Before any step of the nature of Satyagraha can be contemplated it would be necessary to make every attempt to have the grievances redressed by other lawful means. A demand for reform can succeed if it is made by a body of persons, who have a reputation in law, and of whom it can be said with confidence that they are honest men. Hence the necessity for all people who want to lead an honest life to have local associations, and to help one another in their daily scrupulousness and to act as keepers of one another's conscience. —K. G. M.)

15-8-62

NEED FOR RE-ORIENTATION OF EDUCATION

(By B. G. Harb)

(The following is the speech delivered by Shri B. G. Harb, Bombay's Chief Minister, while addressing open the new and Great Wing of the R. D. High School, Bhat, on 14-8-61.)

Saying that the Bombay Government had given an important place to social, cultural and craft activities in the secondary education programme, the Chief Minister said:

"Each nation must evolve its own national system of education. There can be no real progress unless our educational workers and institutions go ahead with a new vision. We cannot borrow ready-made systems of education. This new vision has been given to us by the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. He found that mere mastery of the academic syllabus was of no use to our children. They must become more practical and creative and capable men and women of character."

"One would naturally ask the question whether there is need for including art and craft in the secondary schools curriculum. The old English schools opened in our country by our former rulers had an entirely different outlook from our own. People took to English education

because first they improved their financial position and status and, therefore, there was a rush to the black-robed professions. But our national leaders realised even then that the education provided to our children was unsuitable for the needs and aspirations of the country and did not make them self-reliant, independent, fearless citizens.

Need for a New Vision

"All the world over, modern education gave a very important place to activity in school long ago while in our schools it was only training which sustained and education was entirely derived from life. It did not produce men of initiative, enterprise ability and character, but created as we used to say, a slave mentality. We had to leave the old formal stereotyped and thrust approach following the prescribed pattern and make a new approach by blazing a new trail.

A Fruitful Channel of Expression

"One of the main educational reforms in advanced countries is the introduction of craft in school. It has been a recognised principle of modern education for many decades now, that practical and constructive work makes an extremely powerful appeal to children and youth. Practical work gives fruitful channels of expression to the inherent latent mental and physical energy which would otherwise express itself in unhealthy channels. You will find that in your own classroom there are some children who are 'difficult' as you call them. Give them some project to complete which will raise their interest. Introduce some craft work in your class and you will find that they will generally respond far beyond your expectations. In spite of the experience of the psychologists and educationists in regard to the advantages of craft work, we had not exploited this particular avenue of education for a long time. Even UNESCO has recently advised all nations to the same effect.

It Makes Them Practical People

"Craft work affords valuable opportunities for observation and reacts favourably on intellectual control. It has been found that children not having a higher intelligence quotient would also show better progress than they otherwise do if they are given some activity. Besides, introduction of craft makes them more practical people. Craft work to be really beneficial must be introduced in its true spirit and with seriousness. If it is introduced in small uninteresting doses it will become a subject of the syllabus which is mechanically taught and it will not have served its purpose. It must be stimulating to the intellect of our boys and girls, and the challenging constructive project must change their entire attitude and personality.

"In order to invigorate education with vigour and the real joy of life, it is essential that we should provide for our children opportunities for

doing real work and experiencing a sense of achievement of having created something of value and value. Let not the curriculum be conceived as a collection of subjects but as a combination of play activities, projects and constructive work. Craft work is necessary for creating a sense of the dignity of labour and giving full scope to the creative abilities of the children. It was Bernard Shaw who said, 'The training of our children in the industrial districts to escape from the schools to the factory is not caused by light tasks or shorter hours in the factory nor altogether by the temptation of wages nor even the desire for novelty but by the dignity of adult work and exchange of the humiliating facility to momentary slight from the lawless schoolmaster from which the grown-ups are free, for the stern but dignified pressure of necessity to which all tasks are subject'.

"I think there is a lot of truth in what Shaw has stated. The main point to bear in mind is the educative and productive aspect of craft which under no circumstances should be neglected. Craft education is not for show or exhibition but for real education and also for helping progress in other subjects.

Education of Art

"What is true of craft is more or less true of art also. Art education in schools should also not be divorced from life and the other school subjects. For the purpose of selecting crafts educationally soundly and economically suitable and practicable for the first three standards of the secondary schools, the Government appointed a Committee and the Committee has recommended nine crafts in addition to the three basic ones. For these crafts teachers will have to be trained and the Government is conducting some short-term training courses for the teachers of the Government and non-Government schools at five centres. I hope your school has already deputed teachers and got them trained.

"Craft work is only one part of the comprehensive reforms in the secondary education. Here the children should get some guidance and help to find their own aptitude. Here they will get the understanding of their obligations as citizens of an independent country. Here they must develop and build a good physique and a sportsmanlike team-spirit by plenty of games and here they should learn through actual experience the responsibilities of community life. Here also they should find through art and music some expression of and satisfaction to their emotions and ideas.

"All these, fostered with sincerity and intelligence and discipline are character-building activities which will give a moral and strong foundation to the students by creating an atmosphere and making the tone of the school which are sure to have a powerful and unconscious effect on the pupils."

measure of responsibility to all the languages. The term *sa-pravesh* was used in the Hindi translation of the Constitution. It is, therefore, the concrete example of the directive in Article 343 in its actual working and should be taken as the model for future development of Saravadeshik Hindi. Any book, whatever its worth, which reports that model can have no claim to Saravadeshik or National Hindi.

The Hindi-Hindustani controversy has fortunately ended finally and it would not serve any useful purpose to rehearse it. But I must try to remove what I consider to be the mis-understanding regarding it in the argument of Shri Bansi Hindustani in Article 341 is not the Saravadeshik Hindi or to put it in his own words "Hindi named in Article 341." The Hindi of Article 341 and the 'Hindustani' occurring therein cannot mean the same thing. That will make absurd reading of that Article. You have only to substitute the word Hindi for Hindustani in Article 341 to see the absurdity. The word Hindustani is used in Rule 39 of the Constituent Assembly Rules, as a generic term for both Hindi and Urdu. Hindustani means the local mixture of Hindi and Urdu spoken in ordinary parlance in and round about Delhi and some other places. It definitely does not contain the national language either of the present or in the making as envisaged in Article 341 of the Constitution.

(Note: I am rather unwilling to enter on the controversy of the form and name of the common language. Scholars are one of the major factors in the making of a language, popular writers and the masses who speak the language are another major factor. Sometimes the former and sometimes the latter prevail over the other. At times both may side by side. The most popular and widely read writer or composer contributes a very large share in shaping the language. Even his wrong usages become established and cannot be discarded by scholars and scientists.)

Even in terminology, though uniformity is valuable and should be secured as much as possible, that factor alone should not be stressed too much, and even carefully coined words might prove inaccurate or unsatisfactory some time later. Moreover, since scientific terms are often too long and pedantic for constant use even in scientific books and a short conventional name that can be popularly used have to be given to several things. The words organic and inorganic chemistry, and positive and negative electricity are instances of scientific terms which came to be regarded as inaccurate later on. But they have become handy and the new words, 'chemistry of carbon compounds and non-carbon compounds', and cathode and anode are unable to dislodge them. Innumerable

carbon compounds cannot be called by their full systematic names even as Group VI cannot be called by all his Christian names. These nick-names become standard names. And we know that the latest fashion is to refer to them by their initials only as UN, AINEC, AIDC etc. All the scholars of India may have unanimously approved favor for 'financial', and all the Gujarati grammarians will doubtlessly regard *amra* as absolutely corrupt, but *amra* may not be able to dislodge *amra* from the current vocabulary of Gujarati. *Amra* is certainly wrong grammar, but in Gujarati one *Amra* uses *Amra* will be regarded a pedant. Languages do not follow the law of geometrical figures. Let us all try to achieve the best, but not quarrel over or worry too much if it takes hybrid, corrupt or multiple forms new and then.

It seems unnecessary to harp on about the interpretation of the word Hindi in Article 341. Who will draw the boundary line between the so-called Saravadeshik and Pradeshiak forms of Hindi? Will it be possible to compile a grammar or dictionary of Saravadeshik Hindi without the help of those of the Pradeshiak Hindi? And will the writers of Pradeshiak Hindi be able to boycott a good book written by a writer of Saravadeshik Hindi or Hindustani? We might introduce hundreds of Indian words in the English language. But can we say that the Oxford Dictionary and Webster's Grammar are so authentic to us? Similarly Pradeshiak Hindi will have to be accorded a place of honour in the development of Saravadeshik Hindi. — K. G. M.)

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HARIMAN

26 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

"LOVE OF HUMILITY"

(By M. E. Gandhi)

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little parish hut,

help us to search for Thee throughout that fair land.

winning by Ganges, Brahmaputra and Jamuna

Give us receptiveness, give us open-heartedness,

give us Thy humility, give us the ability and willingness

to identify ourselves with the masses 'of India

O God, who dost help only when man feels utterly humble,

grant that we may not be isolated from the people

we would serve as servants and friends

Let us be embodiments of selflessness, embodiments of godliness,

humility personified, that we may know the best better

and love it more

Wardha, 12-9-54

IF

IF you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you,
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too,
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise

IF you can dream — and not make dreams your master,

If you can think — and not make thoughts your aim,

If you can meet with triumph and disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same,

If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,
And stooped and build' are up with worn-out tools

IF you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk it on one turn of pitch and toss,
And lose, and start again at your beginnings
And never breathe a word about your loss,
If you can face your fears and nerve and know
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the will which says to them: —

"HOLD ON"

IF you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,

Or walk with kings — nor lose the common touch,

If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,

If all men count with you but none too much,

If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Tours in the earth and everything that's in it,
And — which is more — you'll be a MAN,
my son!

— EDWARD KIPING

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A PILGRIM IN QUEST OF TRUTH

(By Joungharik Nakari)

[The following extracts are taken from the American-Italian edition. Forward to the first volume of *Giandotti*, an extensive biography of Gandhi in eight volumes, by Morley. It is a translation. The first volume covers the period up to 1920. The periodical publication is a 40 page edition each volume costing \$6.25. That Translator was working on the biography while Gandhi was still alive and while his quest, it is obvious that the biographer has labored for many years over the work, and spared no pains in making it ethical and beautiful. I hope the publisher will bring out a cheap edition for the common reader and also to translations in Indian languages. Distributors: Times of India, Bombay 1.

—H. S. H.]

We are too near him to judge him correctly. Some of us came into intimate contact with him and were influenced by that dominating and very lovable personality. We were him terribly now for he had become a part of our own lives. With us the personal factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in that man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future that towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all creatures and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the needs of his day, and those particular aspects may come to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unambiguously of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Believers may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any conviction and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited

idea of truth as he sees it. Will he act upon it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an alternative, even if? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame that question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual leading his individual and rather isolated life may endeavour with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of leading and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader he must lead and not merely follow the choices of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others for along the right path of human progress. If he acts solely according to his own lights, he acts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself beneath others to his own ideal and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to pursue truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideal, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in reaching and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who embodied and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes were often full of laughter and yet were pools of infinite sadness. But the picture that is dominant and most

significant is as I saw him, marching, staff in hand, to Dandi on the Salt March in 1930. Here was the pilgrim on his quest of Truth, quiet, peaceful, determined and fearless, who would continue that quest and pilgrimage, regardless of consequences.

Philippa Kachnia,

June 10, 1961

GANDHIISM AS I UNDERSTAND IT

(By Len Yonke)

When one reflects upon the life of Gandhi, and tries to place him in some category among the great, the great of the present century, one is completely puzzled and is compelled to reject one category after another. Shall one say he is a religious leader? But he is more than that. Shall one say he is one of the great spiritual thinkers whose names are likely to reflect this generation? Surely, that would be inadequate. And as one goes on and on. Was there one like him in the history of mankind in the last century, or perhaps in the last five centuries? And if impossible Gandhi cannot be compared with any one in the last five centuries, or millenniums, then what is he?

There is a long while the human race produced one of those great spirits who belong to all mankind and whose influence upon men shines across the centuries in politics and the politically great were not good. In our days, President Wilson was good, but he failed, and President Roosevelt was merely good. I had that I want yet Gandhi is the same class with Tolstoi, for Gandhi, like Tolstoi, was both good and good. Surely Gandhi belongs to the same, and is among the very few great human spirits that ever walked the earth.

But in a sense, Gandhi is an exclusively Indian phenomenon. I mean it is a phenomenon that can be produced in India and nowhere else, not in China, not in the western world. The fact is, Gandhi is a modern saint, and because it is generally impossible for the modern world to produce a saint, we are not yet aware of it, or refuse to believe it. I remember that Lord Halifax once said that if he, as Viceroy of India, went up to the roof of the Viceroy's palace and prayed for light to solve a political problem, his home government would thank him warmly and have been relieved. That is what I mean. A saint today in any country except India would be shut up in an asylum. For the appearance of a saint, and for him to reach the position of public leadership, the public the masses must believe in the power of good over evil. Only when the saint and his people live in an era in which it is still possible for the public to believe in the efficacy of moral power, can he reach that immediate stature of greatness in the public eye. In a country where people believe in the power of good over evil as Bondaya, and the power of evil over good between Monday and Saturday, that is obviously impossible.

The phenomenon of Gandhi, however, has a universal meaning. Gandhi's success in gaining politics to religion was a stupendous accomplishment (-muni?). People responsible for the conduct of nations are daily faced with the problem of choice between the good and the expedient. I know that President Wilson, as a good Episcopalian, read his Bible every day. Nevertheless, President Wilson compromised with his principles when he was faced with actual politics. To Gandhi, compromise with human evil would be unthinkable. Roosevelt's conception of statesmanship of course never went beyond the principles of horse-trading. A little cynic sells horses and a great cynic sells nations. Because as world leader can come out with a clean bill of moral health, we must come to the conclusion that the joining of politics and religion is an almost superhuman task, which Gandhi has consistently followed and accomplished in his lifetime. If England had offered Gandhi a choice of freedom for India, with compromise on his principles on the one hand and slavery and going on with his high and mighty moral principles on the other, I am sure Gandhi would have rejected freedom for India and chosen slavery. That is why he is great, and that is what marked him off from all the Chamberlains and Roosevelts. But why would Gandhi have preferred temporary slavery if the choice had to be made? Because he believed in the eventual victory of the good, because from the tradition of Hindu thought he had the courage to bet on the morally right against the politically expedient.

Gandhi therefore stands for the idea of the reality and efficacy of moral power. This is a Hindu and totally alien concept in the modern world today. From my study of Indian philosophy, it seems to me that Indians believe in the conservation of effects of human action and the indestructibility of the spirit, or vishvavastu, talk about the conservation of energy and indestructibility of matter. Of this absolute faith in the efficacy of moral power, Gandhi's whole life has become a living example and a symbol.

If I were asked to say in a word what Gandhi is, I would not know how to describe him. All I would say would be that he is the "best of India."

A collection of Gandhi's teachings on love and selflessness and non-violence will not produce more than a tiny ripple in the ocean of modern thought, because it is destined that teachings about non-violence and reality of moral power shall not sell like hot cakes in this modern world. But Gandhi's life and example which gave meaning and force to the doctrine of moral power shines with such a pristine clarity that men far apart in time shall reflect upon this example and its meaning.

(From Len, March '60)

SACRIFICIAL GIVING OF LAND—II

(After Vaidya's speech at Wanganui, downloaded from the last issue)

Success of the Mission

I was not confident of the result. How can a few drops of nectar answer a sea? But God put strength into my words. Somewhere people understood the spirit. They realized that the events that were happening would bring a revolution in their life, which was beyond the capacity of Governments. They began to give free gifts of land, at times beyond my expectation. For instance, at one place 80 acres of land were needed for Harpans and a single land-owner gave one hundred. A land-owner of Nalgunda, who had donated 50 acres already, later on gave 500 following a settlement of his family dispute. It was a fourth of his total share.

But this is a mere beginning and a gesture. The spirit must spread and catch all possessors of property. A gift of a few acres out of a thousand cannot solve the whole problem. Moreover, it is not a problem of one or two districts; it is not even the problem of India alone. It is a world problem,—a revolutionary programme. And when a revolution in the way of life is contemplated, it must take place in the mind. The mere material gift of a hundred acres out of ten thousand cannot be sufficient. As a friend and well-wisher of both the rich and the poor, I could feel happy only if I could make the rich look upon the poor as members of their own family. I desired them to consider how they would take the birth of one more son to them. Suppose an owner of 10000 acres has four sons, and a fifth is born later. Would he not have to make five shares of his property instead of four? I asked the land-holders to regard me as an additional heir born to them, and give me my share for the benefit of the poor.

A Psychological Revolution

A psychological change like this cannot be brought about by war and violent revolution. It can be brought about only by the methods of Buddha, Christ, Ramana and other great teachers.

Ultimately it has to be the dedication of one's self for the well-being of all. Those who have must look upon those who have not as a mother looks upon her hungry child. She feeds it before she feeds herself; she starves before she allows it to starve. Let those who possess the strength, skill and knowledge of producing wealth, or the power of holding it, dedicate them to the service of the poor. I desire that the love necessary for doing this is generated in the heart of every one.

I had an interview with some of the Communists in the jail at Wanganui. One of the questions which they put to me was to the following effect: "Do you want to crucify the rich in their old houses? Do you think that their hearts have changed?" They simply deceive you." I did not discuss these questions there because I

had given them only to study their minds. But here is my faith. If God dwells in the hearts of all harpans, and controls every movement of theirs even their breathing, and if life is the source of all cooperation, a change of heart is always possible. The Lord of the Ages is eternally present, and if He decides a change, that change has to be. When a man falls into a stream, it is not only his own capacity of swimming, but also the force of the current that helps him, and it does so whether he likes it or not. Similarly, when the current of the age goes that way, it will help him in changing his heart. In our present world, burning with discord and quarrels, if God desires to sprinkle a few drops of love through me I shall gladly be the instrument. I took lands even from the poor. At one place a person owning only one acre of land donated a gaudha (1/100th of an acre). I was asked what I would do with such small pieces of land. I said, I would ask the owner to till that gaudha as a teacher, and advise the produce for the benefit of the poor. That a man who owns only one acre is prompted to part with a gaudha out of it is certainly a revolution. It is an ideological revolution, and where there is an ideological revolution, life marches towards progress. Our country has produced men who have renounced large kingdoms as if they were worthless stones.

Thought-force has no limitations. The light of a new idea often brings about a radical change in a man's life. We have seen great men, the power of whose thoughts has transformed the lives of others. It was with the idea of spreading the spark of thought in others that I accepted even small donations. And when Vasana-like I accepted land from the rich, God blessed and assisted them that they need no longer run away to the cities to save their lives. It meant that by accepting lands from them, I generated a healthy thought in their minds. There are good and evil thoughts in the minds of every one. And when a good thought enters the mind, it starts a struggle with evil thoughts. Ultimately, the good thought wins. It might take time, but there is no reason to think that the donors are hypocrites. I grant that these donors must have committed many acts of injustice, in coming by the thousands of acres of land. How is it possible for an individual to acquire so much land partly? But in the hearts of even these people there will now start a struggle and they will begin to think of the injustices they have committed. God will grant them wisdom and they will give up doing wrong. This is how a change of heart takes place in man.

The time has come when we should enlarge our hearts and part with our belongings to others. Giving is a divine weapon—don't misapprehend. These weapons, as arms weapons, cannot stand before it. They melt away before it, because they are made of selfishness, and not of universality or equality, like a divine weapon.

When a gift is given, we may hope that it will generate purity of mind, nobler love, feelings of brotherhood and friendliness and love for the poor. When a person begins to feel concerned for another, a feeling of equality manifests itself and feelings of hatred and enmity are unable to survive. Kindly has no absolute existence. Like light, virtue is power; a positive substance. Sin is like darkness, without any power of its own. It is negative — absence of substance. Carry light to age-long darkness and the latter will disappear in no time. Similarly when virtue makes its appearance, hatred and enmity cannot survive its presence. This *Bhava-daya-pada* (hard-gifts cannot) is an application of non-violence as experienced in transformation of life itself. I am only an instrument in the hands of Him, who is the Lord of all Ages. Like even those who give and those who will receive the gifts. It is a phenomenon inspired by God. For here otherwise are people, who fight even for a foot of land, be required to give away hundreds of acres of land freely? My appeal to all and everywhere is to take this as a thing which God desires them to do, and together these lands to the landless honestly and bravely.

Non-violence and Science

Let me repeat in this connection what I said once before. Non-violence is not opposed to science; it wants fully to avail itself of it. It can transform this earth into heaven. It can do so only in combination with non-violence. If science and violence are joined together, the world will be shattered to pieces.

There was a time when men were decided by war in the form of duels. Jaramandha and Shamu had a duel. Jaramandha was killed and the Pandavas got his kingdom. The people were saved from destruction. There was violence in that but the destruction was small. If duels could settle wars today, I would reconcile myself to that procedure. If a State and a Hitler wrestled and decided for Communism and Capitalism, I would accept the proposal and would not condemn the world, which wants to witness the duel, because the world has nothing to lose in it. But the age of duels is gone. War began with duels, but the system did not work; so thousands began to fight against thousands, and when even that did not prove enough, lakhs gathered on either side and each party ran with the other in increasing no number of combats. And we have reached the time when not lakhs but crores participate in war. The choice now is either to prepare for total war, or abandon violence altogether, and accept non-violence. That alone is the problem, now as faced with today. To my Communist friends I would say, you are committing a murder here and a murder there with same iron and looking you come out at night and hide yourselves in the hills during the day. 'of what avail is all this?' If all you want to fight, you must prepare for a

world war. Avoid it. But so long as you do not make preparations of a big war, wherein scores of lives will have to be destroyed, give up these tactics of petty strife and avoid yourselves at the sight of killing, which you have got. Prepare the people for your ideology. A total world war or pure universal love is the choice, with which science has confronted us today.

To the land-holders I say if you will accept the path of love and non-violence, you will have to abandon the attachment to land. Otherwise the age of violence which is approaching, will destroy not only the land but also those who are occupying it. Let us therefore realize that the problem has been presented to us by God Himself and let us therefore give and give incessantly.

This is the basic conception underlying the Land-Gifts Mission.

PLANNED INEQUALITY

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND CONTRACEPTIVES

(By Vasudevananda Dasgupta)

The Planning Commission has taken it axiomatically that the growth of population must be controlled in India. The method recommended is for the State to provide facilities for sterilisation and advice on contraception on medical social and economic grounds. The Central Government is reported to have sanctioned 25 lakhs of rupees for the purpose. For a State, faced with food shortage, it is very natural to strive to limit population to the capacity of the soil. The question is whether the method suggested is right and effective.

Science and spiritually minded people have spoken very strongly against the use of contraceptives. The provision of sexual intercourse with the avoidance of its natural consequences makes room for immorality which destroys society and democracy. Standing left and right against himself very strongly against the use of contraceptives by private individuals, not to speak of the State providing facilities for the same. And today the State itself has commenced the infliction of that injury on India.

What Ashwin Dasgupta states about artificial birth control should at least carry weight with the Government, in shaping the fate of India. Ashwin Dasgupta is very strongly in favour of limiting the present planetary population of human beings. He considers the case for the use of contraceptives and objects to considering the appalling harm done by it and its utility as an immediate mass programme.

In his *Pharmas & Paradoxes* (1956) at p. 221, Ashwin Dasgupta says

"While my belief, when I was in the College, was in a tendency for the decline to be most rapid among the mass unemployed and ill-fed members of the population, but, right along those lines, history and educational underpinnings is the lowest. The higher the intellectual quotient and the level of education the smaller the family and vice versa. The human population of Western Europe and North

America will be considered in the male, by the dominance of the least intelligent persons now living in these areas. Among the more extreme biological experiments, involving the variable question of whose population is a slave and whose master, the Indians believe differ from other animals in possessing self-determination and a measure of free will and in being the inhabitants of a structured universe within the greater natural order.

Reflecting on what goes on in their immediate surrounds, they see their free will is nullity, their lack (except in animal behaviour) and when the nature of the human universe is such as to discourage the more sensitive intelligent and practical individuals from reproducing their kind the deterioration of entire societies becomes almost while an almost explosive capability. Thus an extreme English naturalist Sir Cyril Pearl stresses that by the end of the present century there will be, in Great Britain, half as many children of reproductive ability as there are at present and rather in many debilitated while the average intelligence of the population as a whole will have declined by five to six points. And the case of Britain is not unique. Throughout Western Europe and a little later in North America the decline in numbers is destined to be accompanied by a rapid deterioration in the quality of the population.

Unquestioned mechanism within any national community leads us to have seen to a qualitative deterioration of the population as a whole. The effects of such a deterioration have not yet made themselves felt, and it is hard to foresee in detail what they will be. We must be content merely to pose a question: Is it possible for democratic leadership to flourish in a community in which the likelihood of continuing ability is falling while that of mental defect is rising?¹¹

However, in the end, of the two evils, deterioration of the human race and deterioration of the race by the use of contraceptives, he prefers the lesser evil of race deterioration and advocates contraceptive methods despite their brutality. To Aldous Huxley there is no other conceivable method of controlling birth rates by the use of mechanical appliances. Indian culture has been based on the conception of restraint of the sexual instinct by the marital process. When population is to be restricted such restraint might be advocated and used by the masses which will serve to check over population and at the same time serve to uplift humanity.

It is wrong to watch at a theory and run after it a course which is fraught with the possibility of destroying those very qualities that make men better than brutes. The present rush for the use of contraceptives can hardly cover a fraction of the educated middle class of India without affecting by and large the general birth-rate amongst the millions of common married people. But while it will hardly affect the population problem, it is bound to bring down all these standards of purity and morality for which India has stood so long.

It was the particular privilege of India to have discovered some of these eternal moral laws on which society should be founded, in the case of other countries the same eternal moral laws are being gradually discovered by the hit and miss process, through experiments

and failures. Slaves in all countries have given their verdict in favour of these moral laws, but few countries incorporated them as an integral part of the social structure. In India, this was done to a very large extent, even if it did cover the entire society. Modern thinkers in other countries are reaching these through a process of scientific analysis. They are forcefully voicing their opinions now. Mr. Gerald Heard is one of them. In his recent book *March Since 1900* (first published in 1930) in the Twentieth Century History Series, he has dealt on the history of Five Moral Laws, one of which relates to sex. His historical analysis is fascinating.

Writing about contraception and sexual intercourse, he says:

Menstr has laid down the pattern follows her own plan, marries and her complete power with the clearest comprehension from us and pays a hand some enough to those who will do her bidding. But she for it, not a fee simple nor, if we try to trick the Life Force, and take the pleasure but denying the process do we find that art, considered as mere operative work, will not under such terms long. Even Howard Crosby knew that, for when Aphrodite smiled Pallas and then for the Golden Apple which Paris held, she offered (and he took it) her outstanding gift: not the chosen wife in Greece, but her wisdom.¹²

The Central Government of India are attempting to provide for "mechanistic law." But the "fee" will have to be paid. Where will be the greatest planners, and the greatest chief men of the Central Government then?

Mr. Gerald Heard does not put his conclusions depressively but arrives at them through order and analysis of the past fifty years' history. His conclusions are penetrating and clear.

The first part of the twentieth century was thus revealing to us the completed history of the reproduction problem—the issue of two sexes complementary however, to each other, and because so not equal but complementary, complementary in such a like sense as in their bodies. And further, as the reciprocity of their bodies produces the next physical generation so the reciprocity of their minds produces, the next, complementary step. The advance is most heavily the further building up of a co-ordinated traditional knowledge.¹³ (p. 100)

The visible availability of contraceptives certainly precluded this while in this century instead the abundance of courses in physical sciences could have produced such consequences had not some already been inclined to experiment with their traditional relationships.¹⁴ (p. 101)

"In the first place it is important to realize—and it is seldom realized—that contraceptives, which have often been labelled as a provision for women, have in fact led to a curbing of the male and against the female. The Freuchen account of failure in determining why is a fairly accurate description of the male's experience. With women, however, IAMP is not so, for two reasons. In the first place the reproductive cycle, in which it may be said that the man only takes a tangential part, is such that that moment of fecundation, covered and controlled by law. To hope to give her order from his foot dominated by this momentary children is worse than useless." (p. 101)

"The woman, having to carry a far larger part of the reproductive cycle than the man, such interference with it as contraceptive pills will do

India have, as this, on 1st night, be rightly interpreted for her. Further because much critical emotional life in her we have said "temptation to reproduction (which women in control) mean, not consider not as easily a physical pleasure a by-product resulting or working. For women engaged often with materialized individually personified may build up uncompleted consciousness. We are still almost wholly ignorant of the popular's inclination toward interference with the physical sexual satisfaction. A certain discomfort, some possible, but, like others is made as with the life rhythm when is needed more for other theories which must be faced and put back later" (p. 191)

It, however, may be so in the end as only it would not appear may be now live and not doing himself to, having found on did in the far need as longer attempt to make more his ends. Having appeared into us, but has we are needed to look, in ending. Further are too drugs not their physical satisfaction will yield a conscious attempt to stop back the mind into a separate satisfied with further into contact with a consciousness achieved" (p. 191)

But growth of population has to be checked for this is prescribed.

Industrial civilization is hardly rejecting more take over the control that all over through the modern age and especially through the last half century has been exercised by certain princes and personal domes of state. This will only be possible if women develop their specific consciousness—disregard thoughts—and through the basically religious outlook each brings can give—they require a sense of respect, tiller can marry to their family and their country but is modified as a whole.

With the above perhaps the reader may compare what Gandhi felt and expressed about the use of contraceptives.

The Government of India after having loathed itself installed in power after a short and bloodless struggle, led by a man, is now using post-modern civilization that started with the idea that it was the duty of the West to get the East "Industrialized, Protestantized, Hygienized, and Democratized" and has ended in leading the West to disillusionment and the verge of destruction. India still wants to carry on herself, by herself, the process that was forced on her by Imperialism. She wants to industrialize, protestantize, in the sense of substituting Khatoons or worship of Mahatmas for religion,—and hygienize and democratize herself after the Western pattern. India wants to learn "materialism" from America, a word now scorned by America in favour of the word "the-worldliness." India wants to be "this-worldly." In the attempt she is being driven towards perdition. It is, I believe, a passing phase of madness or imbrutery after having won Independence. It is bound to be shaken off in course of time. The soul of India would not permit it. The wiser India desires her freedom the better for her and for the world. In the meantime let the Government of India be warned in its march for a "modernism" which is being abandoned by Europe and followed slavishly by America.

Bahapur, 19-9-30

PROHIBITION—A REAL BLESSING

(By C. Panesar)

I wholeheartedly agree with the article of Shri P. L. Meharaj on the above topic.

We rightly says that the poison of the bottle come from the so-called 'educated' class. With my life-long experience among the poor classes, and even humble men and political workers, I can testify that though they fall victims to it they never regard it as good.

I had an occasion to stay in the Nigra for some months and found that because of the greater European influence there than on the plains, the people, especially the educated and the official circles, spoke in favour of drinking to a greater extent than elsewhere.

But despite of it a majority of the general population of the Hills do not even smoke and that still less of liquor.

I personally can prove with concrete evidence that hundreds of thousands of the poor are free from innumerable calamities owing to prohibition. They are able to get their notions regularly. They are able to save some money if they don't use coffee or tea. They are moral women. Above all they have a neat look and improved clean habits.

Oh! Friends of drinks! Come, come to Prohibition and see our sorrows! How they are blessed by our great Father, the pioneer of prohibition. See for yourself and then say whether you will not bless prohibition.

It is a fact on the part of the Government to rob the innocent, poor, plausible drinker for one rupee through the liquor agent, who makes a transaction of six rupees in the process.

If the loss of revenue is the only ground for withdrawing prohibition, it will be far better and cheaper to levy a police directly for increasing the revenue, than withdrawing prohibition. For, thereby people lose not a rupee, but six rupees in addition to contracting other evil habits. If prohibition had not been introduced in the Madras State it would have saved like Bengal last year. Our thanks go to Shri T. Prakasam and Shri C. P. Rameswamy Reddy for saving it from ruin.

It is sad that the Government of Madras contemplates withdrawal of an enquiry about Prohibition. I heartily suggest that it should be done, if necessary, through the constructive workers. The Government should give the necessary help to carry on this task efficiently and effectively.

COW IN INDIA

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HARIJAN

Sept. 22

1931

THE CHARAKA WEEK

We are in the midst of the Charaka Week (22nd September to 2nd October, both days inclusive). It is a week for a dispassionate and careful inquiry into the place of the charaka in India's political, economic and social order for all of us. Those who work themselves to exhaustion for spreading it, are those political parties who have or aspire to have political power and have almost unanimously discarded it as impractical, and last but not the least, the people, who have not yet received the message of the charaka in an adequate manner, and yet, on account of the sick luncheon will now be deterred from saying that the returned cowards do not represent the majority opinion of the people must consider seriously their attitude towards the hero and the symbol of this week.

Under the Constitution as it stands, the choice which the people make will be binding on them annually for five years. The Constitution does not give any power to the people to recall a candidate, even if they discover later on that they had made a mistake, or that the representative has betrayed their cause, or is dishonest, or that the party was not fulfilling its promise.

However, for all practical purposes, all those who look to Government for the furtherance of their aims clearly understand that it is not going to be the programme of any party now on the stage. And if they think that it is not the future unless Government come to its aid in an active manner they cannot escape frustration. Some of the constructive workers feel depressed at the prospect that for at least five years to come it may be not only neglected but probably such negligence might be created as might make its reversal almost impossible later even by a Government inspired by it. In the charaka, i.e. spending, they ask, going to be merely the formal ceremony of a small Gandhi cult? Small religious sects and cults with all sorts of peculiar observations and customs flourish in all parts of the world, and there might be scores of them in India. Nobody objects to their existence, and none but the curious spectators take notice of them on rare occasions. Are it and congregational spending going to be the symbols of a peculiar Gandhi cult?

I urge them not to lose hope. If they themselves are doubtful of the immense ability of the charaka in the midst of highly developed machinery, let them abandon it, and join the ranks of politicians and economists.

Let them remember that Gandhi had throughout his life the reputation of being an impractical idealist among politicians and economists. They followed him, even surrendered to him, only when they found that their practical wisdom had made matters worse or brought them into a blind alley. A weak brown-skinned Hindu challenging a war and shrewd white-man and warrior such as General Smuts? What an idea, and with what weapons? Of suffering blows, and falling into? Were Indian statesmen evoked interest in his movement and made a countrywide propaganda for him only when the struggle came to its final stage, and even the Viceroy appeared in it?

And when he returned to India with laurels the politicians warned him that what he could do in the limited field of South Africa could not be done in this vast country against a mighty Empire. He must not attempt to launch any such impractical activity. But Gandhi, as one of our great politicians had always regretted till the end of his life, was never to be a practical and was politician in his life. When all politicians, economists and educated people were of opinion that the British Empire with all its faults had given to India the blessings of parliamentary government, law courts, modern education, and industrialisation, Gandhi preached non-co-operation with all these. It was suicidal was men thought. Then, many wise and practical politicians thought that the ways and ideas of Gandhi and his disciples were as very opposed to each other, that the one could not thrive without suppressing the other. Therefore Gandhi therefore advocated subordination of the Muslims, and some Muslims demanded total separation. But Gandhi pleaded unity and worked for it in various ways. But wise statesmen, though they all continued to blame the British for their 'divide and rule' policy could not accept Gandhi's 'unity and rule' formula and called it 'appeasement'. The result was that the continued weakness of the whole population of Great Britain and the Hindu and Muslim leaders of India rejected Gandhi's advice that the Congress should once again go into wilderness, allowing the power to go into the hands of the Muslim League, but produced instead the partition of India and of Bengal and Punjab, followed by a barbarous frocade, abductions of hundreds of women, irreparable cruelties, an unprecedented exodus, displacement of millions of men, and ultimately the assassination of Gandhi himself, also the war of Kashmir, and a state of suspended hostility between the two States as a running sore.

History has repeatedly shown that more often than not, the only results achieved by the practical wisdom of shrewd politicians and diplomats have been war, national indebtedness and bondage and that of sound business—and technical experts, hydrography petroleum exploitation, criminal traffic, banking in the market

of plenty, unemployment, and distress or something like it, of the masses.

It is the impractical wisdom of men like Gandhi, Bhabha and Jinnah that studies engines and brings about tremendous changes in the lives of nations, and creates conditions at least for the time being, suitable for Sarvodaya.

Let not constructive workers feel disheartened because the shakhs has taken from the grace of political leaders. The shakhs is a symbol of the Gandhian outlook (will to resist, imperialism and exploitative organizations however big and formidable they might appear to men). And a shakhs is a germ of the spark; great organizations are merely combinations of matter, however big they might be they have to break before the strong will of the shakhs. It is the strong and true idea behind Gandhian outlook which will ultimately be found to be the only practical way to raise India out of the present bog. Let the constructive workers build their hopes on their strong will, and not only on parliamentary institutions for the achievement of their ideas. These institutions will help the workers only when they find that they must. Ultimately it is the people who are the source of power and who have to work the shakhs, and let them spread their ideas and work their programmes among the people despite unfavourable circumstances. If the people are awakened and made determined to be self-reliant they can bring about their deliverance by Gandhian methods.

Wardha, 7/9/46. K. G. MARIJANWALA.

EMERGENCY OF SOUL-FORCE.

(By K. G. Gandhi.)

[This letter will describe the use made since an earlier statement of Gandhiji himself from old records. The following is an authentic report of Gandhiji's speech at Coimbatore South Africa, on 14 June 1920, published in Indian Opinion dated 19th June, under the caption "The Matter of Passive Resistance". Incidentally the editor has inserted one of 1920's RECORD, what is there has just been revised. But Gandhiji himself has recommended his decision to other day's papers against the spiritual power of the shakhs. So let us let others let him speak. He has only one comparison with him has a mystery can surely find. — K. G. M.]

Mr. Gandhi who was well received, on rising, said that although he had chosen passive resistance as his subject that evening he did not wish to deal with the Indian question, except in so far as it might be necessary to illustrate any proposition. Passive resistance, the speaker proceeded was a movement. But the expression had been accepted by it was popular and had been for a long time used by those who carried out in practice the idea denoted by the name. The idea was more completely and better expressed by the term soul-force. As such, it was as old as the human race. Active resistance was better expressed by the term body-force. Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul-force. All these teachers counted their bodies as

nothing in comparison to their souls. Tolstoy was the best and brightest exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it, but lived according to it. In India, the doctrine was understood and commonly practised long before it came into vogue in Europe. It was easy to see that soul-force was infinitely superior to body-force. If people in order to secure redress of wrongs resorted to soul-force, much of the present suffering would be avoided. In any case, the wailing of this force never ceased suffering to others. So that, whenever it was abused, it only injured the users and not those against whom it was used. Like virtue it was its own reward. There was no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force. "Resist not evil" meant that evil was not to be repelled by evil but by good; in other words, physical force was to be opposed, not by the like but by soul-force. The same idea was expressed in Indian philosophy by the expression, "Indrahan from injury to every living thing". The essence of this doctrine involved physical suffering on the part of those who practised it. But it was a known fact that the pain of such suffering was greater rather than less in the world. That being so, all that was necessary for those who recognised the immeasurable power of soul-force was to consciously and deliberately accept physical suffering as their lot, and when that was done, the very suffering became a source of joy to the sufferer. It was quite plain that passive resistance, thus understood, was infinitely superior to physical force and that it required greater courage than the latter. No transition was, therefore, possible from passive resistance to active or physical resistance. The Colonists would, therefore, see that no exception could be taken to Indians making use of this force in order to obtain a redress of their grievances. Nor could such a weapon, if used by the natives, do the slightest harm. On the contrary, if the natives could rise as high as to understand and utilize this force, there would probably be no active question left to be solved. The one condition of a successful use of this force was a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body and its permanent and superior nature. And this recognition must amount to a living faith and not a mere intellectual grasp. The speaker illustrated his lecture with several modern illustrations.

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SHRI VINOD'S TELANGANA TOUR

II

April 25, Hyderabad (First Shift, 30 miles)
Interview with Communists

From Supul our bus left, we started for Hyderabad in the morning at 4 a.m. On the way the people passed their objections to Vinoda at several places. After passing by a number of ponds we reached near the back of the dam at 8 a.m. and halted at Osman Bagh the place at which we had stayed a week ago on our way to Miramspeet. At 7 a.m. Vinoda started for the jail for an interview with the Communists under detention. Vinoda was escorted in the prison where about fifteen Com-munist leaders were awaiting him. The all there were about 120 hundred Communist prisoners in the Hyderabad jail. They had selected those known to most Vinod. Some of them sat aside other than day for the first time since their incarceration. Some had met on the previous day. They were glad to have Vinod in their midst. Nobody had cared to see them in that way. Vinoda came with them more than a couple of hours, listened to their grievances and assured them that he would use his influence and try to remove these prisoners. Vinoda also advised them to demand some work from the jail authorities so that would keep them healthy both in body and mind. He insisted to them his experience in the Orissa jail where work was not permitted in the political rule but group after being demanded. He also pointed out to them how jail life could be utilized for study and mental development. His suggestions were well received. To come to this point however Vinod purchased them directly whether even in the prison changed through classes their justified their wishes, programs and what the time had not come when they should revise their policy. Later during the Orissa regime, when the Naxalists' rights prevailed, they might have felt it necessary to take in Vinoda as they could see no alternative. But now that they still had the right to vote and had a way opened to them to change the Government according to the combined will of the people, there was no necessity to resort to violent methods. They should approach and convince the Government with a view to form a majority for themselves. He did not say this because of the threat of non-violence. But Vinoda put it to them that there was no other way but non-violence even as a policy.

I have already said above that the Orissa Government were influential men of their party and accepting a few here or there hardly any one wanted to oppose Vinod. But for the sake of more controversy. But I could see that even though they might have been involved in the failure of violence they could not ignore their outside opinion due to membership of party policy and discipline.

Vinod had prolonged discussion with them, but it is neither necessary nor proper to describe the whole interview here. They talked to him freely and with an open mind. If the Communist leaders could perceive the practical side of Vinoda's views and desire to give up their violent methods Vinoda's hands would be strengthened both with the masses and to the interest of the Communist themselves. Communism could be checked. Last this area could be stopped. Anarchical elements would lose the support of the masses. But the Communists themselves did not find themselves in a position to give any such assurance. Vinod therefore had to ask them, "Should I go with the impression that you do not want to give up the violent methods which you have been resorting to all these days?" The friends did not want that Vinod should carry with him such an impression about them. Therefore their reply was that they would think it over. They had neither desired to give up the old policy nor to continue it. They would consider all the issues. They could not give anything more immediately. They also pointed out that they could not take any decision unless all the members of the party met and discussed together. But that was not possible and he said they alone were responsible. The Communist Party was in-

fully functioning in other States like Bombay, Madras, U.P., etc. It was hoped to be achieved because it had started to change areas if individual leaders could ensure that they would abandon violence. Vinod had made try to do all that he could in the interest of the Communist Party. Under such circumstances to length the interview in the Orissa jail had given such an assurance to Vinod individually and had offered to agree with him in changing the atmosphere of the country. But the question of party discipline hung on the heads of these friends so much that they did not feel themselves competent to take any decision, although it was necessary. From their talks I was also told that there were two currents amongst them, one in favour of giving up the violent methods, the other in favour of carrying on the same policy. I suggested that we could prevail upon Vinod to postpone the trip for a couple of days if the friends wanted time for further deliberation. But there did not seem to be proper to delay Vinod any more. The authorities were, however, requested to afford facilities to these friends when and if they desired to contact with Vinod. They took him goodbye with all affection and reverence. Vinod also used to see the lady prisoners who were about fifteen in number.

For an hour and a half there was nothing else also in this picture. Vinod was entering the area where the Communists were supposed to have played harm. The problem was discussed all over India and had become a matter of anxiety for all. Vinod himself did not know what he would say or do in the area. This depended on the developments. He had only to take one step, which was enough for a decision, but it was clear that during his visit Vinod was sufficient of all going to support the Communist methods. He was going to an area which was Government where humanity had suffered a lot. In his intention was a number of years. He would attempt to convince people if he could. He was there, for instance to carry with him the sympathies of the Communist class. But that was not to be. Did not Vinod go to the Government to convince them if he could? This was a similar effort to convince those who had advised the right path. But the Communist leaders unfortunately thought otherwise and did not wish Vinod to do anything of the sort. A real friend of theirs like Vinod had raised the big opportunity of creating a new chapter in the history of Hyderabad and humanity. When Vinod came out of the jail a huge crowd was waiting him. By the time he reached Chakraya a mob, the force of a big procession, after lunch and food it was then for spinning and so on had to be controlled. There were friends waiting for him and interview began at noon in the spinning was over. Workers officers and some Communist friends also who were recently released from jail had come to see him. The Chief Minister Shri Telang and the Deputy Minister Shri P. Ramakrishna, had prolonged talks with him about the Communist problem. Vinod acquainted them with the complaints of the Communist friends about the mistreatment and treatment in the jail. Both assured him to do all they could to remove the prisoners. They also requested Vinod with the question in the area he was going to visit.

Vinod also had a talk with Shri Ramakrishna about the problem of the village women.

The members of the Andhra Pradesh Sangha had also come to pay their respects. It was Anantaram day and they carried some portrait from the Prime Minister. The selection was from the story of Panchhi the Sarva prasi. The programme was so impressive that it worked the hearts of the audience and moved Vinod to tears. Who would not receive inspiration from the life of Panchhi? I remembered the words when the officers of the Telang Sangha sang the hymn of Sarva at the time of Vinod's departure from Hyderabad. The song said, "The Lord is the strength of the weak." The others today also manifested to that strength in the words of Panchhi.

In the evening the party after a week marked by the creation of the Anantaram, was not only very happy

has any significance at the period of Vinod's approach to the village to join underclassmen. There were little signs of the future response that was to store for the future. "Up the middleman appeared to the speech herald of the very success of the village. The speech will be repeated next week.

D. V.

SUCCESS TO ANDHRA'S WILL

The will to make Andhra a separate province was the earliest formed, I believe, in the history of the Congress. The late Sri Konda Venkataswamy and his life-long companion Swami Sivananda (Swami) were among those who shared and sustained the aspiration in the mind of young Andhra, and ever since it became the object of their life.

When India became independent on the 15th August 1947, they felt that it should not take long thereafter to form that State. But it did not, and with the passage of every day they became impatient. Sri Konda Venkataswamy died on the 15th August, 1949, the second anniversary of independence without seeing a state's birth. His disappointment made Swami, who was also now over 70 years of age, impatient and, ever since, he made this the main object of his life. To this end he presented an ultimatum and then went on fast from the 15th August, 1950, making the formation of that State by October 2 as the condition for breaking it. Other co-workers joined him in the fast.

After more than five weeks' fast, on Vinod's intervention and assurance that he was satisfied from his communications with the Union Government that the Andhra State would be set up as early as possible, Swami was persuaded to break the fast on the forenoon of the 20th September. It being the 30th day of his fast.

I congratulate Swami, his companions and the people of Andhra for realising their ambition. Swami has been a life-long constructive worker and a believer in the Sarvodaya ideology. He has now become the chief instrument in the formation of a new political State. Hence the responsibility of developing Andhra in accordance with Sarvodaya ideas now rests heavily upon him and his colleagues.

After a retrospect (here whose will is invariably achieved), says the Upanishad. Whether the achieved will bring happiness or misery will depend on other factors and efforts. It is for the leaders of Andhra now to make this achievement a blessing to the people of Andhra.

May God grant Swami Sivananda and other members of the new State strength and light to this end.

Wardha, 22-9-53

K. S. MANDREKALLA

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CORRUPTION TO ESCAPE PENALTY

1. Correspondent from Bombay writes

"I was presenting a friend to become a member of the Executive Committee of the Railway Union. He narrated to me the following two incidents and sought my aid also:

(1) Once he had to cross the railway line at Nandurbar to catch the train. He was caught hold of by the police. They had mistakenly taken a train of the railway rules. On each occasion if the effect of that rule a paper into the hands of the policeman he is let off. Otherwise he is detained by the Police station till the afternoon, then paroled before a magistrate who then lets him out. It is 12 papers. So the people find it convenient to bribe the policeman with a paper or two and then state with it.

(2) There are many bus public vehicles in the city. Many people want to cross by bus to save themselves. This happened once with my friend and he was arrested by the police. He secured his release by paying two rupees. If he had not paid anything, he would have been arrested in the police station. He had to give security and later had to submit himself in the court. I quite agree that one must practice honesty. But I think it is such an extraordinary thing that one does not violate a little from the straight path. One is not to be much disappointed."

It goes without saying that the argument put forward in this letter is quite wrong. If one always laws demand for the good of the people, one should also be prepared to take the consequences of one's actions. Avoidance of consequences and of non-compliance is the source of all corruption.

The prohibition against crossing the railway line is in the interest of the public. That if times the law can be crossed without danger cannot justify the resort to that practice.

This reminds me of Gandhi's experience to an. One of the pair (two wooden seats used in Indian houses in the dining room) in the Ashram kitchen had a broken peg. Unless the person was conscious of it and carefully stepped out of it when leaving the seat, he was liable to lose his balance and get a serious fall. Gandhi drew the attention of the kitchen manager to the condition of the seat and asked him to remove it. As no accident had taken place till then, the kitchen manager did not take the instruction seriously. When Gandhi again visited the kitchen, he saw that the peg was still in use. He asked the manager why it had not been removed. The latter pleaded some excuse. Gandhi said, "Accidents don't happen every day. If they did, we would hardly have been alive. But that is no reason for not promptly removing the cause of accidents, for when they happen, they do in a very unexpected and tragic manner."

For adequate reasons a line may be crossed with the permission of a railway officer. Otherwise it is better to lose a train than cross the line.

Regarding public urinals, if they are not enough, the authorities should be approached and asked to provide them. Most of our Mahatma Fathers have long ceased to be pedestrians and they hardly know the hardships of the common folk. Unless voters insist upon sending a

from a national movement which means the common people who rarely travel even by train are the backbone of the ordinary man are not likely to be sustained by the corporate class.

I have often had such experiences. There are other ways of meeting the situation referred to by the correspondent. There is generally a dead line between two buildings. Also, all buildings generally have a bathroom or a lavatory on the ground floor and with the permission of a resident, it may be made use of. It is a cult of nature, and there need be no shame in speaking about it to another in order to seek his permission.

However, in both the cases if a mistake has been committed, the right thing is to make amends by accepting its punishment. Once we accept a punishment dutifully the act will not be repeated selfishly. That is how a man often learns the value of citizenship.

Wardha, 11.9.51

R. K. NARAYANRAO

BUT WHERE ARE THE KINGS AND HUSBANDS?

Do we have Congress Prigs, Socialists, Marxists and other Parties, all vying with one another to voice the masses, but where are the *Amras* and *wooden* through their leaders? These leaders have chosen symbols such as the plough, the hat, the tree, and the cow, but if there are amongst them who know how to plough the field or who lives in a hat or who can kill a tree or who can milk a cow? Not one, I guess.

What a farce our so-called democracy is! (as noted many dreamers are)

In the Electioneering Manifestos of these parties is there anything to compare with Raja's revolutionary programme? Have we all forgotten what Raja said in his prayer speeches during his last days in Delhi, and repeated with emphasis in his very last public statement, on the evening of the 26th January, 1948? I quote from report of Raja's speeches as given in the *Delhi Daily* (Hindustan).

"Your (Raja's) Prime Minister was a learned man, a great historian and a great writer, but he knew nothing about agriculture and farming. The other Ministers were all well-to-do men, who had never worked on the land. 99% more than 90 per cent of India's population consisted of farmers. Only a few knew how to increase production and the fertility of the land. Only he could understand the ways and wholeness of proffering by the House and overcome the evil. In democracy, the King should be the ruler. Godking would certainly like to push forward an honest and capable man. Such a man would not know English. He (Gandhi) would ask Jawaharlal to be his (the King's) secretary and see the foreign ambassadors on his chief's behalf and take pride in such service. Such a man Prime

Minister would not ask for a palace to live in. He would live in a mud hut, sleep under the sky and work on the land during the day whenever he was free. The whole picture would change immediately. In Panchajany, the man who should count most in India was naturally the King." (26.1.1948)

"If he (Gandhi) had his way, our Government-General and Premier would be chosen from the lower. In his childhood he had learnt in the school-books that the Kings were lords in the kingdom of the earth. This applied to those who laboured on the land and ate from what they produced. Such Kings to be worthy of such offices might be chosen provided they had robust common sense, great personal bravery, unimpeachable integrity and patriotism above suspicion. As real producers of wealth, they were worthy the masses while we had no slaves then." (28.1.48)

If there is a party with the courage to put worthy kings into their Ministry including the Premiering let them say so now in their Manifesto. It would be a magnificent first step in the right direction. No more dwelling in palaces after that — no more highly paid ministers and Government officials — no more huge and wasteful Government Departments. In fact, as Raja says "the whole picture would change immediately."

Oh for a brave revolutionary who could implement the programme of Raja's conception! Nothing else can put fresh life and honour into this once glorious but now degraded and unhappy land.

Gopal Ashram, Varanasi-Godhra,
22-8-51

NRPA

Celebration of Holidays

The Prime Minister is reported to have said in the Parliament that "the best way to celebrate a festival was to work harder in the service of the nation." Nowhere in the world are there as many holidays as in India, and our country is proverbially known to be a rich land inhabited by the poorest people in the world. It is only hard work and hard work alone which can raise our country from deplorable poverty to prosperity. It is high time that we should realize that recreation and idle pastimes are a luxury in a poor nation as ours. The college and school students and teachers, Government servants and workers in private firms should either request for the curtailment of holidays or work on fields and do some productive work on holidays as the Prime Minister suggested.

The advice deserves to be commended on psychological grounds also. The attitude towards work and its enjoyment should be such that the needed rest and pleasure should come from the work itself and there should be no mental partition between working for income and working for recreation and joy.

R. K. V.

"WORKING TO LEARN"

(Basic Education, Principles and Methods Combined)

by Helen in Education)

(By E. W. Argyropoulos)

Dr Milton J. Gold of Teachers' College, Columbia University, wrote to the Ministerial School Board for permission to use extracts from this publication in his book *Working to Learn*, general education through occupational experiences. We were glad to grant him the permission. The book has now been published in the "Studies in Education" series of the Teachers' College, and we have received an advance copy.

The scope of the book is described by the author in the following words:

"The focus of this volume, based on the theory of experience built by James and Dewey, is that occupational education properly administered in the elementary school, is the logical extension of the 'experience' curriculum of the elementary school—the participation in representative occupations and study of their influence on our arts and social life. Efforts should be made to extend the content of the school general education programme and also the method for achieving goals in citizenship, health, vocational adjustment, and recreational education. A final chapter is devoted to a comparative statement of this concept. Other chapters deal tentatively but analytically with the various movements in the elementary school, the role and objectives of the high school, approaches to the problem of teaching these goals more directly through occupational education programmes and American programmes. Experience curriculum leads to a previously occupational curriculum in America and a simple curriculum based on these experiences, are included."

The "Wardens Plan of Education" is dealt with in the chapter on occupational educational programmes in other countries.

A most striking experiment from the point of view of Basic Education was carried out more than a hundred years ago by Philip Barnefeldt von Fellenberg in his Institute at Hufwyl in Switzerland. The following description of it is quoted from Dr Gold's chapter on "Occupational Patterns Abroad":

"Hufwyl. One of the early efforts to modernize the system of education around work was Philip Barnefeldt von Fellenberg's establishment of the Institute at Hufwyl in Switzerland. Transcending a reference Fellenberg felt the need of improving agriculture and the character of the lower classes in Switzerland in the Napoleonic era. An admirer of the contemporary Frenchmen, he believed that regeneration of his native land was to be accomplished not through political reform but through thoroughgoing education of the people. Fellenberg acquired a farm at Hufwyl in 1799 and proposed to operate it both as a model farm and as a school. His method was to make use of possibilities that lay in group-living and working to achieve his goals. These communal tasks were undertaken such as the building of a kindergarten school and the development of a farm on educational land.

"To interest children as much as possible with tasks of industry he wrote 'each pupil who is capable of such a task is provided with a small portion of ground to be cultivated as a garden, where from often him a reward and at the same time an

encouragement for knowledge, labour and personal care."

A nineteenth-century apostle of liberation, Fellenberg based his philosophy on an insistence that there be "harmonious development of the whole child", that the development of physical, moral and intellectual powers and their application in an occupation "merge harmoniously together" in keeping with the "normalness of the individual". A harbinger of the activity movement of a later century, Fellenberg is quoted as saying:

"That work which a man produces by combining the materials presented to him, or which he to a certain degree reproduces in his imagination, until it becomes a part of his own train of thought, can be considered as a real occupation, or can contribute substantially to the development of his mind."

Fellenberg approached his task as a philosopher. He realized that the class he sought to uplift would need first a new self-esteem, and he knew that an enhanced self-respect would only come if his educational procedure had stress on the dignity of labour. Fellenberg proposed to do this "by inspiring attachment to the ground they cultivate, by leading them to find happiness in this employment of their faculties and in the result of their labours." It is asked how this shall be effected. Fellenberg replies, by improving agriculture, by rendering it harmonious, by elevating its importance in the eyes of those who are called to cultivate it.

To this work is added education both through orientation to the agricultural background and through cultivation of intellectual and moral faculties, so that the learners "may understand the processes they perform, and appreciate the importance, the advantages and the duty of industry, instead of regarding it as an (indigent) mechanical task."

There came at the integration of the individual and of active occupations as a means to learning found expression in the farm school which was open to students from six to twenty-one. Between the older students, from fifteen upward, produced more value than they consumed, the school was self-sustaining (Italian note). The farm work was the central activity and the core of school work. Fellenberg started with deviant children, eventually opened a separate department for middle-class children, and in the several decades of his work educated even some members of the Habsburg royal family in his school. Through Woodbridge and Mead the Institute had some effect upon American academics in the first half of the last century.

"Industry" Fellenberg maintained, "is the constant mark of man."

BASIC EDUCATION

By Helen in Education

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NAVAYAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 125, AJMERGARH

NEERA

(By Shri Kadduravasa Rao, Nutrition Expert
Government of Bombay)

(Note: Deaths were raised that the painting of Neera pots with lime might be injurious to health. I request the Bombay Government to enquire into the matter, and the following note has been sent in response to my request.)

— K. G. M. I

The sweet juice obtained by tapping and sugar-yielding palm tree is called *neera*. This silver 'blood' of the palm tree has a pleasant, delicious taste and an agreeable flavour. When freshly drawn from the tree, it is slightly alkaline to litmus, but as course of time, becomes more and more acid. In India it is usually obtained from the palmyra (*Chd.*, *arecatum* (var.) *ajpa* palm or wild date-palm (*Khayer*) tree.

Neera is sweet in taste and contains over ten per cent of sugars. It is a health-giving drink and can be consumed in any quantity without harm to the system. Apart from the various nutrients (including vitamins) present in the juice, *neera* also contains variable quantities of enzymes which is of doubtful nutritive value. This enzyme along with most of the yeast, however, separates and settles down when *neera* is treated with lime.

The chemical composition of *neera* (fresh date *neera*) is given below:

Specific gravity	1.07	
pH	4.7—5.2	
Nitrogen	0.085 gm	per 100 cc.
Protein	0.36 gm	"
Total sugars	10.50 gms	"
Reducing sugars	0.98 gm	"
Ash (minerals)	0.54 gm	"
Calcium	Traces	
Phosphorous	0.14 gm	per 100 cc.
Iron	0.54 mgm	"
Titrable acidity	0.75 cc	of N/10 alkali
Vitamin C	33.25 mgms	per 100 cc.

In addition to these, *neera* also contains 3 to 5 International Units of vitamin B per 100 cc and probably other members of the vitamin B complex, but they are usually present in negligibly small quantities. The three noteworthy features of the juice are (i) its high sugar content, (ii) the presence of minerals and (iii) the presence of vitamin C. The nutritive value of *neera* is increased due to the presence of vitamin U and minerals, along with the readily assimilable forms of sugar.

Tapping of the juice from the palm trees is a delicate operation and requires much care and skill. The earthen pots in which the juice is collected are usually lined with slaked lime. The amount of lime added depends on the amount of juice from the tree, and only experienced tappers will be able to say as to how much juice will be produced, depending on the weather, locality and the tree. Probably lamed *neera* is

bright and transparent, the lime settling at the bottom of the pot. If less lime is used, the *neera* becomes hazy and sour, due to the growth of yeast, and if the quantity of lime added is more than the required amount, the *neera* has a milky and bitter taste.

In very cold climates, addition of lime is not absolutely necessary, since no perceptible change takes place within 12-14 hours, between sunset and dawn, when the pot is suspended for collection of the sap.

The addition of lime to the pots for *neera* collection, is an old observation, but has been practised since ages. In fact, with all the advancements in science and improvements in methods, we have not been able to find out any other equally harmless or efficient preservative. It is true that due to the addition of lime, vitamin C of *neera* is destroyed, but *neera* is mostly used for its other nutrients, viz. sugar, protein, other glycosides, etc. The advantages of lime as a preservative are: (i) the amount added to the juice is harmless to the system; (ii) it does not alter the pH of the *neera* to decrease below 7, and thus retards alcoholic fermentation.

Recently doubts have been expressed in our tea quarters that the addition of lime to *neera* is detrimental to habitual drinkers of *neera*, that calcium taken frequently causes pancreatic thickening of the arteries and causes kidney trouble. In this connection it may be stated that for every 10 lb (approx. 30 gms) of *neera* the portion of lime used is only 6 cc. of a 30 per cent solution, and even part of this lime is used pre-emptively and settles at the bottom along with the yeast, and is not consumed along with the *neera*. In fact, a person drinking total leaves consumes much more lime than that present in nearly 5 lb of *neera*. In order to enhance the nutritive value of bread, wheat flour is fortified with calcium carbonate. It is a well-known fact that the calcium intake of the people of this country is far below the minimum requirements, and for this fact alone, apart from other, the intake of additional calcium along with the *neera* is to be recommended.

Another objection raised against the use of lime to prevent fermentation is that it makes the *neera* alkaline and makes it a favourable medium for the growth of pathogenic organisms. Unless necessary precautions are taken and strict cleanliness maintained in collection and distribution any food article is a risk, and milk products is liable to be contaminated, and the danger of food-borne diseases is always there. As proper precautions e.g. washing of pots and hands of tappers, etc. with potassium permanganate before contact with *neera* are being taken, there is practically no likelihood of this *neera* being contaminated. The obvious method of increasing such risk lies in the exercise of greater vigilance on the part of those handling the food, and the risk is no way arises from the addition of lime to such a refreshing drink, as *neera*.

GENERAL MACARTHUR ON THE ABOLITION OF WAR

[The Question of Modern (1953)] is "American Legion" by J. F. Fiverson has reproduced SOME of the important extracts of the speech delivered by General MacArthur in the course of which he condemned war as an outgrowth of international problems and called for moral and spiritual leadership in the abolition of war. As they are not reported in other Indian papers I give them below for the benefit of the reader.

—L. S. [S.]

—Now that the fighting in Korea has temporarily ceased the outstanding impression which emerges from the speech is the utter uselessness of the enormous sacrifice in life and death which has resulted. Taking both sides together approximately a million soldiers died at least an equal number of civilians are estimated to have died. A nation has been gutted and we stand today just where we stood before it all started. The dream of a permanent peace, the wish by those actually involved has not diminished. Indeed nothing has been settled and no peace has been declared. This experience again emphasises the utter futility of warfare and leads to complete belief in an abolition of international distinctions. Its threat must be abolished if this world is to go on and if the world does not go on it will go under. We must finally come to realize that war is outmoded as an instrument of political policy and I provide no solution for international trouble. We must understand that in the final analysis the mounting cost of population for war is in many ways so materially destructive to our kind. We must find the means to avoid this great sapping of human energy and resources.

Call for Spiritual Leadership

General MacArthur then followed a line of thought in which many readers will recall he gave a passing glance on the historic mission of the leadership of America, when he was declaring the complete defeat of the Japanese in August last. His words in that great hour were that they may and must contribute, at each lesson, a disciplinary and religious quality. Now all years later General MacArthur calls for leadership of the highest order, a spiritual and moral leadership for the abolition of war from the face of the earth. While we must be prepared to meet the trial of war if we cannot we should gear our foreign and domestic policies toward the ultimate goal. The abolition of war is what, graciously all mankind all the great nations that populate the world, long and pray for. There is the road, the only road, to universal peace and prosperity. We must lead the world down that road, however long and tortuous and bloody it may now appear. Such is the rule as I see it, the which this great nation of ours is now due. In this we follow the Christ. If we meet the challenge we cannot fail. But we can and we must without first making a start, for there is no success without a start.

Abolish, Not Control, War

On this problem of universal peace, continued General MacArthur when we address ourselves to the fundamental we shall go no further than did the presiding generation which have tried and failed. Control, then after centuries has been shown here designed to postpone war and to bring it under the control of rules devised by the highest human minds. The road we become increasingly wrong on the means of peace lifting us further developed. The control control way you can only abolish it. Those who drag life off as MacArthur are the real enemies of peace, the real war-mongers. Those who look the necessary rules and changes to try a new approach, full compliance in the most simple test of leadership.

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FROM VIENNA'S WALKING TOUR

It is a week now, to within from 19th September Vienna has received letters over 1,500 (over 1,000) more or less. In short, he will get the same response from Malaya, Persia or in Teheran. If it proves that, it would show the fact that the League of Nations had only a limited scope in the Commonwealth of Nations. (Malaya) Council, after 11 years in 1914 Vienna Vienna destroyed over 100 acres. But Germany presented a spectacle which would cause any doubt that the solution will succeed. Now Vienna received about 200 acres (over 40 percent) including a single gift of one hundred acres. One year all his ten years. Landowners came up one after another to announce their functions. The Vienna teachers have done very good work here. The whole experience showed that the ideal of Germany was to make a nation before total destruction (Germany) overtook it. The idea of this mission first occurred to Vienna in 1914. The idea, the mission throughout the mission would mean the history of Vienna and not of Communism (that is, the gifts were not made in appreciation of the spread of Communism).

At Vienna had the workers worked a little before hand a new night have been added on in the local movement of gifts obtained. It proved Vienna despite. The speech indicated that, Vienna, though only a few could mean it. Such a movement should be. Vienna was achieved was an account of the effect. But if he had made the attempt a little earlier the response would have been greater.

In our way we could see Vienna (Germany) and Vienna in their respective roles of activity. Vienna proved their work very highly. Paraphrasing (Germany's) co-workers continued a good influence in the village.

Kend, 1943/12

D. K.

(Translated from Hindi)

Note: The latest report of Vienna's tour received from Chikara says that on 19th September (Germany) at Vienna the success of the appeal to people to voluntarily donate their lands for development among the poor. Under the leadership of Vienna, donated 100 acres. Countrywide citizens, seventy more, including a widow giving all her property for the donation totaling 200 acres nearly.

1943/12

K. O. K.

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SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND COMMERCIAL STATUS

[The following is a total report of the general activities of the Charles Gough which was provided by the Food Unit of the Bangs in Portland, Maine, reported to the director of the agency with date of 1 to November. — Ed.]

Handley had proposed in the Charlie Rangel to present them about as a relief programme to about as a programme of self-sufficiency in which an instrument of all-round village-coöperation (UWC-UWC) with the village, object of creating a colony free from exploitation. He suggested in this that the Rangel should propose to spread itself over the more built village. The Rangel began to discuss itself in this problem over along, and considered how best it could modify and adapt itself to this new task. For the first time that I saw, however, and much confusion, could be made in its direction.

1 After the passing away of Gandhi, the Congress decided to take definite steps towards this line. It decided to leave the production of commercial steel to the central institutions, and distribute all the energy manufactured in this new task. In view of the Allied restriction of the Congress and the economic problem of steel shortage in the country it also deemed it necessary to continue its efforts to increase the production of commercial steel on a small programme and to expedite for that purpose, more and more technical institutions.

3. The work of exporting certified institutions has been progressing ever since and today the certified institutions with a capital of 120 billion (112 million) roubles are engaged in the production and sale of pure alcohol. Last year the production stood at 120 billion roubles and the sale amounted to 200 billion. Besides, the Chaptal-Sherov was used in both cases, except at Yakut.

4. First, the Kiang took to spending and organizing his time in various experiments along throughout the country. The first natural step in achieving increased self-sufficiency through self-sufficiency in each village would be to develop self-management. This part of the work pertains to self-sufficiency in which could be undertaken by the Kiang under the own management by sending his workers to teach the village people in the construction of roads and by providing other facilities. This is being done at the country level by the Kiang. It is felt that as long as the people do not resist, it is within the power of the leader of initiative and management, within the self-sufficiency program under the Kiang's own management, for the order of unity from first organization and based on complete self-sufficiency is established. Therefore through the Kiang continues to change his old pattern from outside into self-sufficiency control under his own management, still his emphasis is on the organization of the local people.

2. During the last few years, my efforts have been mainly directed at creating an atmosphere favourable to the ideology and programmes of Maoist and we have now reached a stage when it can be said with some confidence that we have succeeded in convincing the country and the United Nations programme. The system which has been reaching us from time to time go to show that the people, especially in the villages, are welcoming the programme and beginning to see its future potentiality for their own village more definitely.

I finished the handling up of + favorable cases there are now 1311 total manifests functioning in + various positions. The information has strengthened my faith in the success of my work and given us a permanent glimpse of the great future. The thought has never occurred to me to doubt or wish at all that in the last one however, we passed a resolution providing for the purchase of 10 lakh of yards of cotton-cloth + about double the last year. It is proposed to return this production + about the total supply of the cotton-cloth +

and the Latin American. Besides these points we hope to raise the number of Latin students to 2,000.

T. Thomas informs us that the Cheyenne Society has by sponsoring to work on the educational program has hastened the progress of those that are experienced of the last three years' work continues as in the belief that only by following the educational program shall we be able to popularize Cheyenne and make it stay. While the present society, of which is continuously being called for promoting the production of educational which it can afford the most favorable opportunity for people learning the educational program. In fact, the shortage of which is more seriously felt by the Village than by the township. Spacing us is provided more in the Village than in the cities. Therefore we have come on believing that under these circumstances the best way to speed up and expand Cheyenne is to provide facilities to the village to help these organizations. Their chief themselves say one with some knowledge of the psychology of any population has studied us that they have many in Cheyenne only under the form of discrimination and will reject it. The present educational program, easily available, but not in with the Village. Though they may leave to manufacture Cheyenne and have collected under the operation of discrimination, they will be reluctant to purchase will which we spend money over it even when it becomes scarce and change is available.

3. Therefore what is most necessary of parents is to develop our natural energy so making the philosophy self-sufficient, in order to find a lasting solution to this problem can be achieved.

Sevastian, 4-0-51. *CHROMOLA, MALTIBLAD*
Sevastian, 4-1-51.

CONSTRUCTION METHOD: BROWNE & CALDWELL

Figure 1. The effect of the number of trials on the number of correct responses. The number of correct responses was significantly higher for the 10 trials condition than for the 5 trials condition. Error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

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TWO ANNAS

CALUMNY ANSWERED

In the latest book, *The Second World War—Volume IV: The Siege of Calcutta*, Mr Churchill has referred in the following terms to the 21 days' fast undertaken by Gandhiji in the Aga Khan Palace in February 1943:

"While I was myself hard pressed I had to think deeply about the health of another leader whose isolation from the papers—I was certain however at an early stage that he was being fed with glucose whenever he drank water—in the end being quite convinced of our obduracy, he abandoned his fast."

We can say from first hand knowledge that at no stage during the fast did Gandhiji take glucose: this is a fact that he abandoned the fast.

Two of us, Francis and Shashik Nayer, were with Gandhiji almost throughout the period of his imprisonment. The panel of doctors that looked after him during the fast consisted of two other signatories of this statement, viz. Dr B. C. Roy and Dr M. D. D. Gidder, and General (Dr) Candy as Surgeon-General who was then Surgeon-General of Bombay. Col. (Dr) Bhambhani, Assistant-Surgeon of Poona, Bombay and Lt. Col. Bapur Bhai, Lt. Col. Dutt, District Medical Officer, Dr Shashik Nayer, who was sent to the Aga Khan Palace detention camp by the Government of India as a co-therapist and medical attendant was also on this panel.

Gandhiji had taken a solemn promise from Dr B. C. Roy and Dr Shashik Nayer that even if he became unconscious, glucose would not be administered to him in any form, under any circumstances, during the period of the fast. On the twelfth day of the fast, his condition became critical and the Government doctors, General Candy and Col. Bhambhani, wanted to give him intravenous glucose. We opposed the idea, knowing how strongly Gandhiji would feel against such a procedure. General Candy said that Gandhiji could not be allowed to die, which he meant, unless glucose was given to him. On the other hand, we felt that if glucose was forced on him against his expressed wishes, the mental shock might kill him. General Candy went to persuade Gandhiji to take glucose. But Gandhiji calmly refused and showed his readiness to welcome death rather than break his fast. General Candy came out of Gandhiji's room with tears in his eyes. We do not know General Candy's present whereabouts but we are sure he would support this statement in every detail.

Gandhiji had a peculiar constitutional inability to drink plain water even normally. It provoked nausea. Therefore when undertaking the fast, Gandhiji had made it clear in his letter to the Viceroy that he kept himself free to add juice of citrus fruit as a flavouring to make water

drinkable. Accordingly, on the twelfth day, of the fast when a collapse seemed imminent as he could not drink plain water at all, he agreed to a few ounces of the juice of sweet lime being added to it for the next few days of his fast to make it drinkable.

Mr Churchill's second statement that when he was "convinced of our obduracy", "he abandoned the fast" is also contrary to facts. Gandhiji never abandoned the fast. It was continued in terms of his original resolution, which he had conveyed to the Government of India, and was terminated at the end of 21 days as planned from the very beginning.

We are sending a copy of this statement to Mr Churchill with a sincere expression of our hope that in the interest of truth, he will issue a correction of the statement referred to in this book and incorporate it in the future editions of the book.

(SIGNED) B. C. ROY,

MD (Civil) BMB, (Ret) & AGD

MBGP (Civil) FRCGS (Eng)

(SIGNED) M. D. D. GIDDER,

MD (Civil) FRCGS (Eng)

(SIGNED) SHASHIK NAYER,

MD (Physic) D. F. M. (Jr)

FRARIAL

25th September, 1951

Note: The above statement by Dr B. C. Roy and others has been endorsed by General B. H. Candy from Melbourne, Hampshire (U.K.), in a statement he issued to PTI-Bombay on September 27. General Candy, it may be noted, was the Surgeon-General of Bombay at that time. His statement is given below:—Ed

GENERAL CANDY'S TESTIMONY

"I visited Mr Gandhiji only twice a day. I am therefore, unable to substantiate any statements as to what was administered to him."

"From my knowledge of Mr Gandhiji, however, I am convinced that he would not willingly have taken glucose or any other form of food."

"About the 12th day of the fast when Mr Gandhiji passed through a crisis, I warned him in a private interview that he had 'reached capacity' and should end the fast."

"My words had no effect on him."

"It is a fact that about that time, I did invite Dr Roy and Dr Gidder to co-operate in giving Mr Gandhiji intravenous glucose in the event of his becoming unconscious."

"They refused Mr Gandhiji did not lose consciousness and so the question did not arise."

"The fast was terminated on the 21st day as Mr Gandhiji had previously determined."

MR. CHURCHILL AND GANDHI'S FAST

In his latest book, *The Siege of Fate*, written about Gandhi's 21 days' fast in the Aga Khan Palace detention camp in February 1942, Mr. Churchill says:

It was entirely inevitable at an early stage that he was being fed with glucose whenever he drove water. In the end, being told convinced of our duty to be standard his fast.¹

A joint statement by three of Gandhi's attending doctors and his private secretary refuting Mr. Churchill's allegations has already appeared in the *Press*. And now General Gandy, the then Surgeon-General, has added his testimony to it. One can only take that Mr. Churchill had been misinformed by the Government of India and the Indian cables or that Mr. Churchill's memory has begun to play tricks. It is regrettable that he should have allowed himself to make such statement about a man who is no more in the flesh to refute it.

I was at that time with Gandhi as his residence and medical attendant. Let me share with the public the detailed diary of true facts which I and my brother kept during those days.

On the 8th of August 1942, the All-India Congress Committee passed the famous 'Quit India' resolution and on the 9th morning Gandhi and all the prominent Congress leaders were arrested en masse. The Government resorted to extreme violence to suppress the popular upsurge for independence. Here and there there were sporadic cases of violence on the part of the people too. All this appalled Gandhi. After prolonged correspondence with the Government from behind the bars, he decided to go on a fast. In his first letter mentioning the fast, he wrote to Lord Linlithgow that he could not be a helpless witness of the 'horrible violence' of the Government against unarmed people, who had been treated like animals in jails and prisons. The vicious propaganda against the Congress and Gandhi, let loose by the then Government in India and abroad questioning his non-violence which was the very basis of his life, made Gandhi feel unhappy. He decided to fast in order to bear witness, by suffering in his innocence and to try to reach the conscience of those in authority, who were persisting in keeping him and his colleagues in prison without trial and without any opportunity to answer the charges levelled against them.

He called the fast a 'capacity fast', his own measure of his capacity to fast being 21 days, provided he could drink enough water. He had a constitutional inability to drink plain water. It gave him nausea. He, therefore, left to himself the option of adding small quantities of juice of sour or sweet lemons to the water so as to make it drinkable. Even then he did not allow his nausea become severe and his inability to drink plain water an sufficient quantity produced dangerous hyper-concentration on the twelfth day of his fast. The urine was heavily laden with acetone bodies and there was a tremendous swell in his breasts. Dr. K. T. Datta, a well-known pathologist of Bombay was brought by the Government to perform tests for kidney function, etc. The tests were performed by him in the presence of Government representatives and the results were alarming. There was marked acetone and blood urea had risen to 58 mgm. per 100 c.c. (normal 15-45 mgm. per 100 c.c.). It was clear that unless he could drink more water so that

the kidneys could excrete these uric acid, the result would be fatal.

On February 20, the 11th day of the fast General Gandy, the Surgeon-General of Bombay Presidency (an Englishman) came to see Gandhi. From my diary of that period I take the following:

General Gandy after looking at Gandhi said to Mrs. Bhabha (Mrs. Sarojini Bhabha, who was in prison with Gandhi), 'What a difference even two years of this man! He would make a India. It is a pity that such a life should be imprisoned.'

In the course of the medical treatment of the ailing Gandhi, the question of administering glucose was brought up by the Government doctors. They had even brought a 50 cc syringe for that purpose. General Gandy, the Surgeon-General of Bombay, said that as the official in charge, it was his duty to see that the prisoner did not die. It seemed that in view of Gandhi's condition they had decided to administer intravenous glucose hourly according to the last practice.

I was, of course, I objected to Dr. Gilder. Please explain to him that I would be dangerous. The next night all this. Dr. Gilder strongly opposed the proposal. In the morning Dr. Hadden Bay arrived. He too deprecated the idea of giving glucose hourly or intermittently to Gandhi.

The three of us, Dr. Hadden Bay, Dr. Gilder and myself decided that if the Government doctors persisted in administering glucose we would lodge a written protest and ask for the removal of the responsibility of looking after the patient. Gandhi, had when a serious promise from us that glucose would not be given to him under any circumstances during the period of the fast.

The Government doctors left the intravenous transfusion system in the custody of Mr. Khaty, the Superintendent-in-charge of the detention camp. When Gandhi woke up from his sleep, the doctors examined him. After the examination was over, General Gandy wanted to speak to Gandhi. He appeared agitated. He mentioned our something which I could not quite catch. I asked him if he wanted to be alone with Gandhi. He replied a 'yes'. All of us then retired out of the room.

After some time General Gandy came out of the room from the back door. Dr. Gilder asked him, 'General what did he say?' Gandy replied 'nothing' and walked on. For a moment, Dr. Gilder thought he had perhaps lost his way and called out twice. 'This way General,' Dr. Hadden Bay was about to go after him. I stopped him. 'You see he is to be tested and when to be done?' General Gandy walked straight down to the garden and back at least ten minutes before returning the rest of us.

What happened in the room after we had left was described by Gandhi later. 'Gandy was deeply moved. He pined us and down the room. Then came back and sat in the chair by my bedside; again got up and paced up and down to collect himself. Finally he murmured up strength and said, 'As a medical man I have to tell you that you have cracked your capacity.' I listened in silence.

Gandy was on the point of leaving then. His eyes were full of tears. I tried to console him. 'Why worry? I have completely got myself in the hands. If he wants to take the way I am ready for it. On the other hand nothing will happen to me if he wants to take them back out of me.'

Called back Dr. Gilder and myself had in the meantime set down to prepare the draft of a report to the Government. We wrote half way through when General Gandy returned and joined us. We placed our half-drafted draft before him. He interrupted

into his report the last few sentences out of it, but with one change: "where we had said 'there are of ready signs following that he may be left with permanent damage to some of his organs,' Candy changed it to 'there are already signs indicating permanent damage to some of his organs.'"

Afterwards we learnt that General Candy had been officially charged by the Government to oppose Gaudigi at his danger to enable them to technically wash their hands of responsibility.

Colonel Shah came to the Aga Khan palace on the morning of the 21st again. Here I must mention that the so-called palace was an old remarkable building which looked when it rained, so that it became difficult to find a dry corner for papers. There was heavy Victorian furniture, which had been removed from the rooms used by us at Gaudigi's instruction. The place had the look and atmosphere of an ordinary prison or detention camp.

The following dialogue took place between Colonel Shah and myself on the morning of the 21st, is indicative of the deep concern which Gaudigi's condition was causing to all during these fateful days. I again quote from my diary:

"Colonel Shah: 'Candy said I sat up last evening looking at each other's faces and wondering what was happening at the Palace. We thought of coming together then decided that we would only be disturbing you. At last at 10 p.m. we decided to go to bed so to be ready for an emergency call from the Palace.'

"Myself: 'I hope.' 'Yes, it is serious, but for all of us in attendance. But it is I suppose worse for those who are not on the spot.'

"Colonel Shah: 'The you can watch and see what is happening. We know we would be informed if there is a serious turn, but still the anxiety and suspense are there. Poor Candy is very worried.'"

Candy was very worried, indeed, and so was the Government in general. We learnt later that Mr. Dinwiddie, a high Government official, was sent by the Government to Poona to its debate about Gaudigi's funeral and posting of military in case of a popular rioting following upon his death, which was gleefully anticipated in the Government House at New Delhi.

The argument was pressed upon Gaudigi that since he had declared his fast to be a "capacity" fast and since it was clear he could not hold out much longer, he should give it up. He explained that by capacity fast he meant that he had adjudged his capacity to withstand the fast to be 21 days. The resolve once made could not be given up. If he had managed, the error must be paid for with his life.

The weakness had increased to such an extent on the 11th (the 12th day of his fast), that he could no longer sit up and lift the glass of water to his lips. We tried to make him take water through a suction tube, but he had not the strength even for that. Water had consequently to be given in small sips by spoon.

At about 4 in the afternoon Gaudigi's condition suddenly took a serious turn. I was close with him in his room at that time. He tried to sip water through the suction tube but after one or two sips, felt utterly exhausted. All

of a sudden there was a violent attack of retching and he began to throw about his hands and feet in a convulsive manner in great agony. It seemed as if he would faint. I felt the pulse. It was thrready and hardly perceptible. My heart sank within me. If only he could take water and relax if he might pull through. Summoning up all my courage, I said to him, "Begin now and the time come when you should have water flavoured with the juice of sweet lime!" For a few moments he returned no reply. Then slowly he shook his head and said "No".

I had already called Dr. Gfeller. I described to him what had happened and took out two ounces of water mixed with an equal volume of the juice of sweet lime in a measure glass and slowly poured it into Gaudigi's mouth. It had a magical effect. Slowly he opened his eyes.

Just then Karamba Gaudigi came in. She had been fervently praying in another part of the building utterly unconscious of what had happened to Gaudigi.

The doses of flavoured water were repeated at regular intervals. It enabled him to take and retain about 4 lb. of water during the night. That night he slept for five and a half hours.

There were ups and downs even after that. But he refused to eat, down the duration of his fast. At one stage distinct signs of water logging were noticeably indicating partial failure of the kidneys. The quantity of fruit juice used for flavouring the water was slowly kept down to the minimum. His caloric value could not have exceeded 100 in 24 hours. The fast was ended in terms of his resolve after 21 days.

In a letter forwarding in my request copies of checked records of the facts made during the fast, Dr. Gafar wrote:

"My records and my feelings of the 11th February, 1944 were conclusive enough to show that Mahatma was developing uraemia. The investigations were more than enough to show that he was drawing heavily upon his body tissues."

In addition his kidneys were also heavily involved at that stage as evidenced by a marked increase of urea in blood and excrete. Urine showed a trace of albumin with a few hyaline and hyaline granular casts.

"I again repeat that all the above investigations were done in Aga Khan Palace in the presence of the Surgeon-General (India) and other Doctors of the prison."

I cannot help feeling that whoever provided Mr. Churchill his brief about Gaudigi's fast, besides stating truth has ill-treated Mr. Churchill. By his malicious physical courage Mr. Churchill has achieved a legendary fame. May one expect him to show the moral courage to retract a statement which is contrary to facts and undo the grievous wrong he has allowed himself to do to the memory of one who is no longer alive and who while he lived, inspired of all that he suffered at Mr. Churchill's hands, owed him or his country no grudge? He continued to be their friend till the end.

New Delhi, 28-9-71

© A.

HARIJAN

Oct. 4

1951

FORMS OF THE ONE LORD

(JESSE VEDARA'S TELUGU-DRAMA, TRANSLATED)

[Harris's preface speaks it translated on the Ramakrishna day (1944-45).]

I was with you here about eight days back and before setting out on a walking tour, which will commence tomorrow from here, I am happy to spend my time waiting with you on this holy day of Rama-Navami. It gives me great delight to hold this communion between my soul and yours, in the all-pervading presence of God. The feeling grows in my mind that you are heri different faces of the Lord. My heart goes out to many years. And I am experiencing the joy that comes out of the meeting of hearts.

The Gift of Rama-Navami

In a sense every day that God grants us is holy and auspicious. Yet there are days which get invested with special sanctity because they are associated with holy memories. The Rama-Navami is one of such days. Indeed, one observed with great reverence throughout the country. This particular Rama-Navami day has become especially significant for me and I shall long remember it, for today I met our brethren, the Communists, who are at the jail here, and who, though they wish to serve the country like us, have chosen to follow a different course. I am glad that I have had a two hours' very frank and cordial talk with them. Indeed, it has been to me like the bread (food) distributed to devotees at the end of prayers at this great day.

The Right Outlook

You are aware that I am a worker (worker) at the Sarvodaya Samaj. Sarvodaya is for me one of the names of the Lord. Sarvodaya constitutes interest in and concern for all without exception. Hence, naturally, I feel concerned for our brethren the Communists also. And I would naturally like to convert them if possible to my point of view and win them over to my side. For, God willing, they too can become veterans of Sarvodaya. But God's will must prevail. We cannot interfere any concern on that account. We have, however, some duties to perform. It is my duty at least I feel that way, that I should hear and try to understand everybody sympathetically, modestly, modestly myself with them, if I want to see every one as he sees himself, for to see another from one's own point of view is not to see him at all. A true understanding of the other man consists in seeing him as he sees himself and in trying to know him by identifying oneself with him. That is the way to appreciate the many facets of which a question is progressively composed. It gives me a thorough, all-sided view of the subject, all other approaches are partial perceptions and therefore not thorough.

I am thus pleased that I had the good luck of meeting them on this auspicious day. Lord Ramachandra is within each of us. He is omnipresent (one who pervades our mind and heart). He is everywhere, ever present. He has neither birth nor death, nor is He subject to transformations. He is beyond all forms and mutations. He is also beyond the ken of the mind. All this creation, we call Nature, is His. This is His Power, who is always present with Him. We cannot separate Him from His Power. Even so the sun is inseparable from light, the river from water, salt from its taste, a thing from its form and matter from its properties, even so God is inseparable from His Power. So we say 'Sita-Nama', for Sita accompanies Rama. Maya goes with the Master, and with the Creator the creation — Nature — which is His work.

The Stage for His Play

As I and life is beyond birth, Penance throughout India know and understand this well. And still we stage His birth, today in concrete and visible ways. We feel that He is being born today in our hearts, and if we feel that way, be sure that surely for you and me that may well signify the moment of His birth. Generally, whatever we do in life is tainted with egotism, it, however, we do anything which is free from this bias and free from the contamination of any selfish desire, and which is, therefore, as to say impersonal, because its source lies beyond our little self, that work and that moment becomes His birth. In this spirit today we dramatize the birth of the Lord. Let us do so every day and every moment of our life, that the Lord may take birth within us and be with us at every moment and be even, so that the will may prevail and all our great passions might be effaced. Let our heart become a perpetual stage for His play. But owing to our limitations we set apart only one day in a year consecrated to this noble endeavour. With some it is the Rama-Navami day, with others the Krishnashtomi day. The point is to choose some particular day when we might try to forget our petty selves.

Direct Experience

Today when we visited the jail, your Minister Mr. Ramachandra Rao was also with us. After we were there he said that we should listen so that we may be back home in good time to celebrate the Rama-Navami, when he would read the Ramayana. Now why was this urge to be so late to read the Ramayana? Well, that is what makes for the attainment of wisdom. That is indeed the purpose behind the celebration of this day — to bring this holy urge to the fore, so that we may learn to let it rule us. The lesson of the birth of the Divine in the inner sanctuary of our heart must be learnt by every one of us. And if the entire community learns to observe the passion on some appointed day, it may well be the beginning of the ideal state when the Divine will be daily and perpetually born in our hearts. Ultimately, we shall be full of Him, for our soul for the Lord will have

contained the ego in us. We will cease to live apart from Him. The experience may go further, and we may come to realise that we are only instruments in His hands and He is the real doer. That is no mere speculation, it is an experience well within our reach in our earthly life. This is not like the attainment of heaven, for which we have to wait till after death. It is like the drinking of water followed by immediate quenching of thirst. We have not to wait for the result till some distant point of time after death. It is a matter of immediate and most concrete experience that a man can fully describe his experience and be an instrument in the hands of the Lord. Only he must be ready to reduce himself to zero and open himself to the Divine.

The Great Legacy

That our ancestors have left us certain days for practising the sanctification of the ego is their greatest legacy to us. They could not have bequeathed a more valuable estate than this. We do know that our forefathers did many great and noble deeds, they left us the rich soil, they made it cultivable and habitable. They planted trees and founded villages and cities where formerly there was no trace of human habitation. They laboured hard and enriched the land and brought it to beauty and prosperity. And they made a gift of this beautiful land, which was their creation, to us. Thus they conferred on us obligations without number. But of all the obligations which they have conferred on us, the greatest is that they have given us these holy days. I wonder, at times, what would have happened to us if we had not had the benefit of these days. So soon as a day of this holy type comes round, our mind detaches itself from the routine course of our worldly life and turns inward, and is impelled to contemplate, and we begin to live an inner life. If only for a little while. Days like this bring us this rare help. I feel very much indebted to my ancestors who have given us these days.

And, brothers, it is really a matter of great joy that we are doing some serious thinking to-day. And what next that we are thinking? We find that notwithstanding our independence, the conditions in the country have not improved. vast masses of our countrymen still live where they were, in misery and poverty. The refugees are still wandering about. Then, there are the Muslims in parts of Hyderabad, and the Harijans everywhere. The women have their own tale of woe to tell. Misery seems to stalk the land in many ways and many forms. None is happy. The peasant labourers, indeed, all are in a bad way. Every one has some trouble or other. One complains that he is poor and goes hungry. Another is sad because nobody loves him. Some think that the rich must necessarily be happy — only those who are poor and have not enough to eat, are unhappy. This is a mistake. The poor are undoubtedly unhappy, but I have known the rich, who are multi-millionaires and who, yet, lament their lot. What is the matter with

them? They say they want peace, and they are unable to get it with all their wealth. And that is true, for how can man, pre-eminently a mental being, get peace from pain? Peace can come only when the sub-conscious passions are stilled, when a man has driven out anger. Every nation of our people is sore with distress. In these circumstances, it behooves us to turn our eye inward, and, for a while, look for the cause of this suffering inside. The pity is that every one looks for both pain and pleasure in the outer world. Let me urge you to look inward to get at their source. For the pain and pleasure in the outer world have their roots inside. When an enemy puts the better of us in the outer world, the defeat comes from the feeling of hatred in our mind. It is the hatred inside which confronts us in the form of the enemy in the outside world. Should we erase that hatred from the mind, the enemy is bound to disappear. He changes into a friend. The Quran says somewhere that if you substitute love and sympathy in place of malice, you will find immediately that the hostile enemies have changed into friends and make no return to be won. Buddha was never tired of repeating his famous teaching, 'Hate is never pacified by hate'. Give up hate and take courage — for courage here is a necessary prerequisite — to lose the enemy, and you will also before long find that the enemy has turned into a friend. The Upanishads teach the same thing. So do also Shankaracharya and Krishna. I can recall several names in support of this, for this has been the central teaching of the sages, and God in His infinite mercy has sent down, indeed, rained on us innumerable texts. Whenever it was necessary, he never failed to send to us men to proclaim His message to us. There was no time in history, takes any country whatever, when these messengers from God did not come to us. They came and taught us to turn our gaze inward and find the self. But we deserted their teaching and direct all our efforts to the acquisition of worldly knowledge. This knowledge, too, has its place in the scheme of things. For the outside world is also the form of the Lord. And so it is not wrong to acquire worldly love. But though He is outside, essentially He is within. Therefore try to look within and do it even more religiously on the special days like Rama-Navami, which are particularly dedicated to this purpose.

How shall I describe the greatness of Rama? The name does not refer to any mortal as such, though a great man bearing that name flourished in our history and his fame continues to our day. But King Rama was only a person of Him, and he embodied the same Being whom we embody. So, this particular name, Rama, which we constantly utter, refers to the Supreme Lord, a manifestation of whose power Rama, the son of Dasharatha was and whose manifestations you and I are. If you think that Rama alone embodied Him, and there was no other manifestation, nor there is any at present, you are wholly

mistaken. You (shall) know that all of us carry this within us (lower) and are born in this world, born as men for the realisation of that supreme experience. The truth has been realised everywhere and preached at all times by many, and many, indeed, have been His devotees in India and outside also.

The utterance of this sacred name puts us in guard of His servants, of the devotees who did His will. As I told you this is inseparable from Name, and then we cannot help remembering Lakshman and Bharat and many others.

In your parish too there lived a saint named Ramadas. Sri Sitaram Bharti wants to make a memorial to him. I supported him, but how are we to raise materials to sustain? There have been innumerable saints in India. Wherever you go you find that the place has been blessed with the devotion of Ramas. Therefore the only real recovery that we can build to perpetuate their memory is that we should all of us become bhaktas, devotees of Ramas. If we do not try to do that, we forfeit our claim to raise a memorial to any of His devotees. The true memorial must consist only in our efforts to be His devoted servants as Ramadas was.

Brothers: I will not detain you any longer. Tomorrow I am starting on a tour of your part of the province in Nalanda and Warangal. People over there are suffering a lot. I am going to be friends with them and help them if I can. We have been meditating on God all this while and we have made good use of that day. I shall only request you to pray to Him constantly, erase all feelings of enmity from your mind, and cultivate love and kindness for every one. Forget caste and believe that mankind is one and we are to serve humanity. That is my prayer to you. Let us again remember and recite God's name in the end.

(President from Khat)

FIRST THINGS FIRST

(By Vekabhai Jodrell)

With the election manifestos and statements of policies of the various political parties, there has been no dearth of 'First Things First' suggestions. Many of them are well meant and well thought out. A question, however, arises: whether these flowing plans, programmes and policies are going to bear fruits.

After a serious consideration of all manifestos published so far one comes to the conclusion that all of them have ignored, in fact, overlooked the real 'First'. They are the vast and ever-increasing mass-poverty, the appallingly low standard of life of the people at large and the widespread and acute poverty amongst them. Their poverty and unemployment is the *Wekabhai Number One*. Ignorance of all its left claims, even the West has so far failed to solve this problem despite its enormous industrial progress.

This is a huge Himalayan task, and I have not the least doubt that the only way for us is the path outlined out by the Father of the Nation viz to reconstitute the shakhs and all it stands for in our lives in the shape of moral values. In spite of the lack of appearance and faith, and even in spite of adverse criticism or

derision, the shakhs had given us the much-needed unity amongst us at one time, and did also win for us the much-coveted political freedom. And it will be once again the very same shakhs that will, as certainly as the existence of the solar system, lead us to economic freedom as well, provided we accept it, along with other things, as the unifying force.

It is surprising that all the election manifestos are so silent about it. Perhaps it is so because we have, so to say, mortgaged our common conscience for the alluring and fascinating day-dreams of the unbridled civilisation induced in by the industrial revolution.

Let us leave, ere it is too late, the lessons from the experience of the past, from the happenings of the present and also from the vanities of other nations of the world which have been shrouded by the deceptive supremacy of machine-power over man-power, and resolutely reconstitute the shakhs and all it stands for in our lives. The dream of the millennium of the common people, scattered in groups of hundreds or thousands in the hells of the villages of politically free India, is bound to remain a Utopia unless we begin at the lowest rung of the ladder, and think first of rehabilitating the poor and the most destitute among the poor.

Rajkot, 29-7-51

(Ltr/Vek)

TANDON-MARRIWALA CORRESPONDENCE

New Delhi
Sept. 5, 1951

My dear Brotherwrengal,

I have received today your letter of the 2nd. I thank you for your having sent to me copies of your articles. I have read them. I had also seen a summary of your statement in the papers. I am enclosing a copy of my statement which I have given in a few points.

I was surprised to read your article. I did not know that you were so ignorant about my thoughts and the source of my life. Possibly you have not read even my Presidential address at the Youth Congress. I am at a loss to understand how you have assumed confusion Bhaktas with me and raised a discussion about the Arya social in comparison with me. I have never been an Arya social, though I have sympathy with some of their good things. I have even recommended Hindu-Muslim brotherhoods. And Hindu-Muslim brotherhood has been common among Congressmen for several years past.

I am sending under separate post Hindi and English copies of my Presidential address at the Youth Congress. The latter is a translation of the former. If you will give a little time to read it, you will be acquainted with some of my ideas. I particularly invite your attention to the subjects under the headings: "Construction" and "Hindu-Muslim Question". If you can spare some more time and read "Economic Control" and the next subject, you will know more of my ideas.

You will see on page 21 towards the lower end of my Presidential Address the same thing as I have expressed today in reply to you in connection with "culture"—though very briefly.

You have made a mention of the Trades Union. I do not know what that idea is, because I have never expressed a view to the Congress. It is a different matter if some of my colleagues had the same view and opinion as I do. You have also referred to my part in regard to Khat in the Constituent Assembly with

concepts and have hinted that there was some line of color at that time. If you had tried to understand the facts, you would have seen that when I saw that in my view on Indians was being done, I alone resigned from the Congress before voting against it. For it was the right course under the rules.

In this way many of your representatives avoid a particularly direct truth. If I want to refuse here all these points this letter will be unnecessarily lengthy.

If you yourself cannot independently perceive the contents in your representative, it will be to me not saying anything about it.

Yours

(M) P D TANDON

PS You will no doubt publish your article in *Swadhin*. If you think proper you may publish your letter to me and this my letter as also my enclosed statement in *Swadhin*.

(Translated from Hindi)

(M) P D TANDON

[The statements and my reply have been already published in the *Swadhin* of I.S.R. 5]. My letter of the 1st was a brief one containing copies of the statements and asking the publication to be not important. The relevant portion of my reply to the above is given below. —E. O. W.]

Rajendra Wartha,

19/10/61

'Swadhin' Tandon,

Now to your letter

1. I had read the whole of your Hindi speech and I approved some of your views. Your views regarding culture and culture were, as you say in your letter, only partly important. Since I have no Indian knowledge of your life and ideas and those that are reported to be from of your party seemed to me to hold very much. My own views my opinion remained what I have stated in the article. Then I saw in the way in which you and they have presented and propagated your respective views a certain spirit which contained me of the Aryanism spirit. That was the reason of my taking that expression. Now that you have changed your point about, renewed I am glad to accept it. It would be good if all those who are with you and still better, if the whole Congress, would make it known that they agree with these views of yours.

2. Tandon Sir, I welcome your clarification of the word *Man*. Even when I used that expression I did not suggest an organized group. Even so it has to be admitted or say I at least have the impression that while there is a solid group of Congress workers working for you or under your name, there is not any working for Jendharaj. And this does give the appearance of a line or group. This might be in spite of your working with it but that is a different matter. However I accept your clarification as far as you personally are concerned, and yet the reality has to be accepted that there does still today a group of workers known as Tandon-party group.

3. In the interest of the public, I wish to bring to your attention one more subject. In the views which I have recorded to you are in fact wrong, I am glad that you set your own accounts. Because fundamentally I am Hinduist but these doubts are shared by a large section of the people. I have the impression that a large number of people hold the same views about you as I have recorded to you. The fact that the groups opposed to Congress and attached to communism, such as the R.S.S. and the Hindu Mahasabha, enjoyed more interest in your election and rejoiced over your victory indicates what trends and ideology they take you to represent. What is, then the source of this confusion, wherein lies the difficulty that the groups profoundly committed against you, as searce themselves, and Hindu Mahasabha never? I would very humbly suggest that for

your own sake and for the good and the party of Congress, this point should be made perfectly clear so that communists, other hawks or outside the Congress may not labour under the illusion that they can count on your help or that of the Congress in propagating their anti-Hindu or plans.

4. Moreover the approach towards communal and cultural questions is not the only difference pointed out by me in my article between Mahatma and you. There are other points as well. It is the main point of all these views which I thought to convey by the designation *Freedom Line* or *Freedom Ideology*. It is again these that some of these views are not held by you personally but by your supporters. They are attributed to you because you have not openly clarified them. For instance, I may refer to the views expressed in the two statements of Mahatma, or the views of Mahatma regarding the relationship in the interests of the two temples covered the temples. All these questions assume importance in the Hindu-Tandon controversy.

5. You decided to leave these points out. For fear of making the letter long, I would request you to ignore attention if you feel that I have learned enough prophecies which are too likely likely to be removed, please do not hesitate to make use of my statement, and write if they affect or disturb for obscuring the doubts of several Congressmen the public and perhaps (unhappily) him and 'What can be a greater benefit to the public than that the public the Congress, Jendharaj and you should know one another fully and unambiguously'. It will do so, because you are all concerned. If you do so in the coming edition of the A.I.C.C.

6. I believe that the moment I realize my mistake, and perceive truth I do not hesitate to say it. Nevertheless, it is possible that I may fall to discrepancies between truth and reality in certain matters. Even so you should make every effort to dispel the doubts from the minds of the public regarding me.

Yours

(M) KIRKORAL MATHURWALA

(Translated from Hindi)

[After the conclusion of the A.I.C.C. Session I addressed the following letter to Mahatma]

Rajendra Wartha

06/10

Swadhin Sir Tandon,

I received your telegram last night. Thanks.

I think that under the changed circumstances, the publication of the correspondence will be without any purpose. Hence with your consent, I have withheld its publication.

You have had to pass through considerable mental disturbance during the last few days. Unfortunately, I too became prejudiced in it. Ever since Mahatma's Presidency of the Tripura Congress became a failure and Krishnaraj was obliged to resign the place at Morad, I have come to the conclusion that no individual not according to the dominant leadership of an organization is more successful as he is. As a matter of fact, the Congress has again and again demonstrated the truth of this proposition ever since the Surat Congress of 1907, when the Presidency of Mahatma Gandhi proved a failure. What ideology will ultimately prevail is a secondary question. Now the important and decisive factor is— which ideology or individual or group of individuals is dominant for the time being. Though I know that you had the support of no less a person than the Mahatma himself I always feared that this arrangement was not going to last.

What more need I add? If I have displeased you in any way I serve your pardon. There was nothing personal in this. My respect for you has not diminished in any way. Rather, it has increased much by the measure in which you uphold the dignity of your office.

Respectfully

(M) KIRKORAL MATHURWALA

(Translated from Hindi)

*Literally 'unhappily', term usually addressed to others

TANDONJI'S DISPLEASURE

The following report of a speech by Shri Tandonji in a public meeting at Allahabad has appeared in the *Magyar Times* and other papers:

Referring to the charges levelled against the Shri Tandonji reported that even a close associate of Netaji, General. Shri Madhuvrata, should have issued a Press statement which he said was "far from truth. He had not even the courtesy to withdraw his charges after he (Tandonji) had admitted his past sins. Had I been in his position I would have suitably expressed regret over such a false statement. He added."

The reader is aware that as soon as I read Shri Tandonji's statement regarding his views on culture, I immediately published my satisfaction over it, accepted it fully, and desired to be assured that it was accepted by the whole Congress whole-heartedly (see *Magyar* 5-9-81).

In addition to his statement, there was also some personal correspondence between Shri Tandonji and myself. Shri Tandonji desired me to publish it in *Magyar*. As the A.I.C.C. meeting would have been over by the time the correspondence could be published in *Magyar* and there was no time to be lost, I permitted him to have it published from his end. I also sent copies to Allahabad for being published in *Magyar* in the earliest issue thereafter.

In the meanwhile, the A.I.C.C. met and we knew in *Magyar*. Since I had not had the latest newspapers, I inquired of Shri Tandonji if he had published the correspondence and whether he desired me to publish it in *Magyar* in view of the events that had taken place. He replied that the correspondence had not been published by him, that he did not regard its publication necessary any longer, but left the matter to my discretion. I felt that in view of the changed situation, the pursuit of the controversy would not be very useful and so used my discretion in favour of its non-publication.

But in view of the above report, it is fair to both Shri Tandonji and myself that the correspondence should be placed before the public, even at this stage.

Shri Tandonji charges me with not being what a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi is expected to be. I am extremely sorry to find myself so accused. I have never claimed to have been a worthy associate of that great soul. It was the sheer pretensions of Gandhi that he allowed me to be regarded as his associate and did not discuss me very early. But that on other grounds than that of vanity, namely, that it has been my humility, which made him always reliant on my favour. I believe I have never been slow in expressing an unreserved apology, even if I had wronged a child, or a man in a very subordinate position. No man of vanity would stand in my way if an apology is due to a person of Shri Tandonji's position, who is so

much my senior in age and for whom I have always entertained high personal regard.

But I own I did not see any reason for tendering an apology as such. For, as I have said, I am glad to be assured that Tandonji's views on Indian culture are far more advanced than I had imagined. This of course implies that I have corrected my knowledge of him in regard to this, and acknowledge that I was mistaken in regarding him as a representative of the Hindu Culture, whether orthodox or otherwise, in his personal capacity. But at the same time I was constrained to say that if my article "Netaji-Tandonji Controversy", is read carefully, the reader will not find a single statement in which I have referred to Tandonji alone. At every place I have said "Tandonji and his people" or "Tandonji and his colleagues". Moreover, Shri Tandonji's public statements dealt with only one of the points discussed by me in that article. His letter to me explains his position more fully on that ground. It is good and welcome. But the other points need, in my opinion, elucidation. For there does exist in the Congress a group which holds the views designated by me as the Tandonji-ideology. All these views may not be in accordance with Tandonji's personal views, and the designation may be a misnomer. But that ideology is there and the upholders of that ideology look to Tandonji and not to Netaji for support. Hence my analysis of the two ideologies within the Congress seems still to hold good. For the rest, let the correspondence speak for itself.

I hope Tandonji will take an objective view of the matter and be pacified. I regret I have caused him much mental agitation and incurred his displeasure.

Wardha, 25-9-81

K. C. MADHUVRATA

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. C. NEHRUR



VOL. IV No. 22 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1961

TWO ANNAS

CHECKING CORRUPTION

(By Mahadevadas Jajal)

It is now an indisputable fact that corruption is rampant in the country on a large scale. From the letters I receive in connection with the Hansas Lake Movement I find that not a small number of men are restless about the eradication of this evil. But nobody has so far been able to suggest any effective remedy for it. It is our duty to only to continue our efforts in that direction. Ultimately a solution will be found only when public opinion against it gets very strong. We, therefore, make a suggestion that the names and addresses of persons, with full details of individual cases of corruption, should be given the publicity in newspapers. Several papers do so even at present. If necessary, a special journal might also be published for the purpose. This has been suggested and several friends have welcomed the idea.

Naturally complaints about corruption should, in the first instance, reach the authorities competent to deal with the matter decisively. But here the experience often is that nothing is done even by the officers. They are indifferent. It is possible they might be receiving several complaints which are filed and engendered out of spite. It is therefore necessary to devise a method, which will leave no doubt about the veracity of complaints, and suitably place them before the proper officers. The local Shuddha Vyavahar Mandals should take upon themselves these duties. In some cases they might themselves take appropriate cases to court. A person who brings a complaint with some risk to himself is likely to be believed. A newspaper too, which publishes such authentic reports with particulars of names etc., undertakes a risk along with its correspondents, who are expected not to conceal his identity. It will help to create public awakening and the officers will also feel a greater sense of responsibility.

I feel that a beginning should be made to set up such a machinery and give a trial to the scheme. The task is difficult and risky and needs a great amount of sacrifice. Hard, worldly-wise people will be of no use in it. Simple men of good character will come forward to take the risk. But they will require the co-operation and support of others. A great deal of work can be done by local Shuddha Vyavahar

Mandals. Some strict conditions should be laid down for the publication of facts of individual cases of corruption in newspapers to eliminate the possibility of its abuse by designing persons.

Corruption can be broadly classified into two divisions: private and public. Private corruption is resorted to for two purposes. Some persons give bribes to get an advantage for themselves. For instance, for obtaining a contract for getting inferior goods passed off as superior ones etc. Others do so out of helplessness to get what they are entitled to, but which is not granted without tips. From the first group of persons we cannot expect any co-operation. It is only persons in the second group who, if they are very earnest to root out this evil, can give publicity to true incidents. In the beginning, perhaps, it may be unnecessary to disclose the name of the person who has taken the bribe. It might be published after investigation. But the giver of the bribe would have to declare his name and endorse his guilt. In some cases, the charge might be held not proved, and the water might so turn against the complainant, that he may become liable to punishment, though the truth might be on his side. This risk has to be taken.

There is a type of corruption which takes the form of an established practice. It is the common experience that people take for granted that in railways and courts, no work could be got done without giving some bribe or tip. In such cases we cannot expect much help forthcoming from the persons who give the bribe. This work must be done by others, such as students, members of Peace Brigades, Seva Dal (Service Corps) etc. Even here, the bribe-givers can help the eradication, if they make true entries in their account-books showing expenses incurred for illegal gratification as such. These account-books should be presented before Income Tax officers and such expenses should be claimed as part of business expenses. In case, they are disallowed, the cases might be taken to the highest tribunal.

Students and members of Peace Brigades etc. may render useful service in this field. They can keep a watch over such activities and bring them to light. It will put some check upon the officers. Cases discovered by such united efforts will carry greater weight both in courts and for publication in newspapers.

HARIJAN

Oct. 13

1961

CRITICISM OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION

[The following are a few of the points, which Vinoba passed before a number of the Planning Commission in the course of a personal discussion. I regret I have to give them only in their abridged form, deprived of all their juice, fervour and freedom. A full report has been published in which date of September 31 — E.S.M.]

1. Work for All

The Plan does not undertake to provide work and food to every one in the country — a directive laid down in the Constitution. If this dogmatism is accepted as the fundamental basis of planning, the whole outlook and approach will undergo a revolutionary transformation. Instead of this, the Planners, take the maintenance of small, large-scale industries etc. as the primary obligation.

Enable every one to live and other things will follow in due course. There must be a solemn declaration that by a fixed date, employment will be available to every one seeking it. Employ every implement you think to be necessary for the purpose. Vinoba had no objection if the most efficient up-to-date machinery or tool was employed, provided employment was provided to every one. He objected to proceeding on the assumption that it was not possible to do so. If that was their view, they must quit their jobs.

2. Drink

Vinoba referred to the disastrous effects of addiction to intoxicating drinks on the life of the people in Telangana for nearly a hundred years. The people have been made addicted to drink, with the result that though nations after nations have been awakened in the world, there was no awakening there. As people meet in the Ashrams for prayer in the evening, the villages in Telangana meet for quarrels. The planners do not seem to be at all aware of their duty to improve the conditions of life of such people in the country.

3. "Family Planning"

Vinoba strongly objected to the measures suggested for "producing less children." He disputed the proposition that the population of India was unacceptably high. A Government which thought that it could not look to the well-being of the people in the country with their natural growth, must quit the office instead of asking their principals — the people — to reduce their numbers so that they might be able to rule over them.

Had the Planners any experience of birth-control methods? Had they ever given thought to the various causes which lead to a heavy rate of increase in the population? The birth-rate among

Indians is very small, among the sheep, it is very great. The birth-rate among the rural population is greater because of the low living conditions there. What is needed is not artificial means of birth-control, but a proper direction of their life. Their life must be transformed. Conditions necessary for ensuring healthy children are also conditions which reduce birth-rate.

4. Village Industries

The Commission wants village industries "to stand on their own legs." They first break their legs and then they ask them to stand on their own. In spite of this injury, the village industries have somehow tried to stand on their hands. They must be poured off them instead of asking them to shift for themselves or commit suicide.

With a foreign and hostile Government Gandhi gave an impetus to hand and village industries. Vinoba hoped that the Government would acknowledge that the contribution of these industries to the achievement of independence was at least 10 per cent, if not more. The Government of free India say that they cannot achieve what Gandhi could do single-handed under a foreign government. It is like this: a mother says to her son, "I have laboured for you all these years and provided living for you. Now I am weak and you must protect me." But the son says, "I am unable to do it. It is not profitable."

The fact is that the Planning Commission do not know even simple mathematics, and so do not know the productive and employment providing capacity of village industries. Vinoba had gone from village to village in Telangana and made a careful study. There was ample scope for hand work. The spinning industry was still alive. He challenged even the Socialists to suggest any alternative industry to hand for these villages. They could not suggest any. But the Government does not care for hand, and it is allowed to be throttled.

The fact is that they have made certain assumptions about methods of production. These assumptions are false and must be given up.

The Plan suggests that villages should themselves plan to provide work for their inhabitants. Let the Government cease to collect the land revenue from the villages if they do not wish to undertake any responsibility for providing employment to villages. Let also the village industries taken away from them be returned to them. They have depleted the villages of their industries in tobacco, oil, gum etc., and they say that the villages should find new ones. Are the Planners able to suggest a definite way out? Do they realise what would happen to the towns if the villages go down degeneration let them back? It is extremely necessary that nothing should be planned which will harm the village industries. Just as they have "reserved forests", so there must be some industries "reserved for villages".

They say that these village industries "take away the joy from life", and so they want to

introduce dance and music in the villages to the accompaniment of drink to create this joy of life."

Vinoba severely criticised the trade mills. They had come down from 17 yds. to 12 yds. and alleged that they did not get enough cotton in the country. Not that there was no cotton in the country but they wanted qualities which the country did not produce. They could use country cotton in previous years, but now they had discarded it, because it was rough, and wanted fine cotton as their raw material, even if it had to be imported. They discarded their own cloth because it was not handsome enough, and wanted to adopt another's. And these mills are given protection and various economic facilities to enable them to purchase foreign cotton, while the khadi industry was told that it was not economic and must stand in competition with machine cloth.

Vinoba was told that the plan did even have a khadi scheme, which consisted of an expenditure of 63 crores for 15 lakh khadi workers. Vinoba said that it was all consumed on wrong lines. It did not contemplate khadi as a domestic occupation for self-sufficiency as the first and foremost object, but only as a type of labour put down for wages. Khadi could not prevail that way.

1. The Food Problem

Government made a solemn declaration that they would not export any food after 1955. Then they discovered that they could not fulfil their pledge. Instead of abstaining they appointed a commission to report that the country cannot sustain self-sufficiency for some years to come!

Vinoba stressed that the attainment of self-sufficiency in food must top every other aim. They would not take insufficiency of food so lightly, if they understood the gravity of the situation. In case the world or India got involved in a war, she would probably have to sell herself to the country undertaking to provide food for her.

The Plan is based on eternal begging. It provides no incentive to produce more food for the nation nor does it contain any suspension for them to make any sacrifice for the nation in times of crisis.

2. Prevention of Cow-slaughter

The Plan says at one place that unrestrained slaughter of cows has not affected the cattle population of the country. At the same time it has not the courage to say that they do want slaughter of useless cows. They know that people would not tolerate such a blunt statement. Let them therefore accept the facts. The cow and the bullock form a part of our country, and their preservation is an aspect of Indian socialism. Hence their slaughter will have to be stopped. The economic condition of the nation can bear this burden if we make proper use of the cow-dung while they are alive, and of their bones, hides, blood, flesh etc. for manure and other things, after they are dead. They would not be a burden in that case. As for

the Muslims, Vinoba was prepared to assure Government on their behalf that they did not want cow-slaughter.

When he was among the Mao Muslims, Vinoba had told them in their mosque that if Allah had been pleased with meat offering, butchers alone could please Him, and no Prophet would be necessary to give that message to the people. But Allah did not thrust for meat. He wanted the devotion of the people. Vinoba's words appealed to the Muslims and the Mao, and it prevented a riot in the offing. The Constitution gave a clear mandate to the Government and the Plan should unambiguously declare that cow-slaughter would be stopped forthwith.

3. Basic Education

The Plan simply approves the Basic method of education. It does not take pains to show that it is practically possible, and is the only one which will produce a self-reliant and united nation, and create self-supporting schools. The Basic school should have a plot of two acres of land to it, in which vegetables and cotton could be produced for the school and each family in the village should give a measure of grain to the teachers, so that the extra-payment since would have to be met.

4. Land Policy

The Plan takes for granted that small holdings are uneconomic. Vinoba demanded proof. He granted that villagers could take to collective farming successfully after proper training, but that did not mean that as long as they were inclined to cultivate small fragments the production should necessarily decrease. Vinoba found that the people in their present condition would not be able to take to co-operative farming immediately. The experiments in co-operative farming hitherto conducted had proved failures. Knowledge of arithmetic was a necessary prerequisite in co-operative farming, and people lacked it. Hence, in his Land-Gift mission, he did not insist on co-operative farming at this stage. He came across some people who were willing to give him land for distribution on the condition of co-operative farming. Vinoba asked them to make the experiment themselves. These donors wanted to dominate co-operative farming by keeping a big share for themselves. Vinoba told them to give away all their lands and to free from the pride of ownership of the land. They should allow the people to become owners of land for once.

It was necessary that surplus lands should be taken from their present owners and distributed to those who did not have land or any alternative means of livelihood and were ready to take to cultivation.

Vinoba had always insisted that the land revenue should be collected in kind. He did not want money economy to rule the villages. He also wanted village labour to be paid in food. These two things would go a long way to prevent starving conditions.

There are several factors which have contributed to make agriculture, particularly of

small holdings, not as productive as might be expected. Calculators have been neglected for centuries and systematically deprived of the facilities needed for successful intensive cultivation. Both the land revenue policy and the law relating to transfer of land are responsible for these, in addition to other causes. Sometimes, I might be able to speak about them in more detail.—E. G. M.)

BOYCOTT AS PART OF CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

(By Shriyendra Menonkar)

Disparity

During the last nine months I have toured the different provinces with a view to explain to the people the idea and the basic principles of the Kusti Mandali Movement. These tours have brought me in touch with constructive workers of all types and I have had an opportunity to converse with them on the different aspects of constructive work. In the course of these talks a thing that struck me as very significant, and which I found to be almost universally present, was that most of the workers ended up with a note of disparity. It seemed as if they felt that all their labours in the field of constructive work led them nowhere, as if the light was fading and there was darkness ahead. Some of them appeared to be wholly incapable of thinking ahead or more. That they still go about, machine-like with their ghams, charkhas, or looms, school, or evidence rather of their loyalty than of a living faith and conviction born of clear engineering. Doubtless, they have the will to stick to their routine but when questioned regarding the principles or objectives of their work they are hardly able to open their mouths. Some are engaged in acts of social service from a sense of duty or compassion. Some say that they want to build a new society, but they have no clear idea either of the nature of that new society or of the way it would be brought about. I was surprised to come across even among old comrades and co-workers some who do not, or have never ceased to look upon khadi and village self-help as providing any key to the solution of the vast problems that face the country, and still stick to this work. On being questioned about the reason for this, they replied as if in utter despair that having given a quarter of a century of their life to this work, they could not go on for any change of the programme now. If the Government and the people allowed, they would spend the rest of their life in the same work to which they were accustomed. They had the consolation that after all what they were doing was good and useful work and did some good to the people. Finally, I was shocked at the absence of vision among our constructive workers. And I have no doubt that this is a situation that calls for serious thought.

We must be clear as to what makes us take to constructive work. Individually and collectively we must decide as to what values attract us, what ideas inspire us, and what ob-

jectives guide us. In the days of slavery our constructive work was, to most of us, a means of establishing close contact with the people by doing some little good to them and thus creating in them a measure of national consciousness and securing their co-operation in the mighty effort to end the British Raj. Even at that time people were not waiting to whom scraps of the pie was an end in itself. Still, generally speaking, the workers had Swami as their goal. Now that British Raj has ended the situation must be treated as having basically changed. Naturally, therefore, our workers ask, why constructive work now? When we speak of *charkha*, people tell us, why talk of *charkha* now after Swami? The people who ask us such questions include workers of the Charkha Sangh and other all-India constructive associations. This explains why we are not able to produce in our organisations and institutions that atmosphere, or in our workers that way of being and thinking which is essential for the achievement of our ideals. The times forward which we are passing challenge us to think clearly and live rightly. If we fail to do this we stagnate and perish.

Two Approaches

Khadi and village industries work might be undertaken on two considerations: (1) the philanthropic and (2) the revolutionary. The philanthropic consideration is by no means new. In this wide world there have always been people who have made their lives noble by devoting themselves to philanthropic service and have even suffered and sacrificed for its sake. Even before Gandhi came on the scene there were people who rendered moral service to the people in various ways. Service of the poor is nothing new. But Bapu made service of *Dandistapooran* an article of faith. He said that if we wanted to serve the poor we must run to the villages for it is there that the poor live. What did he emphasise on the village mass? Why did he not also talk of the towns and the cities?

We know that it is the earth that produces all wealth. When labour is applied to earth wealth is produced. And it is the villager who labours and produces wealth. How is it then that the villagers become poor? And having become poor how, according to Bapu, do they become *Marganas*?

The villager produces wealth but the city dweller takes it. The tallest buildings are based on the cities. While the village is *Bandha* (servant) of the city (Lord of Poverty) the city dweller is *Lakshmanapooran* (Lord of Prosperity). How strange really that the city dweller becomes the master of wealth even when he applies no labour to earth! The fact is that instead of applying his labour to earth, the city dweller applies his talent and capital to man. Acting as a middle-man he sours all the wealth produced by the villager. And when as a result of exploitation by the city the village is impoverished and our conscience is touched by the misery of the village,

we physically-quickly came forward to render from some service with a view to affording him money. We ask him to produce some bread, or prepare some other article which we will to the rich city dweller and pay some price to the tiller in return of his labour. Sometimes we take donations from the urban people and distribute free medicine to village people. We thus try to secure crumbs for the village people from the sumptuous table of the city dwellers. This is how, we think, we are working to end poverty. But does it lead us anywhere? If we raise a mound at one place it is bound to create a hollow at another. In course of time that hollow will become a reservoir for stagnant water full of filth and foul odours. And however troublesome the rusty barrel may become, we cannot fill it up by a few bushful of earth from the mound. Similarly any attempt to fill the hollow in the village's belly by throwing up into it crumbs from the heap on the city dweller's table is doomed to failure. Maybe, this charity may be a moment's respite to the suffering of the hungry and the naked. But obviously it is no permanent solution. Therefore we must understand that any constructive work done with this end in view is constructive work at best charitable, it cannot be revolutionary. Gandhiji however wanted to create a social order free from exploitation. He never wanted that those who do not produce should be allowed to become parasitic on the labour of those that produced and that social workers should go on giving some succour to the exploited by throwing at them crumbs picked from the exploiters' table. Gandhiji visualized the building up of a social order which would make the exploitation of the producers impossible. And with that view he wanted us to apply ourselves to the task of ending the present system of controlled production and profit. This method of destroying and building simultaneously is a technique peculiar to the constructive programme of Gandhiji. After his last release (from the Aga Khan Jail) we soon as he saw that the departure of the British would give him long he took up the work of the basic revolution in hand, and at once gave his word of command to the different constructive organizations to take definite steps in that direction. He definitely asked the Charitra Sevakas to give up its old job, and give to take up the new one of building up a new society free from exploitation. The period of mere philanthropic work had ended. An immediate change of both was necessary. Revolution must take the place of mere philanthropy.

Constructive workers must therefore, now think seriously and determine their response to Gandhiji's challenge. Shall we be mere distributors of charity or shall we work for a revolution—that is the question which each one of us must answer. We must take care for all one of these two paths. As soon as our vision is clear we shall know which way to go. Rigidity of out-

look and dependency will immediately vanish. Even after this heart-searching if some decide that they must confine themselves to philanthropic service only they are welcome to do so. They must then give up talking of creating a new social order and all that. There are a number of Hindu and Christian missionary institutions which are doing admirable charitable work. Since they are clear about their goal and the way to reach it they are satisfied with what they achieve and they know no doubt. But those who have the ambition of working for a really new social order must exercise strict discipline in their programme of work and their way of life. They must realize that while they do something constructive they must also simultaneously work to destroy all that must be destroyed in order to end the present social order. That is the necessary characteristics of a revolution.

Consequences of a Revolution

A revolution can be brought about either by the Government or by the masses of people and the public workers. If the Government wishes to initiate the process then it must inevitably stop machine production, buffalo-reproduction and the old system of education. If the Government does not decide to do this then all the money that it spends on the promotion of decentralized industries is sheer waste. If on the other hand the revolution has to be brought about by public organizations and public workers then they must adopt a double programme—promotion of agriculture, village industries, cow protection and basic education on the one hand and boycott of machine production, buffalo-rearing and the old education on the other. They must in their own life and in the lines of their institutions adopt the boycott programme and take a vow to implement it. They must persuade other individuals and institutions to do the same. And when they find that the public is collectively aroused they should initiate a comprehensive movement of boycott. If we fail to do this our constructive work will be sheer waste in terms of a social revolution.

In the course of my tour whenever I have presented this idea to my co-workers or to directors of institutions I have met with ready approval. There has been no disagreement in principle. All have agreed that this is the right thing to do. But they all speak of great difficulties in the way of implementing the programme. They say that the circumstances are not favourable. If that is so why do our workers and institutions feel dissatisfied when the Government gladsly inability to restrict machine-production? Since the Government too has to face the same difficulties we should have no grievance against it. We talk of revolution, and yet we are slowed down by adverse circumstances, and by difficulties. We should not then be surprised at the attitude the Government takes.

I do not deny that there are seasons when circumstances prove too forbidding. But can we

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(FOUNDED BY BALGANGA DASSANI;
EDITOR: K. S. BHAKTAVATSALA)



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PLANNING FOR INDIA

The readers have already, before these the spirited criticisms of T. N. Srinivasan, E. N. Agarwal and Venkta to the Planning Commission's Draft Outline of the First Five Year Plan in the following observations, however, the subject is presented in a slightly different manner for explaining to the public as well as the authorities the difference between the Servadaya approach and that of the Commission towards planning.

Studying before here yet more correct I declared long ago that there are two fundamental faults in this world — Gita III-31. This declaration is true as I tried to prove earlier of life than the two approaches to mankind's development through means and means, immediately under discussion in the Gita. On studying the Draft Outline I found that there was still a fundamental divergence of faith in the Servadaya approach and that of the Commission in respect of planning.

We all love India and want her to develop and prosper. But India means, on the one side, the political region called by that name, with all her lands, rivers, seas, mines, forests, natural resources of energies, and on the other side, the men, women and children of India and their domesticated animals, which have become a part of their social and economic life. It would be wrong to say that any parties or individuals have only one part of India to the total exclusion of the other. But it can be said that if an order of preference is to be made in a scheme for developing the two, some would lay more stress on and take note of the development of India's natural resources, while others would direct their attention on the development of her human and animal life. Though some can entirely neglect the other yet the first preference of the one or the other would make a great difference in laying down the plans.

The approach of the Commission in planning shows a preference for the latter, that is, the development of India's natural resources, and in 'pursuit' of that aim, they have resorted to what they have called 'mixed economy', that is, partly Capitalistic and partly Marxian. I have

explained in my book, *Gandhi and Marx*, why I do not regard the Capitalistic and the Marxian approach to life as fundamentally different from one another. The apparent similarity between the two is the freedom of one world for getting the same price. It is like the currency such as prevalent between the French and the French East India Companies in one 18th Century, each waiting to establish itself as an exclusive political and commercial power in India. Their incomes as possible, instead of the time they agonize towards life & commerce. Capitalism is private Capitalism while Marxian Socialism is the so-called 'Mixed Economy' in the Capitalistic and the 'mixed economy' is a sort of free proposed between the two rival Capitalisms. Such a comparison to strengthen the political position of the other in the present-day India, and preserve the status quo of and having an immediate conflict.

The fundamental common principles of Capitalism and Marxian Socialism or State-Capitalism are:

- (1) India's development depends upon the development of the government-owned firm.
- (2) Human development and exploitation of a country's natural resources, viz., land, mines, seas, and their products, machines etc., and of the energies like heat, light, electricity, mag. netism, atom etc. must be the aim and object of all planning.
- (3) Planning must lead to large profits, trade and commerce, both within and outside the country.
- (4) With the help of such development and exploitation of nature and of trade, they must raise the standard of living of as many men as can be managed in a conflict between life and nature.

100. The means for achieving these aims and objects are (a) the use and concentration of money as the common and legalised vehicle and symbol of wealth, (b) controlled production, distribution, and the rationing provisions, (c) employment of as many men as necessary and possible, consistently with the above aims. i.e. in a conflict between man or animal and nature, the development of nature should be given a priority to the employment of man or animal, in a conflict between life and standard of living, the man-

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language as a high standard of living for as many as possible should be given a priority over the problem of employment and so on. (d) Hence, in achieving production, transport, distribution etc. of articles, the guiding principle should be to achieve as much as possible, and as rapidly as possible, with as few men and animals as possible. Employment should be increased by creating new types of work and sources of employment, and not by slowing down the processes of production and transport. (e) The world is not large enough to maintain all the children women might give birth to in the ordinary and healthy course of nature. Hence, (f) in order to reduce the problems arising out of conflict between life and nature, in addition to catastrophic calamities such as, war, famine etc., positive remedies for the reduction of population should also be employed, for instance, surgical, medical and mechanical devices for birth control, and neutralisation of habits, drugs, etc. calculated to reduce or sterilise the reproductive power.

(g) Owing to the inevitableness of a conflict between life and nature, every man cannot be assured of employment. Attempts should be made to meet hard or temporary cases of unemployment through such remedies as charities, doles, school-work, work-busses etc. to the extent nature permit.

(7) The whole world being one and united, the ultimate aim is to establish world government, hence the goal of national or regional self-sufficiency cannot be pursued as an inviolable principle, though the mechanism of international trade and commerce, and means of transport, we might get our necessities from abroad in exchange of our manufactures or raw materials. If a great war is avoided, this would not be impossible and there is nothing wrong in principle in having to depend upon other countries for our necessities.

(8) Humanity being what it is, it is not a practical proposition to expect to maintain permanent peace or establish one world government, without the sanction of physical force. Love is good and necessary, and its help may be appreciated, but it cannot be relied upon as a sole measure of security. This fact, along with the advances made in the realm of technical science, makes the maintenance and development of up-to-date armaments unavoidable for enduring a maximum, if not permanent, period of peace.

I believe I am not doing any injustice to the Planning Commission in saying that these are also the principles which have guided them in drawing up their Outline.

In the next article, I shall give in brief the principles of the Servodaya approach towards planning.

Wardha, 25-9-61

R. G. KARNADWALA

SARVODAYA

In Principles and Programme

Page 17 + 61. Para No 11. Paragraphs 3 to

NAVADHAN BUILDING HOUSE

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SIRI VINOD'S TELANGANA TOUR

IV

April 25, Wapnamagar (Glossed) Walk, 10 miles

Entry Into Dandakaranya

Thus began our walk through Telangana. Vinodgar is identified with Dandakaranya (the forest of Dandaka) of the Ramayana. Thousands of years ago Rama had walked through this forest clearing it of snakes and other dangerous creatures to the innocent people. When a sage had manifested this land in the past by presenting pictures of various places lying on the banks of the Godavari and the Krishna which ran through this area, then the present condition of the people was most wretched and depressing and demanded strong reinforcement to the good that might have long dwelt on the people by the sage of old. A modern version of Rama, who had with him all the inhabitants involved from that night passed now to have undertaken to do that. Hundreds of men and women assembled to give him a rousing walk of reverence and faith.

Vinodgar was a most auspicious occasion at several places along our way in our own walking parties. The students and the staff of an orphanage in a village nearby, wanted Vinod to spend some time in their school. But since that was not possible they accompanied him with their hand and the flag for a mile. At Harvington where we were to march for the day the villagers escorted him a very long welcome, decorating the village with arches and hangings of green leaves.

In the afternoon the boys and girls of the orphanage, accompanied by their Superintendent, came to see Vinod. They entertained him with songs and music. The Superintendent and his wife were responsible for bringing up these children to whom they were more than their parents, and parental love and joy were visible on their faces. They had with them a new entrant, a beautiful child of two months. Vinodgar upon the child in his arms, and his eyes, as if were held in tears while. How would the problem which it barely represented, be solved?

The Drink Evil

In the afternoon the villagers acquainted Vinodgar with the condition in the village which had four thousand population and five thousand acres of land but of which ten thousand were reserved for hunting purposes. Agriculture was the only occupation. There were about two hundred men usually employed in him, at the request you try to and from Hyderabad. There were about ten families. The cars carried the men. There were four houses of widows who received one half of a bundle of paddy in their quota. One was sufficient for weaving two shawls requiring hardly a woman's work. How was the problem of unemployment for the remaining three made to be solved? The women would not spin the yarn themselves. Nor were they willing to weave hand spun yarn. There were also the carpenters, ironsmiths, potters, shoemakers, two to four families of cooks, which is enough to meet the demand of the village. But there was no food. Ohh, sugar, gur, oil, because, all had to be taken from the city. Apart from the money that was drained off for these things there was the drink evil which had been draining a large amount of money and that for the several years in the past. Three hundred and fifty rupees worth shall was sold every day. That made Rs 15,000 a month or Rs 1,50,000 at least per year. In addition to this, the people consumed a gallon of wine per day which at the rate of Rs 15 per gallon, was responsible for the waste of Rs 5750 per year. This must be added Rs 1500 for various duty on wine. Thus a total of Rs 1,25,000 was spent on indulging in drinks by a population of four thousand, or more than Rs 30 per head. If we add to this Rs 10 per head for annual expenditure on

stock. Rs 10/- per head is being allowed every year. This means an annual voluntary contribution of two lights of puffed rice per ear of the people are entitled to drink. Among Harijans even the children are not free from it. Food being not available in sufficient quantity still, when the price of the cooking meals.

It is imperative to lower the respective shares of the business and the Government, in the stock business.

	per year	per year
Total income from stock	Rs. 1,20,000	
Share for Rs 2000/- p.m. Lk	Rs. 20,000	
Tax on the stock	44,000	
Total share of Government		64,000
Balance share of the business		48,000

Cost of packet and establishment	
charges at per head	21,000
Net income of the business	27,000

As the stock business gives Rs 7 from every member of the village and the Government receives from 5 lakhs their Rs income in total amount. It is such a tempting source of income! Will the Government be able to keep children even income from stock out of its total income of Rs 100 crores? If they do not do it today they will have to face a revolution some day.

But why do not the whole people in the village try to put a stop to this drink evil in their respective villages? They say they are afraid of being arrested under the pretext of being Communists. The villagers informed Vinodji that the 'sahityakars' had put a stop to the drink evil some time back. We came to know for the first time here, that the Communists were known as 'sahityakars'. The villagers were happy so long as the law on the drink existed. The Communist programme however was not intended for freeing the people of the drink evil. It was taken up as a programme on political considerations and was given up according to the villagers under the pressure of the Hyderabadis.

Vinodji was astonished to hear this horrible tale and wondered how the people still survived.

One of the villagers said, "We did not like drinking in the time of Nana." The condition will be worse if this drink evil is not stopped.

He was a responsible man in the village. He made three suggestions for improving his condition. Drink evil must be stopped, honesty and should come into flow. There should be improvement in the way of life production.

Vinodji was glad that at least there were a few persons who still thought about their villages. There was no means of transport. There was not even one acre of land per head in the village, and what was used as a substitute for food. This was going on for the past one hundred years at least. And even then Communism complained that they had no programme for the welfare of the people! The fact was that they took no interest in the work of social service. They wanted power because power could not be obtained without politics. They argued that if they did not take the power themselves, it would go into the hands of parasites. But in order to get power these people adopted the same means as the parasites and went a little better than they in employing them.

But there was a ray of light in all this darkness. Captain Karl Palla Kodik, who is also the president of the Telang Congress Committee, has been able to persuade a powerful well-versed in things and Hindi to reside in the village. The powerful member Shri Palla Kodik's delivery in the morning and when they came with about 1000 people from surrounding villages. After receiving necessary training they are expected to become Hindi professionals (propagandists) in their respective villages. This is good beginning has been made at least in

one direction. But Palla Kodik's example deserves much more, because many a persons have been sending their children to cities for education. If they followed this example they would be saving their villages and earning the gratitude of the villagers if a few years later what they spent on their children, in some. There should things would go a long way in checking Communism.

The evening prayer was attended by several thousand men and women. This was the first village in this part and no more any who would be the last of the meeting. But people had walked long distances to see Gandhiji (the leader). There was an end to the joy of their deliverance and on the other, there was the agony of their pitiable condition. In his speech Vinodji explained to them that the Government, that was established in 1948 should not be expected to come to their village and deliver happiness to them. If their village was in the list of people from Hyderabad would not come to people. It was humanly impossible for a part of a group of men to sit at one place and look after the administration of such a big country. Vinodji, therefore, suggested upon the people to have a committee of their own in every village to look after the affairs. This committee should study the requirements of the village and try to meet them as far as possible in the village itself. The committee should also free the people from the drink evil. They should also take care to see that quarrels, developed in towns and cities like those of Congressmen and Socialists and other political groups did not flow into their villages. People might vote for any one they liked at the time of elections, but if candidates came and tried to create political divisions in the village they must patently tell him that they had nothing to do with their political opinions and opinions and, as far as their affairs were concerned they were neither Congressmen nor Socialists, nor Communists. They were all one group of Hydrabadis and looking out. He warned them that politicians will go to them and manipulate the poor against the rich, the employed against the employee, and one against the other. They should tell the politicians that their village was one, that they were like one family and that they wanted to solve some the problems of the village or others did about. The problems of the country as large. If the villagers remained firm and did not allow the outside evils to enter into their village there would be able to eliminate the evils of their village one by one.

D N

'Shri Thakkar Bapa Commemoration Volume'

The Gujarat Research Society of Bombay has brought out a commemoration volume in memory of the late Thakkar Bapa. It contains nearly twenty contributions, some of them being reprints. Among the contributors are Dr. Narendraprasad, Shri S. V. Marikar, Shri. Yogeshwar Shri D. Kumbhar, Shri L. M. Shrivastava, Shri P. G. Shah, Shri K. G. Madhwarao and Shri. K. D. Thakkar. The well-known anthropologist Dr. Turner Khan, Dr. B. S. Guha and Dr. D. N. Majumdar have each paid a deserving tribute to the untiring worker in the cause of the down-trodden and the backward. With the exception of two in Hindi all the contributions are either in English or in Gujarati. Besides acquainting the readers with the noble characteristics of Thakkar Bapa, it provides also interesting and valuable information about some of the scheduled and backward classes of India. The volume is priced at Rs 3/- and may be had from the office of the Society at 46-48 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1.

H. N. V.

JARIAN

Vol. 20

1955

THE THIRD WAY

Shri Vinoba Bhave's philosophy for the transformation of the Land Gift Mission is an arena of great importance and hope in the history of India. When he met with success in his mission in Telangana, some people thought that the people who were afflicted by the Communist's attraction had no alternative but to donate land to Vinoba. A similar success, they thought, was not likely to attract him to collecting land in other parts of the country.

Even so, it would not have reduced the importance of the Land Gifts in Telangana. For it is the diseased who will take medicine. What is important is that the people were ready to take the mild medicine, even though it was bitter, and that the services of the right doctor were available. That his mission is now receiving a good response from the people at every place is an indication that God, through one of His pure devotees, is preparing the suitable atmosphere necessary for a spiritual transformation, that is, a non-violent revolution in the country.

Truth truly belongs to the same stalk as Godhuni in her being both seed and hope in God. Our country has always produced from time to time such men of faith. Vinoba is not a new phenomenon. But that the masses of this country are prepared to listen to such men of God testifies that the people of India are also men and women of faith, and the fire of divine faith can be kindled in them.

Rishabh Gandhi testified the people into truth and non-violence and they became ready for Satyagraha. The British Government was a tremendous organisation—a huge corporation. And their philosophy holds that an organisation or a corporation has no soul. But Gandhi's Satyagraha performed the task of making this tremendous corporation feel the power of the soul.

Now the stage has been reached to bring into the arena the forces of anarchy (non-possession) and satya (non-stealing) along with truth and non-violence. Shri Vinoba saw that the root of the malady of the present world lay in its drive in wealth. It was therefore necessary to dispose money, the symbol of possession, from its sovereignty over life. After deep reflection accompanied with fast, Shri Vinoba made a resolve not to accept money gifts. And there never was with him a question of earning money.

Labour and money are two things in the world. In order to escape from labour one has to lay by money. As long as money occupies the place of pride, labour cannot attain dignity, however much it may improve in its quality and

volume. We rise, lay deposited money and raised the dignity of labour. Only after bringing about this transformation in his own person, Vinoba has earned for himself the right to preach non-possession, that is, curbing the possession of wealth. And owners of land have supplied the proof that the Indian nation has not forgotten its ancient tradition of being influenced by the higher law—the law of the Spirit.

We have also asserted that Karma has one way, America has another, and India a third way of doing things. But as for this third way had not manifested its dysfunction, in an active manner. And it been aided upon with the power of the State through legislation, we could not call it the third way. There is a world of difference between the way of gifts through the Land-Gifts mission of which Shri Vinoba is the presiding spiritual priest, and that of enormous gifts of money by way of financial aid which America has been distributing to the four corners of the world. No doubt, both have a far-sighted and its aim, but in one there is faith in the power of wealth. It lays on the string of greed for wealth. In the other there is the power of the spirit as its basis. It has the one-stringed harp of renunciation in its hand. Its music is devotional and one which will prevail in the end. After experiencing the prosperity and power of the State, both Emperor Yajna and Emperor Ashoka came to the conclusion that the salvation and the peace of the world did not lie in enjoyment and imperial power, but in their renunciation. Only by reducing possessions and liberating our the power of the spirit be awakened, and peace and brotherhood spread on the earth.

(Translated from Hindi original)

Printed Oct. 15

SHRI VINOBABHAI

APPEAL TO MADHYA PRDESH

On the 12th September I left Wardha for my journey towards Delhi. The Shree-Das Yatra (Land-Gifts Sacrifice), which was launched in Telangana, proved a success. I have underlines this journey to propagate the same mission throughout India. Today, on October 1, after crossing the borders of Madhya Pradesh, I have entered Vinchhya Pradesh. On 2nd and 3rd October, a Sarvodaya Conference was held at Sagur, wherein the workers resolved to collect at least one lakh acres of land for the Land-Gift Mission from Madhya Pradesh. To accomplish this task I have appointed a Pradhik Samiti (Regional Committee) of the following three members:

1. Shri Duddhish Kark
2. Shri Aggar Uradhi
3. Shri Rajendra Mishra

This Samiti, in consultation with me, shall appeal frugalistic workers in every district to carry out this work.

Two of the members of the Samiti had already participated in my walking-tour. They have seen the humble and non-violent technique of collecting lands which I wish to be employed

The Senate will also secure additional funds and shall distribute them among the landless labourers with no alternative employment. Harjane will be particularly attended to. The policy will be to distribute land among the people of the same area wherefrom it is selected.

The Senate is empowered to carry on more any correspondence with the Government and do other official things. For that the Senate will issue statutory rules which will be published later on.

The members of the Senate has purposely been not selected of influential men. They are of course aware that their capacity is limited. I hope that all influential persons, the common people and the Government will co-operate with them in their work and thus, a way will be opened for non-violently and peacefully solving one of the most baffling problems of the country.

Mathias (V. P.), 2-10-51

VARANASI

(Transcribed from Hindi)

SHRI MANDEL GANDHI'S CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Shri Mandel Gandhi has registered his protest against the racial segregation laws of South Africa by calmly and non-violently disobeying them. Under these laws, it is an offence for an *Afrikaner* to occupy a bench, or to enter a public reading room or any other place reserved for Europeans. Shri Gandhi has been openly and repeatedly doing this. The police takes note of it but, so far, the Government has taken no action against him. It is good that the South African Government does not make itself look more ridiculous by proceeding against Shri Gandhi for breaking these laws. It should not have made them at all but has done so under malign influences. The South African Prime Minister, who is also a Christian Inname, I trust, realises the inconsistency between his State policy and his Christian doctrine. If for any reason, he is unable to run his Government in conformity with the best Christian principles, I hope his Government will renounce itself in that way of making the wrong legislation a dead letter.

There should be an ever increasing number of offences allotted by these laws, to copy Shri Mandel Gandhi's example in a non-violent but firm and quiet manner. Right-minded Europeans, and I believe their number is sufficiently great, should also openly show their sympathy towards such non-violent law-breakers. If they are proceeded against, the action should be welcomed; if their breaches are overlooked they have gained their deification and should quietly continue to exercise what is really their natural right.

Such subversion of the law in one sphere will lead to the discovery of ways of breaking it in dead letter in other spheres also. Since the law itself is against the fundamental principles of equity and justice, its non-violent breach does not militate against good government. Rather cowardly submission to this does so.

Wartha, 9-10-50

S. C. KARNATKAWALA

REVIVAL OF LINGUISTIC CONTROVERSIES

When there is a desire to evade the implementation of policies drafted out after mature deliberation, a controversy is restarted after a brief rest. The controversy about the medium of instruction at Universities is one of these. So far as Harjane is concerned, I should like to clear the columns against it. Its stand has been repeatedly made clear and I do not think any useful purpose can be served by re-opening the subject.

In the view of Harjane, the regional languages should normally be the medium of instruction even in the University.

Exceptions

(1) the medium in institutions of an ill-fitted nature would have to be Hindi whenever the institution might be situated; and whether it is of a university type or lower grade.

(2) professors specially employed or invited from other provinces, if they are unacquainted with the regional language, may be permitted to use Hindi either for a period of transition or for the full term of their employment.

(3) students of other provinces may be allowed to answer their questions in Hindi, instead of the regional language. But they may not claim to be instructed in Hindi, and would also have to study the regional language.

It goes without saying that Hindi can never be neglected as a language to be studied by every student. The command over Hindi must be greater than a modern graduate has over English.

I believe that the above position is natural, and practical and is accordance with sound principles of education. However, I would make the following offer to all University professors and teachers.

Take it that English is to be discarded on December 31, '52. You are allowed to choose between the regional language and Hindi in order to make the start on January 1, 1953. Make your choice and begin the work. If you think that Hindi will not you better than the regional language, go ahead with it, and let us watch the results of our experiments for a sufficient period.

I would not bother with technical terms over much in the start. Let the professors use any term they like and use them along with the foreign terms to avoid confusion. If they are unable or unwilling to coin or accept a term suggested by others, I would allow them to use the foreign terms at this stage. The immediate and first task should be the abandonment of English without loss of time, because it is unnatural and against principles of education.

The subject is closed for discussion.

Wartha, 21-9-51

S. C. KARNATKAWALA

in the first night and surrendered to him, not only to him immediately, but before made themselves with them only after he was crowned of the Mahar's night. The story was repeated in Jagas's lifetime. With the completion of a few more like Jagaswadi, Mahadevdev and a few others it was Garwases who occupied Chitkoti, before the Independence day. The latter came to him only after he had passed their tests. In the same way the likes of Panchaj, the people of Telangana as well as the Gonds of Malwa understood it, and that have been a man, who was their real well-wisher and saviour. For the politicians will take their own time to understand the significance of his mission, and the revolutionary character of his movement, not only for India, but for the whole world, which would have been however, known to him and his people. And we have to wait for the proper moment. The knowledge workers of course, would do their best to hasten the day.

There we crossed the Rajpoots a rich and beautiful mountain track, more than 1000 feet high. It takes to length and 14 miles to Jharkhand. Although the soil is poor in a very large extent, Harad the Jagas which we visited on September 12 is the most substantial exception. The people in this district speak Hindi better than Gonds. The population is 10 persons per square mile. In most areas it is 10. The total population is 1 per cent of the whole, but Chitkoti which we visited is only 1 per cent and Jagas have no income. A large number of the population is given to agriculture there is evident from the statistics. The district of Chitkoti was under Gond rule before the Gond kingdom was established. This was later succeeded by the Marathas, who in their turn were succeeded by the British. It seems the Gonds enjoyed freedom for 40 years. Their economic system, however, remained. Wages were paid in kind and agriculture was all done by hand.

When the Gond Chief gave his welcome gift, Vinod said to the villagers. I have received water through a big pipe. But the land needs drops of rain. May you all shower? and one after another they ran and gave up rain.

To the Tarkar Vinod said, "Do not be excited with making the donation. First come young men to forego. Get them trained in Harjag's work. They will build up Harjag's (Mahadev's) work." And he cited the example of Jagaswadi, "See what tremendous work he has done in Wadia. You may follow his example."

Method of Asking

Vinod has a peculiar way of asking for land. He begins by walking on the roadside to take his donation. He sits on a mat, in their water, puts on their backs, or places up them his money, within five minutes, Vinod leads for the land on which one acre, or three acres, or three eight, and so on, and marches along. At one place, a village offers him a parcel. "Here I come for you, land? Do not I get there at Panchaj? Tell me if you can give me land for the poor?" And the man of some years with a parcel of his land. People here in the districts for every inch of land. Here they give him willingly. The first has light in work.

And in every village he has an original method of introducing his mission. He never repeats his arguments to the same words. The same land is so noble that it becomes a source of infinite inspiration to him. "Does not the sun go to every day and does not a stranger feel that the light of the sun is equally available to him as to a king? How can that be partial to distributing what belongs to him and not to men? If he had distributed his, under light and city equally and for all, how is it that he will want that the land should not belong to all but be vested in the hands of a few? I do not mean to suggest that anyone land that is in the possession of the landholder is acquired by full worth. There are some who might have received it as a reward for service, some might have acquired it through industry and hard work at the same time. There are but a few who have obtained it

by means other than this. And whatever it might be, the fact stands that while a few possess land, there are many who do not have any. This is against the will of the Lord and his will must be proved in the world. It is right to do this reason that God has chosen me as an instrument to launch this revolutionary movement, of acquiring land through peasants and poor. Otherwise what power do I possess that people should voluntarily give with their land and give it away to me for distribution among the poor?" Somebody has to say this truth, and who else could be better than him, who has the interest of the poor in his heart, and making his good will for every one in the world." At Jagaswadi, he said, "The fact that I have come to ask for land does not imply either humbling on my part or humiliation on yours. Mine is the demand of a righteous cause on behalf of the poor." Vinod wants it to be recalled that, thirty out of the soil has no equal right over Mother Earth."

He gives his reason for the movement. "I desire your wealth and power accordingly. The world is going on the wrong path. You can check it by a proper planning in time. This is impossible without proper distribution of land, and it is not otherwise possible without the help of the poor or the poor." Chitkoti and Jagas have a lesson to give. Telangana has proved the reality of violence and the feasibility of a non-violent revolution because there the poor has killed and the law is not going to succeed. People know the injustice in the law better than the law makers themselves do. But even if the law has to exist, it should come in the best possible form, and therefore what can create the necessary favourable atmosphere for it."

As few people thought land cannot be had for more asking. What if Jagas is wrong, they said the problem cannot be solved by such small gifts about Vinod replied. "Quite so, therefore it is up to you to decide your rights and the poor larger. I want you to collect your power. Abandon your claim on the land in your possession. It is neither proper nor justifiable to waste the rights of ownership. People ask me whether the Government would not move in the matter, but I simply shall be unconcerned their opinion. In the Government differs from the people? The Government will do what the people will want it to do. And then be satisfied by them—and graphically too—how land is being distributed in Telangana today. "Our men go to search of the landless, as they a father in search of a proper bride-groom for his daughter. Imagine the joy of the people who have suddenly to see that some one will actually come to their doors and ask according to make them owners of land. They had not even dream of it. That is non-violent revolution."

At Kandi, where Vinod received more than 100 acres of land costing 1000 rupees per acre, a friend said a man who spoke about the failure of the land effort on the part of the workers. They gave land to Vinod because they understood his mission from his own lips. It would not be difficult to collect more land elsewhere if they worked his message and did more organized effort. But, I mean not take more time over this. Vinod is sufficiently satisfied of giving some concrete steps in his programme and he is not for his consciousness.

Second Sharma's Plot

I cannot enter this letter without mentioning another equally important event of the week.

At Deewada in the high top of Baran Sharma's land, Vinod became restless about the Baran. "How can we afford to lose such a great worker?" thought Vinod. He Sharma asked to the Prime Minister to acquire the land with the latest developments. Pandit Jawaharlal immediately accompanied Vinod with all the efforts he had been making and also with the difficulties that stood in the way of fulfilling the demand of the landless. Telegrams and telephones were switched from Chitkoti to New Delhi and Guwahati. At 10 p.m. the following message from Vinod was delivered to the personal secretary

HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY BHAGWAN GANDHI

EDITOR: K. S. MANDREKAR



VOL. XV No. 35 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY OCTOBER 21, 1931

PRICE: ANNA

CHARKHA—A MESSAGE FOR THE WORLD*

I am glad to learn that the fourth session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress will be held at Ahmedabad, the birth place of Gandhiji's new type of Trade Union movement. The Trade Union movement was indeed not new in the world when Gandhiji laid its foundation in Ahmedabad. But he founded it on quite original and novel principles and the experience of a quarter of a century has proved the worth of these principles that they have been adopted by the all India organization of Trade Unions.

The principal topic of the day is Charkha, and it is possible that your Congress will devote a great part of its time to discussing that topic in such an atmosphere. It may be futile to speak on any other subject in a message. But the election introduction has not yet reached me, and hence I feel some hesitation in sending a message. The thing which interests me more than the election is Gandhiji's Charkha.

Charkha? You might feel amazed at hearing the mention of the charkha in your assembly. You will say: The charkha is all right in its place, and it is true that it is a favourite of Gandhiji. But here we belong to the class of mill-owners and labourers. The charkha can have no place in our world!

But I have nothing else to place except the charkha even before mill-owners and workers. It does not mean that I suggest at this stage that the mills should be closed forthwith or that you should give up your jobs in the textile mills. I know that that would be undesirable.

But I do wish to tell both owners and workers that while as long as circumstances demand the working of mills they might be worked, you should in your personal life and for your personal requirements ply the charkha to spin your own yarn and employ the hand-loom to weave or get woven your own cloth. The mill-cloth might be manufactured for those who are incapable of spinning, weaving or getting woven cloth for themselves or even purchasing it. There are some countries and there might be some people in our own country also who are in such situa-

tion. The mill might cater for them. But you, who are artisans yourselves or the owners, who are strong enough to organize production, distribution etc. on such large scales have no reason for not spending and wearing your own cloth on your own charkha and hand-looms.

The message of the charkha is no longer meant to provide work for the unemployed only. Nor is its message confined to India. It now stands before the world as the means of bringing about a new non-violent revolution in the world. The people that depend upon the mercy of the capitalists, politicians of foreign countries or on the policy and administrative machinery of their own State for their two primary needs, namely, food and cloth cannot enjoy liberty—independence. However spiritual and well paid a part of its population might become, that country can never be free from the miseries of starvation, unemployment and high prices.

I appeal to you and your leaders to ponder seriously over this truth.

May your session be successful.

17-10-31

K. S. MANDREKAR.

(Translated from Hindi)

NOTES

Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan

I have heard with regret of the murder of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan of Pakistan. I extend my heartfelt sympathies to the people of Pakistan and the members of the late Prime Minister's family.

We have been hearing of grave political murders almost every week during the last two or three months. It shows the results of systematic preaching to the people of the message of war and hatred by political leaders and Governments that put their faith in violence and weapons of destruction for achieving their ends.

The immediate reaction on my mind is the futility of protective measures adopted by Governments for the safety of the lives of their heads and ministers. None can escape a determined assassin. And even in most of our modern countries, rulers are drawn from demagogues, they have to face the public frequently. They must realize that they can live only as long as

*A message sent to the 4th Indian National Trade Union Congress, Ahmedabad.

and will do. We shall not protect them, and no nation anywhere will dress or uniform any nation (the same truth) when they succeed in capturing a plot in the East. The elaborate measures taken at enormous expense for their protection is only a very great order a huge waste and a burden on the taxpayers. It must be remembered that a determined assassin will always be with a moment's alert and striking than all the measures together. And the right of the police will also give no longer expresses the people's confidence and dignity. On the contrary the people begin to lose respect for their leaders on account of these measures, and consider them as over-protect.

India has been acting an example of a different type of politics to the world. As much free and guardless movement as possible of her talented Governors and ministers among the nations, regardless of the dangers involved, will be made one of its peculiarities.

The people of Pakistan are faced with another major crisis since the death of the Quaid-i-Azam. Mr. Venkaiat President made them by the path which leads to the gate of Divine Grace.

Wartha 17-10-21

K. S. M.

Prohibition — A Blessing

A report from Nanjart, in Haid Taluka of Panchmahals District, states that 20 families of potters and 18 families of Gola community have cleared up their old debts since the introduction of total Prohibition and they are now living in happiness. Shri Pulabhai Marganath, a potter, who gave up drink habit since the introduction of Prohibition, has been able during the last 2-3 years to save Rs. 2,000.

Reports of constant improvement of the common man because of Prohibition have been received from other districts also. Dabber families at Talda in Jambher Taluka of East Khambhat district, which were hard hit due to their liquor habit in pre-prohibition days, are now engaged in their professions at Jambher and leading a happy life. One rak of that taluka who used to spend much on drinks before Prohibition has now been able to purchase five acres of land and is doing good business.

One Kalandar of Nigga in Chikola Taluka of Belgachia District, who was formerly working on daily wages at a toddy shop and wasting his whole day's earnings on drink, is now the owner of a tea shop and a boarding house, which are well furnished and well managed.

The Administrator, Rajyal Municipality in Kanara District reports that because of the introduction of total Prohibition, the number of cases of street brawls or quarrels has considerably gone down. The Harpoon of the Ankola Village Panchayat states that much improvement is noticeable in the standard of living of the workers employed by them.

CONFUSION BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND STATE CAPITALISM

(By M. P. P. Ashwari)

In the article "In Regard to Communism" and the correspondence between Com. S. A. Dange and Shri Yashu Shant Shri Maheshwari and Shant do not refer to real Communism as such but to other systems which have nothing to do with Communism although referred to as such. Neither Maheshwari nor Shant nor Shant's Kanarappa questions whether what the party calling itself Communist tries to force upon mankind is really real Communism. Even the Capitalists have taken for granted that what prevails in Russia is real Communism. It does not occur to them that it can be anything but Communism. They give the Bolsheviks the undesired compliment of being Communists. They do not know that it is not Communism but Russian Bolshevism which is a danger to the peace of the world. They quarrel about a word about the meaning and contents of which they have no idea at all.

Let me tell you — and any radical Marxian will confirm it — that what the Bolsheviks do in Russia and try to do elsewhere is just Capitalism of another type and the quarrel between Capitalists and Bolsheviks is not about Communism but about the type of Capitalism which should prevail. Both have a common basis of thought, which is capitalism. What the Capitalists are against is the Bolshevik attempt at doing away with divided private owners and setting up a State by their party as the sole owner. The mode of management is the same, namely, making the entire people wage-slaves, exactly as Capitalist owners do. The point between them is not whether or not Capitalism should be totally abolished and Communism should be ushered in, but who should manage Capitalism. Both are opposed to Communism. Neither the Capitalists nor the Bolsheviks will argue about Communism. Yet Bolshevism is supposed to be Communism and the opposite of Capitalism. It is State Capitalism, — Capitalism by the State — owned and run by the Bolshevik party pretentiously calling itself Communist. All the three brands, Marxian, Leninism or Stalinism are advocates of State ownership and State Capitalism, and they want it to be kept under the control of the Bolshevik party of Moscow throughout the world (Ask Yashu who claims also to be Marxian and Leninist, about it).

Am I to understand Shri Shant, Maheshwari and Kanarappa have no quarrel about the Bolshevik Communism provided that the system is introduced peacefully and non-violently through the ballot-box and voluntary relinquishment — although it would be a new slavery instead of the old? Do they object only to the method of reaching the system of new slavery?

The Bolsheviks would have no objection to that method. But they think or know it cannot be brought about without force and fraud. Hence

people do not believe in the Indianist method or voluntary surrender. Hence they say: If you submit to our Capitalism voluntarily you are welcome; but if you do not do so willingly, we are not going to wait, you shall surrender, or be massacred. Thus is also the threat to workers, peasants, middle-classes and employees, though it is addressed to them in a cunning and sugar-coated manner. As a matter of fact, they have also to submit to that slavery under their rule. If the Capitalists want to massacre these so-called Communists before they themselves are massacred, the Communists have no right to complain, for they want to do the same thing against them if possible. It is a war between two rival diameters of capital, one being the defender of private Capitalism, the other, the sphere for State Capitalism.

There can be no political Communism like the one the Bolsheviks want to establish. Communism means universal society. But what the Bolsheviks and Marxists of all varieties want is the rule of their parties over all. They say justice to all sort of communism among themselves but they are rulers and employees living upon wage-slavery in the same way as capitalists. In real Communism there can be neither employees nor employers. The employer-employee system is an essential feature of Capitalism. Its abandonment is acceptable neither to the Capitalism nor the Bolsheviks. Of course, the Bolsheviks say that ultimately they want to abolish the State, their rule, and relations as employers and employed. Yes after establishing and perpetuating the wage system? The Capitalists may also take a leaf from the Bolsheviks and say they also want to abolish employer-employee relations some time in its own time, when the time is ripe, and when all agree to do so through the ballot-box? They may also allege that there is a transition stage between the two which must be passed through. That transition stage is our rule, both can say the without the least shakement, and both would be equally good Communists.

Com. Dange may be a sincere man but he is a member of the Bolshevik party which stands for the hegemony of Moscow. Slavery can do nothing against the foundation of a wrong idea, the wrong idea will become slavery. One cannot argue with leaders.

When Com. Dange and lesser Socialists say that they want to help the peasants to own land, they are telling things which they don't want and which they won't allow if they are in government; for, they do not want peasant proprietorship but want State-ownership of land, collective and State farms where peasants will become virtual landless labourers for the State. Like the pride of Soviet Russia, their fatherland, that 98 per cent of the land is nationalised and there are no individual peasants. It is not Marxists to divide land among peasants. I have myself heard it from the mouth of Lenin. He meant "neither private ownership, nor common ownership" but State ownership. But Communism is common

ownership and not private ownership or State ownership. Anyhow, remembering that Capitalists want State-ownership of land in order to use them for their ends and not for the benefit of peasants. Their aim is, well that it is not Communism. In partitioned territories like East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Balkans, the peasants do not first distribute the land among the peasants, but soon started collectivising them under State ownership and establishing collective and State farms where the former peasants become only wage-slaves. That is what they will do here. Peasants will be deprived of their lands by the State peacefully or violently.

Com. Dange reads crocodile tears over the miseries of peasants. But under the rule of his party, and even under his own military governmentship on behalf of State, all these things will not be done even after teachers and landlessness are abolished. By simply abolishing feudalism and landlessness the peasant will not be emancipated in Eastern Europe after the peasants were given land they found they could not cultivate their properties, for want of enough means to start cultivation. So the governments asked them to cultivate lands if they wanted help from the State. As they could not live otherwise, even then they had to accept the proposal and work as contract labourers for the State. In Russia, the collectives are not created by the State with the help of the tractors which are lent to the collectives on contractual conditions. It is also another, modern kind of feudalism. The tractors are not owned by any collectives but are the monopoly of the State. They want to introduce this feudalism in India, and call it Communism. The State bureaucracy, army and police cannot be run over by Communists except at the expense of the producing workers and it is Communism of peasants which they want to bring to India. One must be advanced to call that Communism.

Communism cannot be established until the peasants take over all the land and instruments and run the lands collectively for their own benefit without any State to introduce with, or "protect" them.

Communism is all right if it were Communism, but to achieve anything with a label of Communism will neither solve the problem nor make it Communism. It will be paying tribute to a fake thing going under an ideal label. Communism cannot be established from the top by violence, not by cutting the Gordian knot, but only by untying it diligently. Most likely we will have chaos rather than Bolshevism. Bolshevism alone will never Capitalism. May Com. Dange be happy!

(Note: In Gandhi and Marx, I said that Communism as known in India is Marxism as prevailing in Russia, and it is State Capitalism. I think Shri M. P. T. Acharya for making that very clear.

—K. G. M.)

HARIJAN

Vol. 27

1951

THE CALL OF THE AGE

[This will appear during the third week. Though formal sessions are delayed general assembly, the third period is still considered with a combination of cheerfulness, purification, gravity and clarity. I cannot offer a better greeting to the people than the following speech of Mahatma at the Harijan Conference at Raipur on 2nd October, 1951 the Gandhi Jayanti day. He first commended the address Mahatma invited P. M. Narain.]

—J. G. K. I.

In the walking tour we usually stop only for a day at one place. But in view of the Harijans Conference that has been convened here and the fact that this is our last important halting place in Maharashtra it was decided to stop here for two days.

The 2nd of October is a holy and auspicious day. Though every day granted by God is holy, yet the day on which a person is prompted to make a good resolve, conceive a good idea or perform a good deed is particularly auspicious for him. Apart from such a day, there are certain days in the social life of a people when good sentiments get generally awakened in the hearts of men. Today is one of such days.

I am led to believe that the pilgrimage of mine has been inspired in me by God. Six months ago, I had not the least idea that God was going to make me an instrument to do the work for which I am walking now from village to village and door to door. But it seems it was the design of God that this work suggested itself to me spontaneously and also began to bear fruit. Gradually, it has taken such shape that the people have come to feel that this is a very powerful programme which is useful not only to our own country but also to the entire world. The people have realised that it is the call of the age. The call got reflected in my heart also. The result is that after staying at Wardha for about two and a half months after the completion of the Telengana War, I have again commenced a walking-tour in the course of which I have come to your place.

It is Gandhi's birthday today. We open doors. Today also we took part in the congregational singing. The participants were not many. Yet while singing, I experienced the presence of an extraordinary Existence or inspiration and even now I am speaking under its influence.

The reason I have undertaken it as an act of devotion and service not only of the poor but also of the rich—of all the people. I have a strong conviction that this work is going to appeal to all. In the course of my begging if I happen to get less food in some place I do not feel that I have received only a little. On the contrary the feeling with me is that whatever I get is only a

portion of what I need and that ultimately God is to give me with His thousands of hands, and the two hands of mine will prove quite useless and inadequate for receiving. The present work is only the preparation of a psychological atmosphere. I do feel at every moment that God's will is working behind the present mission. On this sacred day my first humble prayer to Him is: Let me not mind whether or not people give me food in my mission. Let it be as Thou wilt. But let me be Thy humble servant. Destroy my ego, annihilate my separateness and the memory of my name. Let Thy name alone prevail in the world. Free Thy child, from the chains of attachment and hatred, looking in his mind. I solemnly declare I have no other desire left in me. I am speaking this in the language of Tolstoy, but it is my soul that is speaking.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

I do not desire Salvation, nor intelligence, wealth, prosperity, secure home or fame. I have no other ambition but that of strengthening my devotion to Thy holy feet.

People ask me when I shall reach Delhi. My answer to them is I do not know. It all depends upon Him. Well, I am advanced in age and my body has been showing signs of fatigue and exhaustion. This is the only desire of my mind and I feel it constantly. Whatever I get even five minutes rest or solitude, the only urge apparent in my mind is that my ego should completely get destroyed. In what language am I speaking today with God? What have I been speaking with the Indian tongue? I say, "I am experiencing the Presence of Rama along with that of the Supreme Spirit." Rama continuously showered his blessings on me. By nature I have been a man of the forest and stranger to ways of civilisation. I even dread to meet great people. But now-a-days I enter everybody's house unhesitatingly, as did Nara among gods, demons and men. This is all the miracle of Rama's blessings. I have a conviction that Rama will be feeling satisfied with my present work from whatever corner of the Universe he may be in. I sing with Mahatma. I came across two deliveries on my way, the Shant and Rama. The first I placed on my head, the second is enshrined in my heart.

My dear friends though I am trying to speak today, it is going to be a difficult task. It will, however, be my attempt to do it as best as I can. Sometimes I reflect about the efficacy of speaking. To what extent does it bear fruit? I shall narrate only yesterday's incident as an illustration. In a place where I spent the whole day and delivered a speech before the prayer gathering, I got only four acres. I returned to my place after the conclusion of the speech, and began my study of the Upanishads, as I have been

*ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

another ten. Hardly ten minutes had passed before, without cause or reason, I had again participated in the prayer for food for speech. He said: "I have come to darwle land." He had come from a distance of six miles. He gave me one acre out of his six. Suddenly he had turned his back, when another villager from a longer distance came and donated fifty-two acres. I began to reflect, who in the interior of these districts? I got only 5 acres, where I spent the day and made a speech. And here are donations without effort! What is it that influences the minds of people? Why should men need the help of speech? If man's life becomes absolutely more, not a word will be need to utter. A thought in the heart conceived at home would do the work. But it is a step, which is yet to come when God will grant me that purity of mind. For the present He makes me go from place to place and imparts me to ask for land donations. I therefore speak and beg land for the poor. But not a shadow of doubt there is in my mind that it is not my efforts that will achieve my results. It is only the inspiration that will achieve and is already achieving them.

At the outset, I have said that this is the best great talking place in Maharashtra. But if I happen to return to Wardha from Delhi by this road we might meet again. I have great expectations from Madhya Pradesh. I have stayed in this province for the last thirty years. I have devoted the days of my youth to the service of the people of this State. During the long period the people witnessed not a few national movements and election campaigns, but they found me busy in my work day and night undisturbed by them. All my impure discipline has been practiced here. I had also to pass four years in the jail of your province. In jail-life people come into intimate contact and have the occasion to know one another at closer quarters. There were people of various ideologies and parties, but to me they were human beings only. They also saw my life. None of my words or documents could remain hidden from those with whom I passed days and nights. I loved them all alike, and I found that there was none, who did not give his love to me. So, I expect much from you.

What do I want? A friend wrote to me that a thousand rupees were collected for me and an arrangement was made for the meals of a hundred persons. But all these arrangements are for the Conference. A thousand rupees are not necessary for my reception. My stomach is very small and is newly filled. But this Conference was called in order that the workers might meet together and think how best to carry out my work. After differentiation, they would go to their respective places and devote themselves in this work. Though my own stomach is very small, that of the Parashwanagore is very big. So if any one asks me what my demand is, I say, "Five more acres of land." I mean thereby unlimited land.

If there is no land (I am saying this) to be considered the right of man for food, then I claim one fifth of the national product for the whole land in the country.

This is no ordinary demand for charity. Giving of land to the poor and the needy is very much more than that. We can meet it we feed a man even for a single day. When feeding a man for a day is no revolution, how much more so would be the gift of an acre of land which will feed him for the whole of his life? I therefore, appeal to all of you to contribute your mite for the worship of Parashwanagore. This is real yoga—service. I therefore, beseech every one to come forward and put his shoulder to this task. This will enter in an unprecedented and mighty revolution in our country. I can, even as I stand here, behold it taking place before my eyes. People talk of the Russian revolution. America provides an example of a revolution of another type. But looking at both these countries, I find that neither type of revolution is in accordance with the genius of India. They are not in accord with our traditions and culture. I firmly believe that India should be able to give us, consistent with her ideals, a new type of revolution, based purely on love. If people begin to donate lands of their own free will, readily and generously, the whole atmosphere will undergo a sudden change in the thinking of an era, and India might well show the way to a new era of freedom, love and happiness for the whole world. This attitude embodies the great separation and speaking for myself. I am convinced that this aspiration is going to be fulfilled. I therefore urge all of you, whether you are a member of the Congress, a Socialist, a Praja Party man, or an independent, to ponder over this problem and realize the value of the land-gifts measure. Other things may be left to take their due course, but this one brooks no delay. It is a declaration to which all must stand. It is a done. India will save herself and the world too, for our action will have traced a path to freedom and peace which the world may see and follow.

The Heart of All Ills

Wherever I go, people speak to me of the rampancy of black-marketing, corruption and bribery and I do not feel depressed. I do not believe that the heart of India has begun to decay. Nor do I believe that the rich have become corrupt beyond redemption. Our land, we say, is rich with water and trust and frequent with the cool southern breeze. This is how we praise it. However this is not our greatest wealth. The sacred Hindu and traditions, the spiritual values which our forefathers have bequeathed to us are certainly more valuable than any material wealth. Hence though there is black-marketing and corruption, yet I do not believe that our people as a whole can be too bad. Therefore we should look for the root of this elsewhere. Lu Hsiang, the well-known Chinese writer, says somewhere that India is a land of God-intoxicated

people. This description of India by him is true of our people even today. Even today our people are God-minded. All the corruption, therefore, which we see around us, is due to the evils in the present-day economy. The degeneration of our economic life is bad. People are swept away by the tide of these eviler evils, and led to constant mistakes. Therefore if we can change the structure of the economic life, you may be sure that our people can well set a unique example in the world.

Hence, after Harijani's demise, some of us who believe in Sarvodaya formed a brotherhood, Sarvodaya Sangha, in which no one hates anybody. Every one loves every one else. There is no exploitation. I hold to the belief that the moment we succeed in creating a society free from exploitation, the intellectual and spiritual talent of the people of India, which has obscured at present, will shine forth. We, the believers of Sarvodaya, therefore, have vowed that we will change the present structure of society. I have absolute belief in this mission, otherwise I could not have approached you to give away your lands so openly and unreservedly. I realise that God has rewarded my effort more than I deserve. I have no cause for complaint. All that I have to do is to explain the idea to the people.

(Translated from Hindi)

PLANNING FOR INDIA

II

The Sarvodaya Approach.

Let us now see the fundamental principles of the Sarvodaya approach to the problem of India's development.

(1) Respect for life is the first principle of Sarvodaya. The development of India means primarily healthy and all-round development of the life and personality of India's living beings, human as well as animal, the latter to the extent they have become a part and parcel of human life. The cow is the most important, and symbolic of the civilised animals.

(2) The resources of Nature being an essential means for this purpose, their development cannot be neglected. But between life and nature, the development of life should be the end, and that of nature, the means for it. The latter should not be done by sacrificing life, nor should her resources be used extravagantly and wastefully. Even man and minerals Nature may not be 'exploited' in that sense. Although man is often influenced by his environment and becomes even a slave to it, nevertheless, ultimately, he is the master and ruler of the environment and not its manipulated product, hence the development of his personality cannot be subordinated to that of Nature. Nature has to be developed for him and with his aid. He is not to be made a mere tool for the development of nature.

(3) Hence, the first concern of every society, as well as the State, should be to provide employment for every person within it, second-

ing to his capacity, with such work and means as are immediately available to it. The work and means should be improved progressively for him and with his aid to the extent necessary for the well-being of every one and only so far as such well-being is served.

(4) The standard of life should be distinguished from the standard of living; it is the former that is fundamental and not the latter, a rise in the standard of living might even lower the standard of life, by reducing man's physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual standards, powers and potentialities. Hence, the progressive development of Nature must be consistent with rise in the standard of life, and not of living.

(5) Planning must proceed with two objects: removal of natural or man-made impediments in the road to the development of man, and provision of means, training and guidance for it.

(6) The obstacles in the way of his development are: (a) too much centralisation of government and production of wealth; (b) the concentration and control by a few people, or by a mechanical corporation like the Government or a Company, of land which they do not cultivate themselves leading to absentee landlordism; (c) money-dominated economy, leading to working for trade, commerce, profits revenue etc., instead of for providing for the needs of oneself and society, thus further leading to the creation of a huge body of parasites; (d) the institution of slavery in detached forms; (e) the institution of interest, along with rights of proprietary over large units of wealth by money-lenders and non-cultivators (in case of land) and to non-artisans (in case of industries); (f) on the one hand, the absolute neglect of the common man's health and training, expenditure with raw materials by the State as well as by the advanced sections of society; and on the other, advancement of rights and traditions, sanctification of customs, habits, vices, traditions, and luxuries, and provision of temptations, all bound to lead to the progressive deterioration from generation to generation, and (vii) institution of a polished, economical and social order, in which he can play practically no part take no initiative, but finds himself thoroughly tied down on all sides.

(7) Unless there are other nations available for uncontrolled exploitation, no amount of the development of natural resources without the removal of these hindrances will bring about the welfare of even a majority, not to say every one—particularly in fully populated countries. The problems of unemployment and high prices and hence of sub-human conditions of living, disease, poverty, hunger, slavery of the masses, trash and deplorable conditions for women, diseases, robberies, and corruption in advanced nations and trade are bound to remain, and may even increase. There might be plenty of goods, even plenty of food, and yet there will be all the evils of unsatisfactory, unattended needs, and void of scope for the play of one's abilities.

(ii) Even if Government planned nothing beyond the removal of these obstacles as rapidly as possible, the people would prosper if not rapidly, at least slowly. If the plan works to go further to provide positive aids to the people the immediate objectives should be (a) to be thoroughly self-sufficient — I would say overall, in respect of food and nutrition. On our self-sufficiency in nutrition will ultimately rest our Food Security, and not on our economic income. Hence, it must have priority over every other item of planning. (b) the food should not only be abundant, but should be normally available to every one without too much need for transportation. This means that there should be as many self-sufficient units as possible, the normal unit being the village. (c) it should also be normally available to every able-bodied person in an accessible manner, and not by way of charity alone. This means that there should be no unemployment for any able-bodied person. Provision for employment of every one should be a part first with production of food as a self-sufficiency base. (d) the next positive item in planning would naturally have to be the training of the nation and there can be no other system of training for a nation, with the above objective, except on the principles of *Shiksha*, of which Basic Education is a part. (e) provision of clean water both for irrigation and drinking, sanitation, hygiene etc should provide distilling and dispensing of drugs, vaccinations, injections etc. (f) agricultural implements should be made available without creating indebtedness. (g) public utility services (post, telegraph, transport, loss of teachers' supply of seeds, essentials like salt etc), whether managed by Government or public corporations or private agencies, should not be administered for profit or in a way which will yield large balances. (h) temptations like liquor, intoxicating drugs, movies and expensive habits like those of tea, cigarettes, tobacco, easy ways of making money, such as gambling, cross-word puzzles etc, vulgar shows, songs etc should not be encouraged and looked for revenue. (i) a Government which tells its people that it cannot establish a Welfare State unless the population is reduced and plans for providing artificial means of birth-control is an incompetent to govern as one that forces increase of population for imperialistic and war purposes. A Government that incriminates men from getting necessary over his passions and advises him to avoid the consequences of indulgence in it by questionable means is a failure of education as well as administration. Hence the plan for education must be thoroughly evaluated.

There are a few of the basic objectives of Sarvodaya Planning, as I understand them. All planning, short term or long-term, must be directed towards the achievement of these ends.

The evolution of the Draft Outline will vary according to the two tests by which it is measured. The Sarvodaya criterion will be regarded

as the minimum, whereas the present plan is the ideal to be achieved by the nation.

It does not mean that on some specific and defined issues there might not be common consensus and courage. Indeed in some matters, the members of the House might remain the same from their previous job approach them. But the few might be there there is divergence, are so important that the implementation of the Commission's views is likely to cost the life of the nation in spite a different world so strongly as to make a change towards Sarvodaya too difficult without another radical revolution.

Wardha, 18.10.61

H. L. S. J.

FUTURE OF PROHIBITION IN INDIA

A correspondent raises a problem, which might be paraphrased as follows:—

I belong to the working class. I do not understand Indian politics and social problems. But I am deeply interested in the Prohibition policy of the Ministry Government as my community was very much affected to drink, and is not completely out of the world. Prohibition has been a blessing to it. I first learned in the Bombay Government for standing firm on its Prohibition policy in spite of pressure from the United Government itself in addition to that of the United States and local drinkers.

But now a possibility has arisen of the proposal of the Ministry Government changing totally after the elections. This has thrown me into a doubt. But I have been reported to have declared somewhere that if the Indians come to power, they would give up Prohibition and would advise people to practice abstinence in drinking. That they will not do seems clear and I for one would not vote for such a Government.

But what about the Congress? Will it advise me that the present policy will not be given up by the new Congress Government of Bombay? The Congress Committee has not emphasized itself in Prohibition and the views of Shri Nehru are well known. The Congress area of the Bombay State or the P. U. C. A. have not taken any separate or supplementary measures in their area even while several of the leading members of the present Bombay Cabinet do not propose to stand for election. Of those who will stand, that Maruti Desai and perhaps a few others are believed to be strong prohibitionists and some of them might choose to go on. But if they did choose to be a minority in their own party on the issue of Prohibition, what will they do? Will they refuse to be the members of a Government, which gives up or turns down the Prohibition policy?

Prohibition is a question of life and death to the people of the following provinces and it even the Congress policy is to become lost about it. I wish to know how the people of my class who want their community to be saved from drink, should exercise their right in vote.

The question is a very personal one, and can be decided only by those who stand as candidates for the next elections. Since the Congress is generally expected to be called upon to form the next Government, the nominated Congress candidates of the Bombay State would do well to make a joint or individual statement declaring clearly what their attitude towards Prohibition will be in the new set up of the Congress Government. Voters might also question the candidates of various parties as their respective constituencies about the matter.

and" means that we are taking up the right to take to ourselves the "right" of oppositionists. They do not mean to say anything offensive. They want the Council to pledge that they would support the Congress Assembly Party, if ordered to do so for lifting prohibition in the Assembly.

So let our members of the present Bombay Government and M. L. A's who propose to stand for election—right also do well to assure the public that they would not support any change in policy on this subject and would not be in a Government which decided to change it.

Wardha, 17-10-33 K. G. MATHURADA

COMMUNISM AND SARVODAYA

9 Shivaji Lane
New Delhi,
22nd August, 1933

The Editor, Nation

I was very interested to read in the Harrow of the 20th of August the two letter correspondence between Shri Yashraj and Shri Durg, and your article captioned "In Regard to Communism" on it.

I am interested at once with you when you say that the material decadence of the West can never successfully meet the challenge of Communism. It is the idea of Sarvodaya based on the fundamental unity of man as a spiritual being and moral force, that is going to devour both Capitalism and Communism. I also agree with you when you say that on the whole the Indian mind is the most tolerant in the world. No doubt, the intolerance of the West has been its bane in the past and is eating into the vitals of its spiritual life at present. If the West will not give up its intolerance its life-springs will soon be dried up and they will cease to water the plant of human life.

But having said this let me now state that our tolerance has not always been due to an indolent appreciation of others' beliefs, but it is also the result of our indifference or even callousness to life and its social and spiritual values, maybe, because of our wrong understanding of the "law of karma."

Secondly, let us not continue the same mistake as before. For a long time our leaders appreciated the West exclusively through English eyes. I am afraid now there is a growing tendency among them to judge it by exclusively American standards. We on our part, neither like nor approve, and rightly so, the most heinous attitude of the American towards Communism and his "Jihad" against it. But we must also remember at the same time the reason for the American's attitude. His love intensely his democratic way of life based on total freedom of the individual and, rightly or wrongly, believes that Communism is threatening to destroy it. Let us be tolerant towards him also.

But have we any way of life which we call our own and do we live it as religiously as the

American or the Russian? Hardly when used to call himself a Communist. He is not a conventional Communist. He is interested that a just and equitable human order can be established only through non-violence. "If Communism did not resort to terror, violent and deplorable methods"—but that makes a world of difference. For as Gandhiji and his philosopher "means and ends are convertible terms, the means may be fitted to a seed and the end to a tree, and there is just the same inevitable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."

So in our love and zeal for the ideal let us not unconsciously and imperceptibly maintain the evils of the means adopted by the Communists. And therefore Communism and Sarvodaya are joint enemies.

Yours sincerely

SHANKARANAND DOD

Note: I hardly thought that Yashraj and I were not clear about this matter. Nevertheless, Shri Durg's warning is welcome. The main thing which needs to be understood in this connection is that when most of us speak or think of Communism we have in mind only its Russian form. As Shri M. P. T. Acharya rightly points out in his article, "Continuity between Communism and Hindu Socialism," published elsewhere in this issue, the Russian pattern is really State Capitalism and not Communism at all, and the party in India known as Communists should better be known as State Capitalists. It is as much an imperialist doctrine as any known hitherto. The struggle between I. S. and Russia is really rivalry between two types of Capitalism, namely Private and State. State Capitalism can never succeed without war, exploitation and some form of slavery, it is no wonder that both are writhed in violence. Both are inconsistent with Sarvodaya.

Wardha 20-8-33

K. G. M.

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By Mahadevi Datta

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the weekly prayers organized by the Gurus. Here Bhakhi, the late visited the Bhikshu Bhakhi's followers. Replying to their address he said that the Jule came by the contribution to society that added to it was equal to that of the good tributes to the Bhikshu contribution to the learned Jule in the development of his village. He made also a suggestion.

But that you are indifferent to truth, but being a reasonable community, you have begun to believe that truth is not as essential as one village. But that is a mistake. Truth and one village are indivisible and cannot be separated from each other. Bhakhi's life was an example to all students based on truth alone.

Those who turned to Bhakhi on the death of Lord Jule, were moved by his words and heart-rending. Although the speech was usually addressed to honest there was much that could be taught to us for our very self-perfection. But, we had to ask ourselves, whether we can stay any with him. "Inevitably there come and go, therefore also have come and gone, but the friends and the people know that here is a man who is deeply engaged in the work of social service." And he further said: "On me they have bestowed love and working also but late."

D N

THE TRACT OF A WALL (By S. N. Agarwal)

A few months ago I had occasion to go and see the mahantism at Gorakhpur and stayed there for a fortnight at the suggestion of Kun Mahaswamy Prasad. I knew there were a few ones related about Gorakhpur associated with the life of Lord Buddha, but it was a pleasant surprise to hear that the sacred birthplace of Mahatma Kishi was only about fifteen miles away. It is called Maghar, one of the smaller stations on the O. T. Railway. Kishi's tomb is about half a mile from the station. One can see one from the train, while structures clattering round the place. The village of Maghar is close by where travellers have been plying their trade since olden times.

I have loved and revered the personality of Kishi since my childhood. His power as simple but deeply suggestive. Not only was he a saint who had attained spiritual peace but a great synthesizer also. Particularly, he was one in line of those gifted men, who had stroven with might and main to bring unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and to rescue them from the evils of bigotry and fanatism.

Naturally I wanted to go and pay my respects at Kishi's tomb and one day found myself at the place. It is said that when Kishi died, the Hindus and Muslims quarrelled among themselves over the final rites over his remains. The Muslims insisted to bury them, the Hindus to cremate them. Finally, happening to lift his shawl, they found that two bones were all that remained of his mortal frame. The Hindus took one, the Muslims the other and both erected shrines over them in accordance with their respective customs. The two monuments, one a temple and the other a masjid, are still standing as places of daily worship and prayer.

First I went to the Hindu temple, and found two Kishupanthas engaged in a religious discussion. I learned that every evening poems are recited from Kishi in the temple. Once a year, on the full-moon day of Ashvini, Mahatma Kishi's Day of Renown occurs at Maghar and a great festival is held which is called *Mahatma*. I sat in the temple for some time and then expressed a wish to go to the Masjid.

"There is no way from here to the masjid, Sir," was informed.

"Why how is that?" I exclaimed in surprise.

"There is a wall in between."

"And why a wall between two such places as these?"

"Please don't ask that, Babu. The wall has been there since very long."

"Isn't there even a walk-way to let one pass from one shrine to the other?"

"No, Sir! What good would a gate be? We don't go there at all."

I felt very grieved to hear this. There are both Hindus and Muslims among the followers of Kishi who had so lovingly laboured to bring the two communities together. All that effort has been in vain: a dark wall stands erect between them.

I came out of the temple and wound my way to the masjid. Entering the shrine, I chatted with a Muslim follower of the saint and learned that here too they held a great *Mahatma* once a year.

Of course you sit, Hindus and Muslims, must be coming together on the occasion of the festival," I curiously asked.

"Oh no! We send flowers, dal, rice, sugar and other things to the temple. All the cooking is done there."

"Then the Hindus too must be sending the same things to you at your own festival?"

"No, they send us of the feast ready cooked."

"Now, how is that? Why can't the Hindus eat food prepared by you? Are you not both followers of Kishi?"

"That is right, we are both followers of Kishi. None of us ever takes meat or fish, but the Hindus will not eat food of our cooking. We don't object to eat theirs."

So even the followers of the great Kishi keep in this don't fraternise! It was very sad to hear this. The terrible chain of don't-fraternise that separates the two communities has at last snaf this land of ours in two and really a wall has been raised between them.

I was curious to know whether the wall had always been there and questioned my friend.

"No," he said. "There was no wall at first. But there were frequent quarrels between the Hindus and Muslims. So about eighty years ago, an English officer raised the wall between the two shrines."

How very symbolic! It was an English officer who raised the wall between the Hindu and Muslim followers of Kishi at Maghar! Eighty years later an English Governor-General raised a political wall between the Hindus and Muslims of the whole country, to stand it is now. How too as door as to be seen in between! Did not that wall at Maghar rising eighty years ago lay the foundation for a future Pakistan? At least I felt was. On the tragedy of it all!

What! Let the Hindus consider whether their social institutions are not more responsible for these quarrels and cleavages. Here are followers of the same Master studying the same scriptures, and following the same customs of dress etc. and yet the Hindu followers regard their Muslim co-followers as not good enough to share with or even to accept the food cooked by them? Is the British officer too much to blame if in order to end their quarrels he erected a wall between them, as the only practical way for maintaining peace? — K. O. M.

HARIJAN

Nov. 3

1961

WHOM TO ELECT ?

(By R. R. Keshabji)

Many of us are already becoming excited about the elections. In our constituency there seems to be a good deal of agitation. One of the "important" castes is reported to have said, "We are a very important caste in this area. It is right that one of our men should be nominated for the Assembly." Is this our true India? Is this what we fought for? Is ours to be a caste or sectional cry? Surely that is not a true basis of real democracy. Surely any section of the electorate that thinks or talks in such terms ought to be severely criticised by the rest of the public and its nominations should be ignored. If we were to work on such a basis then surely a candidate from the weakest community should be selected so that the weaker and the exploited people might get justice. But even that is not an adequate basis on which to work. May I suggest for your consideration some of the questions that we should ask a candidate who would like to represent his constituency, or better still, the questions we should raise when we select a candidate or vote for our representative?

Our aspect of the genius of Gandhiji was that, as he gave us a method to attain political freedom, he also developed a nation-building programme which would bring complete freedom and justice to all. That programme was to result in "a casteless, classless society." Does the candidate believe in such a society? Does he stand above caste and above sectarian community? We should ask him and while his answer thinks, "What will you do to bring about this casteless-classless society?" And we should study the life of the candidate to see whether he does act above caste or sect, which would be an earnest as to his political integrity.

Gandhiji told us that we must work for communal unity, that is, for a true society. Does the candidate believe in such a society? Does he patronise caste or communal institutions or organisations? What will he do to promote communal unity? He should answer us clearly before we give him our vote.

Again Gandhiji stood for great social reforms. He said that drink and gambling must go. Does the candidate believe in social purity? Is he going to support prohibition? Is he going to support every good social reform? For example, is he going to make that women have equal rights with men? How?

Again, does the candidate believe in economic equality? What will he do for it? Is he ready to make radical changes in the present Land Revenue system? Is he ready to insist that there be no absentee landownership? Is he

going to give his best efforts that the landless agricultural labourer be given land? Is he going to insist that if the Government is going to build houses for the rich and middle classes, even more it must assist the poor villagers, and especially the Harijans, to build better houses and villages? Does he believe in village industries? Will he do all in his power to promote such industries so that the agriculturist may have some supplementary work when agricultural activities fall? Is the candidate going to insist that the processing of food be done in the village and in a manner that food values are conserved? Will he insist that there be no poisoning of rice in rice-mills and no destruction of food values in oil mills? Will he encourage, in every way possible, those village industries that save the food values of rice and vegetable oils? Will he do all in his power to see that the cotton industry is promoted in the village and discouraged in highly concentrated centres such as Coimbatore, Madras and Mumbai?

A Rural Development Programme has been formulated for this State (Madras). It has been carrying on good work. Some encouragement has been given to rural workers. Will the candidate promote and strengthen this programme? Will he see that more of the tax income goes to the needy rural area and less to urban, which have had an undue portion of such income during the past?

Does the candidate believe in a healthy and sanitary village? What has he done to promote such health and sanitation? What will he do? Is he ready to promote a substantial health programme and give all co-operation possible from Government agencies?

Does the candidate believe in universal and life-centred education? Is he ready to promote wholeheartedly the accepted Basic Education programme in his State? What will he do to bring about universal elementary education? Is he ready to give a larger proportion of the educational funds to education in the villages and much less, if necessary, to urban education? Is he ready to promote a substantial citizenship training that will help every villager to know how to be a creative citizen, and establish "Peoples' Colleges"?

Does the candidate believe in his own culture and in his own language? Is he a good representative of that culture? Can he use his own language well? Does he believe in our great common culture? Is he ready to promote the accepted national language of India? Does he know that language? What will he do to bring about this common language?

Does the candidate believe in a minimum wage for all people? What will he do to see that all industrial labour receives a minimum wage? What will he do to ensure a minimum wage to agricultural and other labour? Is he ready to promote a movement for lower income for the wealthy and middle classes and every citizen in India is assured a minimum wage? Is he ready

to provide lower wages for the top civil services and higher wages for the lowly-paid?

These are some of the questions that all of us must ask when candidates seek our votes during the next two months. We must insist on a clear-cut reply. It would be good if each village would organise a great public meeting, invite all the candidates to that public meeting and then place before them such a series of questions, or better still a positive programme which it believes in, and ask the candidates for a definite reply. In other words we should not look to the candidates to give us a nation-building programme but we must give them such a programme and give our vote to them only when they assure us that they will support such a programme whole-heartedly. I take it that such an approach to the elections will be true to the spirit of Sardarji. Let us even from the beginning place our elections on a very high level. And as you read this article I am sure you will have even better suggestions to make as to the conduct of our elections. The important thing is that we get at the job and do something about it.

Gandhi Green, 12-10-62

NOTES

Wrong Advice

A news item in the *Indian Express* (Oct. 30 says:

Madurai, Oct. 1. Presiding over the sixth annual meeting of the Madurai Tamil and Marathi Students' Council and Marathi Association this evening K. N. S. Ananthakrishnan, Collector of Madurai suggested the making of media film out of wheat in Madurai Rural.

"This, he said, would cater to the requirements of Madurai farmers. He wanted the Madurai farmers to consider this proposition. His association asked that the starting of such a film in Madurai last year was of great help and it relieved the demand for media to a great extent. The Collector suggested the farmers to prepare pure stuff through logical methods."

This is an instance of how Government officials do just the opposite of their duty towards the people. Here there was a fine opportunity for the Collector to advise the wheat-makers of Madurai that they should not use waste at all in the preparation of their manufactures, but employ whole-wheat flour instead. He could have informed them of the nutritional value of the whole-wheat flour, and even hinted that in the interest of public health, one fine morning they might find a ban imposed on the manufacture of the waste bread and biscuits. Instead of this, the Collector advises the merchants to start a waste factory in Madurai itself!

"If this is to be the Government policy," the correspondent says further on, "there is no point in our keeping up a costly Nutritional Laboratory at Coimbatore, which had for its first Director Dr. Robert MacCarrison, whose researches have contributed so much to revolutionising the scientific views on food-values." Here is a Government department which teaches the people how

to destroy institutions, with the help of science, while another department is busily engaged in discovering, preserving, or restoring them!

Wardha, 3-10-62

Public Urinals and Water-closets

The article, 'Corruption to Escape Penalty', (*Manjan*, 22-8-51),¹ has provided some correspondence. Some of the correspondents have objected to the two suggestions made therein for obtaining relief in a legal manner. These suggestions cannot diminish public nuisance, they urge, and the object of penal rules would be defeated thereby. The condition of gutters between the houses and of the water-closets on the ground floor of most of the houses is already very filthy, and if men on the streets also made use of them, the nuisance will increase awfully. The occupants of the neighbouring houses would not permit it.

I admit that there is force in the objection. Hence the only way is to erect more public urinals and water-closets at convenient places. A correspondent says that in London there are clean underground urinals constructed in public streets. The use of the urinal is free while a penny is charged for using the W.C. Indian Municipalities should erect similar urinals, underground or overground according to convenience. Of course, great care should be taken both by the authorities and also by the people to keep the urinals and water-closets very clean. It must be remembered that occupants of houses in the neighbourhood of a proposed public urinal raise objections to an erection on account of the filthy conditions and manner of use of these public conveniences. If cleanliness were guaranteed, their erection would not be objected to. It must also be remembered that no Municipality can succeed in maintaining cleanliness, unless those who use them do so in the right manner, and treat the place with respect. Wardha, 8-12-62

Indian Nomenclature

The papers announce that it is proposed to rename the E.E. & C.I. and G.I.P. Railways as Western and Central Zone Railways or something akin to it. If the nomenclature has to be changed, it is desirable that they should be given an Indian name, even if, for the time being, the railway administration employs the English language in all its transactions. Even assuming that the word railway is adopted in Hindi as it is, and not changed into simple *raai* (रे), the words Western and Central Zone which are by no means technical terms should be of Indian origin, e.g. *Madhya-Pashchima Railway* (or better *Rail*) — *madhya-pash* (मध्यपश्चिम). The popular pronunciation will perhaps be *madhyapash*.

Wardha, 23-12-61

T. C. M.

Agony Stakes on Railways

About a year ago the Government of India set up a Committee with Shri A. D. Shetty as chairman, two other members and Shri K. M.

has as member-secretary "for the purpose of supervising the working of the Stores Organisation on Indian Railways." This Committee found a "drinking state of affairs in some cases" (Report, para 113, p. 52) and gained the impression that some of the railways were "carrying unconscionably excessive supplies." Indeed they had reason to suspect that an attempt was made to keep back from them essential information. Even so, in para 114 of their report they listed a large number of items of which there were excessive stocks. The list is rather long with over 150 items. I therefore give below the details of those items only which were expected to last over 100 years according to the estimate of the railways themselves:

ARMED RAILWAYS

	Actual Consumption	Stock	% on the stock would last
Shank, carriage body padding	5 lbs.	485 lbs.	100
Bricks, etc., etc.	0	1,240	270

R. E. & C. I. Railway

Cutter for road working (machinery)	1 No.	200 Nos.	100
Boat hatch, lockhead canal (boat)	1 set	100 sets.	100
5 M. road with 40x10x10 log	5 sets.	84 tons	100

R. F. Railway

Wagon 20'x10'x10'	2 sets	1,204 items	100
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M. & S. M. Railway

Boys, steel locomotive	200 Nos.	40,000 Nos.	100
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S. I. Railway

Paper, brown 20'x10'	24 sq.	5,000 sq.	100
Spring wire round	5-3 lbs.	200 lbs.	100
Boys, wooden 10' No.	50	5,775	100

Consent to medicine

T O D

ON PROHIBITION

Only a small fraction of the Indian people plead against prohibition. Generally they belong to the well-to-do and so-called educated classes. They do so under the pretext of individual liberty, which is one of the fundamental principles of democracy. But I am sure in the depth of their hearts it is only the craving for drink that prompts them to resort to that pretentious plea.

However strange it might appear, there is a sharp difference of opinion on this point between the educated and well-to-do classes and the ignorant and unlettered victims of the habit. While the educated man puts forth every plea to justify his habit, the ignorant one frankly denounces it in the harshest terms possible.

About three years ago I lived in a village not far off from Wadhwa. By and by, I formed an acquaintance with a village elder. He was a notorious drunkard, almost lame, with deep-set eyes, and a very pale face. This physical wreck was once a known warrior of the village. Otherwise an uneducated man, he was an irredeemable liability to his family. But he too

never defends drinking. Addict as he is for the last several years, he does not justify it but regards himself an unfortunate victim of it.

A year and a half ago, I was an employee of the Forest Department of the Madhya Pradesh. As a part of my duty I had to tour several backward and aboriginal tracts of the province. Once it happened that one of the assistants of the province with some rural officers paid a brief visit to a remote village of the Nag district. In a public meeting the Hon'ble Minister appealed to the people to abstain drinking. Instantly a village leader rose and said, "Sir, we heartily accept your advice, but has it come for all. Its lavish display before our eyes simply tempts us." I was agreeably surprised that a backward person of his type could make such an appeal.

The argument that an administration, however efficient, cannot check the evil, has only a grain of truth in it. For, hardened drunkards are few and the Government machinery can successfully check those people who drink only occasionally. In a village with a population of only 600, I have seen twelve liquor shops. The village may be regarded as a suburb of Wadhwa. There is a chain of middlemen, the village Patel being an indispensable link, between the dealers on one side, and the ultimate consumers on the other. The bulk of the latter are city people, including Government servants. If any of the producers does not fit in their chain, he alone is victimised, the others are purchased before a police raid takes place. A police constable once told me that on one occasion while they were raiding up the liquor-order the police themselves were taking heavy draughts of it. I think this is a great pointer to our administration.

In my childhood, I had read one amusing anecdote. A rich man went to a liquor shop on his horse and drank liberally. But in his intoxicating mood he also poured a little of it into the mouth of his horse. The next time when he visited the shop, the horse kept reeling at a safe distance, fearing the lack of even the home-grown in his master. Is this not an object-lesson to our drinking nation from a monk and a steed animal?

G. M. KUNDURIAN

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PANNAT' ASHRAM MOTEN — III Children in Service

On the 10th of July there was a good deal of confusion in the village as the Government had fixed that day for the election of the new Panch. Immediately their confidence came into the street to elect the children, men or less an occasional lady. The village was divided into Little Tula, Khana, and Akhara. Villages were run along with it. It was suggested by some workers that the children were not healthy for the public life of this village and that Karamappa who was then away in Tumkur, should be immediately sent for. This was done and he had visited the interested parties all gathered before him. After a little discussion to grasp their mind then and to probe into their confusion, Karamappa spoke to them that said: "I am extremely happy to find in heart of you having such a keen desire to serve the public. Father Father's inspiration, the Panch was a British agent, but today under our own independent Government the Panch becomes the servant of the people. He should be selected to stand between the people and the Government should stand the hard work. He must coordinate this village in having two professions by the children coming forward. To serve the people that unfortunately, the Government will accept only one name and therefore we must devote a month of having the benefit of the services of all the best and at the same time sending his only one name to the Government. He invited suggestions on this end. A brother of one of the candidates immediately suggested that all the four may be made into a council of Panch, but one should be selected to represent them as far as the Government is concerned. It was then suggested that one may be chosen as to whom name should go up to the Government and the other three candidates should withdraw. In favour of this selected candidate this procedure was followed and only one name was put up for election and that candidate was declared elected. Thus a political discipline exhibited through common understanding and cool thinking.

Our Goals

On July 15th, when we were all having lunch, two messengers arrived with a beautiful Changan and brother with a beautiful stick on his forehead and said that their Gangaged District Friends of India — a village had come away — and said this call to be offering to the Ashram Goals. Although we had thought of having a Goals as one of our activities we had not taken any step to buy our sticks as we had no holding share for them. Since this call was the first to make the Goals, it was suggested that we should receive this letter immediately and name it.

A good many of the villagers gathered together on the next day at the Karamappa meeting and suggested that the naming ceremony be carried out after the Karamappa program. Accordingly we held the Karamappa program followed by the naming programme for about half an hour.

Then, as all the school children had also come, Karamappa explained the significance of Karamappa in their children in a most beautiful style. He said that this Goals-like effort was directed towards making men, the actual life man. The children, by bringing out the spiritual to him as expressed by his moral action. When we think of ourselves only as life, a very restricted life, but when we enter into the lives of others and help them in their difficulties we truly represent that the humanism. What, now we do must have a moral value and not merely an economic value. In this connection he brought out the difference between using milk-dicks and Akhara and showed how by wearing gird to be Akhara we live a larger life and follow the direction of the peace. The therefore, pointed out that they should give up wearing milk-dicks and act as Karamappa's message of life, Akhara and our Akhara.

He also explained to the children that by having milk-dicks they are a living as much of the village problem than to get out of the village to return for the milk-dicks.

On the other hand, if Akhara were produced out of the milk-dicks in the village in their spare hours of their work and after village problems would remain in the village and not there. It would be able to meet their demands of food. In subsequent days many of the villagers joined in our spinning wheel and the spinning classes we held were character transformed in the hand. Community School as part of their programme and the government also are now sending them classes.

After this talk, as the suggestion of some of the villagers the Akhara that was brought was decorated and with a wooden mark placed on its forehead by that Karamappa was named "Karam".

Village Karm

In the morning between 8:30 and 10:00 there is a regular programme of village work meetings. We have begun with the clearing up of the neighbourhood of the well in the Karama garden and Akhara. This work came from the well was running like a black gutter through the middle of the village neighbourhood. Into this had fallen a good deal of waste made and other vegetable matter and was rotting. We started about its business of this rubbish had means plus. Then the sides of the road were cut and the concrete that started was used to sit in the trees that was formed by the clearing of the rubbish. The transformation was striking — as placing in the eye with an earth -vibrating machine going to earth soil for good crops. This was a demonstration as to how much can be turned into waste with a little effort and proper use. Then our well programme led to an establishing programme. In the morning we were the only workers but in the course of a day or two the village who at first, kept looking on, began to understand the purpose of our activities. Then some of the children, who were shy operators, picked up the projects Akhara and began to initiate in and this brought the villagers who drove out the children, picked up the instruments and started working with us whole heartedly. Within a day or two we had collected several organisms amongst whom were Karama, Lot, the Akhara of the village Karamappa, the Panch Karama and Akhara. The last programme concerned almost how to arrange for our voluntary P.W.D. and to understand to keep our implements sharpened and in good form.

One day while we were working this on our road the Assistant D.C. of Warli, who had come on a visit, saw the work in progress and remarked that if the villagers only had this type of programme a great deal of the difficulties of the village development would soon disappear as the villagers will have learnt to co-operate to look after their own needs.

In our work at Warli, the village where the Ashram is situated we are being helped by two students from Maharashtra all the time by letters. They come in letters and each letter says there for two days when the next one comes in. The second batch, devoted into the first batch for three days. In this way the continuity of the programme is maintained. The students spend two hours in the evening writing out a drafted ready-made message. In this manner the writing that they get at Maharashtra is continued with the practical work under actual village conditions.

Our Vessels Etc.

In our kitchen we are past vessels and our eating vessels are also "Akshara glass vessels" made in the Maharashtra Panch, India. This glass is simple but it is supposed to be good glass. The project can be started on cooperatively by a few persons getting together. This glass will stand with that would otherwise require much. We also are preparing all kinds which have been developed and prepared at Maharashtra. Naturally these Karamappa of them showed the variety of the village and Akhara or a part of interest for purposes of our programme of educative work. If we are able to carry on this type of work, in a little while we should be able to solve our adult rural education problem. R. R.

and common ground between participating in their own by themselves in the sphere of the constitution and the government. Sri Ayya Ghandi of Mysore said that the majority of Hindus are the ones who are the most honest men who have a heart of pure gold and those who will give them such assistance as will be necessary both then and now. They are all united in the cause of freedom. Like Gandhiji, Sri Ayya Ghandi also accompanied Vinoba during his tour in 1931 as a member of the party. The only difference, with much commonality and differently but not less, was that he is a member of those who accompanied Vinoba with the number of Hindu devotees. Vinoba expects people of all groups to give him their cooperation in the movement.

After a study I very much feel that there was hardly any such time Vinoba was not with his entire group in the accompanying efforts. He had definite views on the road, and from year to year, in one of the meetings, he replied "I am definitely against giving the vote to those who believe in violence as one to those who believe in non-violent resistance." As regards social work, standing in behalf of various political parties, Vinoba expressed his opinion that voters should see the integrity and ability in the person making election, and should not be influenced by mere party considerations. He also stated that political differences should not affect friendly relations. That was according to him the rule of sport in the election campaign which should be observed by all concerned. He advised him to visit all political parties and worked on the same level of representation. Action and law both of them could solve election without an injury to the friendship in the land.

He was much apprehensive of the effects of Poona Non-Violent Action for the internal purification of the Congress as one of the leading efforts to clean up the Congress vote. Vinoba hoped that the efforts of Sri Ayya would bear fruit. He was however of opinion that the progress of purification would not be achieved if it had any division in its immediate objective. Purification demanded a programme based on service and sacrifice to all.

I have been reminding others regarding about his health. I can understand the danger of the future all over India. It is partly a miracle that in this advanced era and with the disposal of our constantly increasing land, we have such long distances. But as he himself said in the letters who gives him power to do all this. Is not the Congress daily reminded through him? But let us not be mistaken, for he gives power to the field and to him that has no might to increase their strength. The secret of the whole affair may be expressed in George Bernard's following words:

Thank me my God and King
In all things I do for you
In what I do in my doing
To do it as for Thee

G. B.

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NOT SO EASY

As a result of my recent article in Harijan entitled "But where are the Kamma and Ministers?", one of the political parties has asked me if I would contact a seat on their behalf in the coming elections. No doubt that would give them a representative who knew in a hot and knows how to make a case, but it is not so easy as all that. I am only a house by adoption, and there would be nothing very difficult about making a person like me an M. L. A. or a Minister, as I have the intellectual training. We have got to do something much more revolutionary. We have got to make Ministers of hereditary houses who have lived on and worked the land for untold generations. As Ayya says these houses need not be hereditary provided they have "robust common sense, great personal integrity, uncompromising integrity and patriotism above suspicion." People of such character are to be found amongst the peasantry, especially in the far away villages and it is these real people full of age-old experience and wisdom under whom we have got to put ourselves. We have got to humble our intellectual pride and bow our heads before the knowledge and endurance which bear up the burden of the world. When I look at a sun-burnt weather-beaten, brown working in his fields, I see before me a man of the power which nations march. If he were not there, ever working ever working planning and praying, none of us would be anywhere. If therefore stands in reason, especially in India where the vast majority of the people are villagers, that the house should guide the nation, and the intellectual should serve and help him.

Of course great care and intelligence should be exercised in selecting these houses, for all houses are not equal. The cunning type has got to be avoided. The type who neglects labour and behaves like a petty landlord has got to be avoided. The "politically-minded" type has certainly got to be avoided. Those should be chosen who have the stirrings set forth by Ayya, and they will most often be found amongst the "one-pair-of-bullocks" standard of income, who along with their whole family work with their own hands. They must not think that they are being chosen in order to be turned into politicians, but rather that they are being chosen in order to turn the politicians into houses.

Once again, I appeal to the political parties — now in the moment to scrap the present unsuccessful and corrupted methods, and to take the house step which Ayya has shown us. Indeed it is the Congress which should have done this thing long ago. After the many years of struggle under Ayya's guidance, which led it to triumphant victory, this step should have been the natural necessity. But when full power came into its hands the Congress began to think it knew better than its guru, with what final results we now see!

Gopal Ashram, Tehri-Garwal
20-12-51

314A

PANNAI ASHRAM NOTES—IV

On the 1st of September the Pannai Paha Festival at Paha was celebrated with great zeal. The animals were joined and separately decorated and led outside the village and then they followed ceremoniously under buildings and between the trees. Kumbharappa was called upon to say a few words before the herd of cattle was started. He said: "Today you have shown great devotion to your husband. You have treated them as members of your families, you have worshipped them as offering made to God. Amongst the people who there has been a great deal of anti-Brahminism demonstrated. It is all to the good. God, the Creator, manifests Himself in many ways. This festival acknowledges the fact that God's help comes to us through these animals also. Hence you worship them today to express of God's goodness. With us this was the form of a religious rite."

"In the West also they have an annual festival once every year but there it is not celebrated with religious fervour. In Great Britain probably none is a parallel. Here however—there all kind of turban—our heads to rise and the cow gather together in their two distinct parties and fight. The relations are marked by a spirit of competition, unlike ours which is shadowed by religious animosity and distinguished by co-operation. Hence our economy was founded on a non-violent one leading to mutual goodwill. After this ceremony the bull takes us from house to house and visit their neighbours who wash their heads and offer milk."

"Thus these Paha celebrations are beautiful and significant. But how shall we treat these representatives of God, Makers from tomorrow? We treat them with sharp nails mounted on the people who torture them who their skin strips and impale their wounds and disfigure. We see then today of doing all these to God himself whom we profess to worship today. God is not so easily deceived. He knows best. He visit us with curses which we richly deserve. I have been here so, those of you who use such profane acts will attract these sharp pains and find your animals with the affliction and regard you cursed today."

After this Shri Ramdas said, the Sarpanch, said: "You say I have been the custom to show the animals of the village to lead the procession with turban but I suggest that from today we change that order and show the animals of the Pannai Ashram to lead." This was an unanimously agreed to and proudly did our leaders march past. Thus the signs of violence and exploitation yielded place to love and service.

On the 2nd of September President Rajendra Prasad passed this village on his way to Madras and the co-workers welcomed him on behalf of the Pannai Ashram.

Self-help

At Kumbharappa's suggestion a group of villagers who attend our meetings formed an Am Sahas of three. This Sahas will be responsible for the village work.

Swaraj Chark

As the attendance at our evening prayer was increasing the committee for the charkshala where we were holding it, the Am Sahas approached the owners of three rented houses close for permission to use that place. This having been given, the charkshala was cleared by all the village joining in the effort and we are now holding our meeting etc. in this place which has been termed Swaraj Chark, as Kumbharappa explained that Swaraj will come only when we are able to solve our own problems and this is the first problem the two Am Sahas had solved.

Communalism etc.

Prof. Rang visited the Ashram on the 13th of August. He had had a long interview with Kumbharappa on various matters. To the question how to deal with the "Communist Movement" Kumbharappa said "Take us at the lower level the question has a simple solution, though it is difficult of execution. There are definite grievances on which God's servants is built. This is the real

issue on which they lead their campaign of destruction and violence. If we want to do nothing at all it is to take the same foundation and they will continue more and more. Their coming up from a material world but we have to see a comprehensive power in the field of moral and spiritual values. Hence these methods are properly understood there will be emerging from it a new form of equality and justice which will take the place of greed, envy and hatred. This way is long and can be reached through the means of Sat Yajna. All glory that can be dispensed however otherwise they may waste it all."

On being asked how much capital an agriculturist would need Kumbharappa replied "We are using the word 'capital' in a wrong manner. We understand in the present industrial set-up this term in a different way. In agriculture we have no capital in that sense that is land and seed, labour and 'profit'. Even here is only an investment that will work according to the fertility of the soil. Land, labour and the plough are in the former what seed, water and place are in the present. Agricultural products must have yet to be defined. This is especially so under our conditions where agriculture is an occupation for subsistence rather than an industry as in the U.S.A."

The Cycle of Life

On the 15th of September after evening prayer there was a Bhakti-satsang. Thus the theme in the prayer was on a larger Kumbharappa took the opportunity to explain the cycle of life. He told them rain water came from the sky, which most of the students had not seen. From the soil water by evaporation pure water was taken up into the air by the action of heat from the sun. Thus by the action of the cosmic chakra forces etc. the stream comes down as rain. When the water reaches the earth it is more or less pure water according to slight salts and impurities that are picked up in the air. This he pointed to the ground water that was flowing out from the yard and asked why that water was green. Some asserted that it was because it was mixed with cattle dung. This he asked what was the deep brown colour of the water as the stream flows to and what it contained in addition. A villager quickly replied "mud and night soil". Then Kumbharappa said "You see that the pure rain water with up that is filtered into pure water by the action of sun. This water runs from hills into the wells, from there into the river Wundru which flows into the Wundru, which in turn flows into the river Godavari, which empties itself into the sea. This river Godavari is regarded as Gangasutra, a goddess." By asking the monks to see themselves they were taking in a problem with simplicity. "We cannot be stupid in an ignorant manner a more work but let us remember that every morning when we go to sit on the road and see it and then to knowing the face of the Divine with simplicity. Such an act of observation can only result in a union."

On the other hand, see the parallel written used in the Ashram. The brush defines the mode and the wire which are created by hand and earth and finally converted into manure. This is too to the earth which is the crop yields several times that of ordinary soil."

After this explanation the villagers were much interested in seeing such much better built for themselves.

On the 18th of September Wundru with his band of pagans, passed through Wundru on their way up to Vada Jathi. They stayed for about a day and were heartily received by the villagers. In his own speech Wundru declared them to be united and work together for the common good and not to be led away by the various signs of party politics in the coming elections as well as in the management of their own affairs. He congratulated them in having a leader like Kumbharappa amongst them and requested them to follow his advice on all matters.

R. R.

HARIJAN

Nov. 14

1951

SOME CHANGES Food Habits

All of us have a tendency to live in the old ruts. Take our food habits. If we take something that we are used to we are very satisfied and angry if we are asked to give our usual food rice, some wheat, etc.

I have no objection at all to a person who likes rice to eat rice or a person who likes wheat to eat wheat but it is a question of adjusting ourselves to various situations. In Europe and many countries of Asia where war has had very far-reaching effect, the entire food habits of the people have had to be changed by force of circumstances.

"Mr. Peters cited the instance of sugar and pointed out that in England people eat one or two spoons a week and sometimes even that was not issued till the people put up with it. In India people were so "sugary" that diabetes would arise if there was too much and Food Ministers had to import sugar. The country would not be able to go far unless the people were prepared to change their habits during a period of difficulty."

The change may be partially true among middle-class people. But it cannot be laid against the people of the labouring classes. Of course they too would prefer to have the cereal, the pulse and the oil to which they are accustomed, but when these are not available they very quickly accept, even seek for themselves, any substitute — not excluding grass and better roots. Indeed, they are puzzled when even their substitute foods become scarce. Secondly, it is not the moral perversity or idiosyncrasy which is mainly responsible for the preference of a particular cereal, pulse or oil. It is a matter of experience that a body accustomed from childhood to a particular kind of cereal, pulse, or oil, does not draw adequate nourishment and even reacts adversely to their substitutes. Food diugeta, and not of the correctness of these chemical analyses and experiments on rats might not find any remarkable difference between peas and beans, millets, wheat and rice, corn, tur, mung and chana dal, and id, arhar and groundnut oil. But the human digestive system does, and the body gets enervated even with the consumption of adequate quantities and, if predisposed to illness, quickly contracts some ailment.

And then, the conduct of those responsible for administration is itself a great contributing factor to the enervation and anger of the people. They perceive before their very eyes banquets and feasts on luxurious and wasteful scales, involving the use of the very cereals, sugar etc. which are denied to them, being repeatedly told. They also see or hear that Government officers

"All the quotations are from Lord Jeebhari Mahipal's speech in the Council, as reported in the *Illustration Times* of 17th Oct., '51.

and even ministers participate in them and when questioned in the Assembly, the explanations which are given do not carry conviction. Distribution of adulterated, spoiled, staling and even inedible food-stuff is not unknown. They find that rich and influential men are able to float the loans with the active help of the administration. They read that persons convicted on the count of trial are often acquitted on appeal, not on the ground that the case was fabricated, but because a clever lawyer was able to point out some technical defect in the law or procedure. And they find that year after year their questionable practices are rather an increase than otherwise. How can the people under these circumstances feel convinced that the shortages are real and universal, and that they must sympathetically co-operate with the Government in the administration?

The Black Market

"But there was one matter which troubled him and his colleagues in some circles. This was what was popularly referred to as 'black-market money', on which there was no control and which never came into any picture of Planning. There was a good deal of conversation against this black-market business and all of them had expressed themselves strongly against it.

For this was 'a serious problem from the Planning point of view as well as the social point of view.' Various State Governments had tried to root themselves on this subject and sometimes had succeeded in some measure. Some people had also been convicted though these individuals are what are called small fry but not the big fry. When a small individual indulged in black-marketing though it was bad it was only an individual crime. But when these biggy people indulged in it, it became a social problem.

"Though it had not been mentioned in the Prime Minister's Commission was considering how to deal with this 'in a matter of urgent importance.' In the situation that existed today it was difficult to deal with it in view of the difficulty and slow process of law. The people involved were fairly big and because huge sums of money were involved, there were huge temptations. The law itself was intended to deal with minor matters. Inevitably even when cases were put up the stick dragged on for two or three years and the case just rotted. A way must be found to deal with the problem. Mr. Peters said, 'If it is necessary to take fresh and additional powers I am quite sure that this Parliament would not grudge it and the country would approve of it, provided the government took a proper decision.'"

In the connection, I humbly ask not to lay too much stress on tightening of penal and control laws. What is needed is not deterrent, heavy punishment of an individual or two, but a vigilant eye over all, without favour or fear. Governments have been known to exist, which have resorted to breaking the knees of thieves, hanging decads, flogging those who used false measures etc. Crime has not decreased thereby, because every severe penalty stimulates the rascaldom and guile of law-breakers, lawyers and corrupt administrators. The penal laws will have to be these. But they are the weak factor in the purification of life. A few bold-

guards may be necessary for a king or a minister. But if the Home Minister thought that he could make these great men free from the risk of being assassinated, he would be disillusioned some day. So also with regard to other criminal laws.

A social evil can be put down only by moral training and good example of the leaders. And hence, a large number of ministers, parliamentarians, rich and well-to-do men are guilty of lawlessness and moral—if not always literal—transgressions of their own laws. We are told that the public discipline is very high in European countries. But I believe that this is true of England. But I have reason to believe that the moral degradation and flouting of laws is quite rampant in some of the countries of Europe, and in America, Africa, Australia and a great many countries of Asia. So far as our country is concerned, my own feeling is that if the people at the top advance one step in the direction of honesty and personal self-denial, the people will advance five. By their very temperaments and traditional training they are gentle, law-abiding and always mentally prepared to live suffering as an inseparable part of life. They have been grossly wronged against for centuries, and yet have not become degenerate. The heart of the common people is, on the whole, sound. The evil that appears is on the surface like a mud-splash on the clothes of a pedestrian, caused by the motor-car of a rich man driving on a rainy day. The response which the Shuddhi Vyavahar Mandal gets is both encouraging and depressing. It is encouraging because several middle-class traders and consumers have expressed their desire to live honestly and not to resort to any corrupt practice, but they put forth problems and seek advice for the removal of the practical difficulties in their way. The difficulties are mostly the creation of the control laws the administrators of law, unscrupulous traders and rich industrialists. The situation is depressing because the administrators are often unable to suggest a way out, unless they advise civil resistance. So far hardly a single great industrialist or commercialist seems to have thought that honest life is a practical proposition.

Labour of Students

"The old Michael Planning Commission had recommended that every young man should be compelled to work for a year or two in the fields or factory before a diploma was awarded. By this method the country would benefit and the young men would also improve in physique and mind. Some Far Eastern Governments had acted in and found considerable difficulties. Some beginning even in a small way should be made. Later on the next step would be to make every young man between 17 and 22 years put in compulsory labour."

The reports, which I often receive from students' organisations, and our own experience of training camps are encouraging. Students have been giving far better work than might be expected from the type of training they receive. If a child is trained for the life of a clerk, and

carelessly dressed body or gentleman from the age of three to twenty years and is to revert to it at twenty-two, we cannot expect her or him to be a good and efficient field or factory worker for a period of one year or twenty-one. A 'civilised' child is made to feel it as early as age as possible that it is naughty if it allows its limbs to be smeared with dirt, if its clothes get wet or soiled with mud, that it is good or clever if it can decipher the alphabet from a newspaper heading or count upto twenty at the age of three. A good girl or boy is not expected to spend too much time in playing. And if he or she plays it must be a modern civilised game—like cricket, foot-ball, or tennis. Not a stick is trained or a habit ingrained, which will enable him to work with the pick-axe, or be in the sun and the rain for some hours at a stretch. Even students whose parents are themselves actual cultivators, artisans or factory labourers, lose their inherited muscles and working capacity and still after are to ten years of modern education and city and hotel life. They are hardly to be blamed, if they are unable to give a good amount of themselves, if they are suddenly asked at twenty-one to put out their arms in a village or a factory. He becomes a muck in the field, and might even spoil the village life. He or she might go to the village as a well-appointed honorary agent for Kaptan, Parker, Boverdy, Bata, Nigbi, Virginia, Lapstock etc. and display the latest fashions of hats, pyjamas, blouses and other variations and infect some of the village youths with them, much to the annoyance of their parents.

If students are to be made along with their agricultural studies, good field and factory workers also, the training needed must be expected from the very beginning.

Let me not be misunderstood. These comments are not made to argue against Shri Nehru's remarks. His remarks are appropriate and I endorse them. The people must not feel that if the things are going wrong all the fault lies with the Government; that the people are good and would be better still, if only the administration improved. The people must remember that the administration cannot improve unless the people improve both in their ideas and in their conduct. All the more administration must go deep into the matter and realise that the people cannot, with all their goodwill, improve unless there are sufficient men in the administration who are models of high character, and unless the administrative system is basically revolutionised, simplified and quickened.

Wardha, 28-10-53

R. G. MANNINGHALL

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THE WAGE SYSTEM

(by Peter Kropotkin)

Several persons to whom he is known in HARBILAN or Harbil, or around Harbil, would be subject to temporary work. There cannot be an exact measure of the value of what has been, improperly called the "value in exchange" or of the value in use. If we see two individuals both working for years for five hours daily for the community of two different communities equally distant to them we can say that, taken all in all, their labours are roughly equivalent. But their work could not be taken up into exchange so that the product of each day's work bore its exact relation to the labour of one should be worth the product of each minute and each hour of that of the other.

Broadly speaking, we can say that a man who during his whole life deprives himself of leisure for ten hours daily has given much more to society than he who has deprived himself of five hours a day, or has not deprived himself of any labour at all. But we cannot take what one man has done during any ten and say that his production is worth exactly twice as much as the production of one hour's work from another individual, and reward each proportionately. To do this would be to ignore all that is complex in humanly significant the nature of the society as it is. It would be to ignore the extent to which all individual work is the outcome of the former and present labours of society as a whole. It would be to ignore as well as the Harbil Age, when we are living in the Age of Steel.

In this a real value and not the mere standard of the huge machine that takes and leaves the stage in his hands he holds a lever whereby to check or remove the action of the machinery, the forces the handle and in a second the lever changes the direction of its gliding push up or down the shaft. His eyes are constantly fixed upon an indicator in front of him, while above running the point the rope has moving, so every once in a while the given level that of his production presents a sharp dead short and a foot above it halts the required place. And usually are the full wheels discharged or the regular broken before it is taken to the ground, the rope is again snatching up or down the shaft.

For shaft or not there is a time for these circumstances in the machine. Let the handle when left for an instant, and the rope would fly up and stretch the wheels along the rope, reach the work being all the work of the wheel in a standard, let him hear three seconds upon each second of the lever and in a while with all the wheels together, most the wheel will be released by them slowly to any time a day.

So it is the machine the greatest service by the man? Or is it, perhaps, the key who steps from before the signal for the sounding of the rope? Or is it the wheel who shifts the life every moment in the depths of the wheel and will and may day be being killed by accident? Or, again, the engine who would lose the real work and the man having him? Or finally is it the lever who has put all his philosophy into the current and who perhaps has said in opposition to all previous catastrophe: "Did I ever this will and accident, yes?"

All the machine changed in the same conditions by the taking of the man in proportion to their strength, their nerve, their knowledge, their intelligence and their skill. And we can say that all have the right to live in safety, their work and every profit their labour when the more important needs of every one are satisfied. But how can we value exactly what they have each done?

Perhaps, is the real that they have obtained exactly the work of their work? Is it not also the outcome of the work of the man who constructed the railway leading to the mine and the road branching off at all other from the mine? And what of the work of those who have built and seen the roads which supply the mine with fuel, worked the iron, and the road in the forest, made the machines which will construct the road, and so on?

We must not feel the gap in distance between the work of one and the work of another. To measure them by results leads to absurdity. To divide them into fractions and measure them by hours of labour leads to absurdity also. One cannot measure and to measure them at all but to recognize the right of all who take part in production labour form of all to live and then to enjoy the products of life.

(From *The Conquest of Bread* (1899) reprinted in *Freedom 44-45*)

SHRI VINODRA'S TELANGANA TOUR

VI

April 15, Pochampalli (Purnali Hill, 12 miles).

This was the first village in Telangana which I visited along with Vinodrai. It has become particularly important for the Communist movement. Though the two previous visits were also in Telangana and there was criticism of the Communist movement even there, yet it was more like a protest the real work having begun there.

Our headquarters proper also began from here. Kharagpur and Bahadurgarh were the last place in it. On either side of the road there is a dark forest, which provided the Communists a good hiding place convenient for meeting travellers. The forest has been systematically cleared, and the range of mountains presents a wonderful scene, presenting the forest like a flowering lake. In the falling moonlight before sunrise we crossed the hills and entered Harbil at about 1000. We were greeted as usual by the people of the village all the way. The people stood on either side of the road, singing *Jananama*. To the Bahadurgarh we had found that in the past women and children were often severely treated. These hardships were found in the public in front of them side of the way. This appears to have been put into practice now.

We could now see the population of Telangana. The whole village was well drained water was supplied at their place and some parts were also planned with dug as in the various Harbil. On reaching the mountain we were welcomed with the residents of Harbil mountain and a group of Harbil which played Harbil music.

Pochampalli is a branch of the Harbil, with a population of 1500. Among them there are 400 workers, and 100 Harbil. One of the 1500 about 1000 are landless. The number of Harbil workers is also about 1000. The daily sale of wheat amounts to 1000. There are no Harbil, but a Harbil worker has started a school of his own.

We also reached an account of the Communist activities. This town was considered as their centre. We could get here much more information than what we had received in previous villages. There had been four meetings here and in the neighbouring village Tarni. There had been three. The total number of meetings in surrounding villages was 30. It completely gave information to the police or Congress, by trying to go to the Communist leaders. The number of Communist workers in the party is believed to be about a dozen. A camp of Harbil has been established in Harbil Harbil.

We discovered that the house in which we were lodged was a school with seven pupils and one teacher, who did not attend daily but according to his own convenience. It was pointed to see the working conditions of the education of our future children.

Vinodrai stayed for his village-work at 4-5 a.m. He went first to the Harbil house. He went back to the house. They were at their work in the house. The people of God cannot be different from what they are capable. In one of the houses, he saw a Harbil only four days after his arrival, sitting on the floor. The child was placed on the floor. Vinodrai took the child into his lap and sat near his mother. "The child is Harbil!" exclaimed the mother in between, her hands instinctively touched Vinodrai's feet. Vinodrai was not conscious of it, nor perhaps was she.

On coming out, we met a big, strong, old man. They described an apartment about four miles inland. But they were definitely convinced that this village would not have it. A separate school it was better to try for a better teaching arrangement. A plan was made for the building and it was decided to approach the Government for this purpose.

The Beginning of the Land-Gifts Mission

The first problem was of the Mission. The main problem was that of land. We went land for agriculture. The land was in the village in 1955 acres. Its population is 1,000. In 1957, we got land. At present, the Mission work is to be done, and take in 1958. 1/20th part of the problem, plus a school and a pair of shoes.

Things changed. Our first land they would require, and after some deliberation, they replied "Highly even will neither of day and of night."

Things changed the sufficiency of the figure. He also asked whether they would cultivate as a cooperative team or individually. They were willing to do it as a cooperative team, said. Things changed, which then to try and to application, and said he would try for them.

The other villages were also there, and that things thought it desirable to extend them.

"If the Government is in a great, the land," he asked, "will the village be satisfied for them?"

That Government had not yet and replied in all modesty. "It was my father's desire to give some land to these people. He was on behalf of myself and my brothers I give a hundred acres of land. This was the first land gift and an unprecedented inauguration of the land-gift mission. Who would have imagined that this small mission was to initiate a nationwide revolution? In the evening of the prayer meeting, that things painting towards the church said, "If he fails to build his people, he will be a shame in the sight of God. But if he gives his land it is your responsibility to work on it, people. If we get such generous men in all towns, the Communist problem would be solved. These words were in the air like a prophetic statement."

Drinking

Our main work was yet to be started that day. This problem was still more difficult than the previous one. The God who had to present a complete answer of the things problem today although it is a challenge here.

"What are we doing to drink?" asked Thangji of the Mission.

"All of us."

"It is good that you have opened the bottle. But how long will it take to give it up totally?"

The headman of the Mission showed the matter with his friends. There was no problem and partly in the atmosphere. Within a couple of minutes the headman was all eyes turned towards him.

Nothing else, we should have this day that we shall not drink up more."

"Let them sign a pledge," was a cry.

Things said, "No. They are under the pressure of your obligation today. They may sign the pledge under that pressure. Drinking is a chronic habit and will vanish slowly. It is sufficient if they stick to their word."

Weaving

And then the third problem. The weavers complained that they had not got sufficient space of yarn. They got only half a ton which supplied them only for a week. They had to spend half for three weeks. "Please make more yarn available to us," they urged.

"Yes. This is an old-time problem," replied Thangji, expressing full sympathy for them.

"What else can we do?" asked the weavers. After a pause he began in a persuasive tone.

"When there are weavers in one country when there were no trade with? Did they sit idle or did the people go to work? And how have you yourselves do not, and very much work. Even the farmer who produces more, purchase his sheep? You are yourselves inheriting your own

work. Government has to, should give for your work that. Then giving, his sheep, about, clothes, etc. You are not. And at the same time, you are not. It is a of the world. If you want to survive, you must change yourselves to it."

The weavers said that cotton did not grow there. That is true, and Thangji said, "But old cotton grows here." If you have given up growing cotton, what is your? The problem is not limited to Panchajanya. It is an all India question. And I understand that Government would not collect cotton if you grow cotton. But cotton can be purchased if it is not grown. It is better to purchase cotton than to purchase cloth."

Various individuals and groups (including one of westerners, came with their problems, one after another all a day. This was followed by an evening meeting under the shade of the trees and things were just opposite to our resistance. It was the thousand strong. They had come from the surrounding villages. Things were moved on the day. With a view to be visible to all, he stood upon it, and walked for things. The people when they heard the things said, "We are deeply moved. They said that one of their own was had come to this."

In the course of his address Thangji expressed in unmistakable words that it was impossible now to look for the mission, due to hold more land in his possession. He also emphasized the importance of village industries and production. He explained how the problems of village poverty and of various year shortages were not enough, of course unless they grow their own cotton, upon their own and get them from India and the Government as they showed requirements of his in position in the village itself. He also said that unless they gave up drinking their prospects were not bright.

A Committee of 100 people was appointed for the proper distribution and necessary legal action of the land received. The Committee consisted of five men including one representative of the village, one village head, the headman of the Anand Congress Committee, Shri Nandabhai Patel, and the district head Nandabhai Patel. It was decided that Shri Nandabhai Patel, the Committee head of Hyderabad was awarded to the chair of Shri Nandabhai Patel, and both headman and wife are Committee in the family degree. The Nandabhai Patel, as it was, wanted to perform purpose for the activities of his father and her husband. The decision given by Nandabhai Patel is significant from this point of view.

In the course of the Committee where there was little chance of a peaceful and stable life people came to discuss their and spiritual problems with Thangji. In reply to a question regarding Panchajanya and Thangji said that there is some and others, some more for all to be observed in all eyes. We must purchase cloth from the weaver of our own village, and should try all from the village itself. Our shoes must be prepared by the local shoemaker. It is clear that the same system will survive. It is the same thing with cotton. In these days, people stick to their family life till the end. That is not good. Panchajanya must be encouraged.

In reply to another question regarding the desirability of doing at the same time when non-vegetarian diet and wine were served. Thangji said that it was vegetarians diet and wine were served on the same table they had not done together otherwise it was better to do it together. There was up there in eating vegetables diet on the same table with the non-vegetarians. They must remember the example of Rama and Sita in the matter of food. The old shapers do not and even then we allow it to all by our side and food it with roots and rice there are very little.

In the last question, which was regarding education, Thangji said, "Education means freedom from attack, theft, rape, death, fear, ignorance etc."

[P. 8.]

(Translated from Hindi)

men (the so-called "B") the manuscript as well as of the "company" management committee. One has no alternative but to say "B was right" for he at least was concerned in understanding how the B's caused the workers to come up with a non-violent slogan. Otherwise they would be thinking, without use of light or knowledge, because they were misled that what is violent remained where it was that had to be left quiet in the dark. He therefore wanted the people to hear that their quest for a better future

□ ■

LABOUR'S SANCTION FOR PEACE

The members of the INTUC did well in the ring *Abandhan* in the venue of its fourth session which met early last week. Because this was the place where Gandhi inaugurated more than thirty years ago a 'laboratory of the new trade union movement suited to the conditions in the East,' and the experiences made there have been made the basis of the countrywide organization of Labour by the INTUC. During that short and righteous struggle Gandhi had observed with his rare insight that "the relation between worker and master should be based not on the selfish interest of either, but on the welfare of both, not in a spirit of that much work for that much pay, but on mutual profit." This mutual profit or peace in all its manifestations was the main theme of the beautiful address of Bhawan Dasgupta who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. 'Truth and non-violence,' she declared, "are the basic principles of the labour movement, and are the guiding principles of a healthy civil life which supply the necessary impetus for a fight against injustice. A trade union worker has to follow this dynamic principle of Sarvodaya."

The President of the session Shri Khanchabhai Desai amplified the same theme in the context of the world situation. If the workers are to be peaceful they must be at peace among themselves to begin with. They would be able to be so only when the labour organizations, as the President has rightly urged, 'concentrate their energies and resources on bringing about social, intellectual and moral uplift of the workers through steady constructive social work as a comprehensive scale.' We wish the INTUC would better have pursued a detailed, independent resolution on the constructive work in the labour population and have appointed committees for its systematic extension. This would have been the most scientific way of organizing labour for peace. Has not Gandhi said, 'The constructive programme is the peaceful and non-violent way of winning Poorna Swaraj?'

The second front on which the working men need be peaceful is in their relationship with their employers. The legal promise of ending justice through Labour Courts and Appellate Tribunal, though partially helpful in settling many important cases, is highly expensive, dilatory and therefore disappointing. The voluntarism on the other hand, not successful with the help of an army of legal advisers in conciliating and securing good labour of its dues. Besides, this legal method requires interference

and creates enmeshment between the two parties. The INTUC's resolution, therefore, on the 'renunciation of the national policy in regard to the industrial relations' is certainly opportune and therefore, welcome. The resolution amounts to 'allowing increasingly greater scope for voluntary agreements in preference to constant recourse to Tribunal,' or compulsory arbitration. The resolution will finish off with an assertion that 'the indigenous method evolved by Mahatma Gandhi of negotiations and voluntary arbitration creates goodwill and a spirit of accommodation in both the parties and therefore it is preferable'.

Shri Khanchabhai's strong plea for the recognition of Labour's proper status in the productive process of the country would be endorsed by all save those wedded to capitalist thinking who in spite of the fact that 'the community as a whole is the real owner of the industry and the industrial employer and the worker are merely the servants of the community and that they should play in the industrial production the disciplined co-workers' part without in any way arrogating to themselves a role superior to each other'.

This is indeed a courageous solution of the modern industrial riddle. But it may pertinently be asked whether the capacity of Labour with the industrialists would so easily be recognized by the latter without any sanction on the part of the former. It is true that if the Government issue directives, as they should, 'in consonance with these objectives as a part of national policy for Labour, it would induce the employers and workers to discuss matters mutually and come to terms rather than go to Tribunal by getting swayed.' But there is no help better than self-help. If recourse to law courts is intended to be limited, the only sanction left with Labour is a non-violent strike. A successful strike is an responsibility without an organized strength of Labour and an organized strength is impossible except through a methodical prosecution of the constructive programme. The constructive work alone is capable of being about both the internal reform and collective action of Labour. 'The eightfold constructive programme,' Gandhi declares in the *Bhopen* (21-4-3940) 'with the spinning wheel as its centre is the organic expression of that spirit of non-violence or *Ahimsa* (in an organized society'. But the Labour must take to this programme intelligently and zealously. 'The labourers do not know their own strength,' he declares in the *Bhopen* (23-3-1938), 'otherwise what is there to prevent them from pooling their own resources and dictate terms to the employers to new? That realization can come only through acceptance of non-violence.' The Labour has done well to prefer collective agreement to compulsory arbitration. We have no doubt that it would work out also via necessary counterpart and sanction which is the constructive programme.

SHRI VINODRA'S TELANGANA TOUR

VII

April 19 Tangedipalli (Pithi hah, 10 miles)

Restoration of Family Peace

Each of the brothers and a few partners were present at the time of our departure from Pothuripalli. Vinodaji explained to them the responsibilities of disaffected families before heading for Tangedipalli, the next halt. Several persons followed us singing bhajans and Aradhana for a while. At last Vinodaji stopped them saying with folded hands, "sadhya samadhanam" (a remedy to all). The people in rags bowed down with devotion and returned. We reached Tangedipalli at 4 a.m. passing by three villages on the way. The areas of families had spread all over. People themselves came in small and large groups all along the way with a black, smoky cow-dung blanket on the shoulder and a stick in the hand of men to guard and have a heavy shadow of Vinodaji. They had already heard of Vinodaji's visit to the district, but the exact form of the legend was that a devotee of God is now at Gaudoli, but never in darkness holds in the past.

There was a big forest of palm, on the way. We were told that prior to police action the forest was so thick that one could hardly find one's way out of it. It was not half as thick now. The trees that grew were that during the monsoon period, after the police action, people lifted the trees as they walked for building their houses, and were making a trail.

On arriving at Tangedipalli, we heard that there were two parties in the village. There was an old quarrel between two blood brothers. They had spent a good deal in litigation one and the village was divided into two factions on account of these two men. But Vyankata Reddi, one of the two was our host. The other was Venkata Reddi. Vyankata Reddi presently lived at Hyderabad due to the fear of the Government, and had arrived here especially on account of our visit. The other brother lived in the neighbouring house. The quarrel was somewhat hot even so while one of the brothers was supposed to be a representative of the Government the other was regarded a Congress-Government man. The villagers told Vinodaji very plainly that the quarrel of these two brothers was ruining the whole village. Vinodaji talked in both of them in his own way, to the pleasure of all.

"How long are you going to live?" he asked. Our guest told him the profit and the effort in the house - replied out of them. The other answered.

"What for is this blood and waste then?" asked Vinodaji.

"We shall not go up to your order."

"Will you respect the decision of an arbitrator?"

"We will."

A great burden was removed from the minds of the people. But Vinodaji's work did not end with this. In the evening during his post-prandial speech he talked talk of them on the day and told the people how the two brothers had quarrelled all over the village and Aradhana, and how their dispute was finally settled that day. Both offered their presence to Vinodaji. They embraced each other on the day, declared a cessation of all wars for the families and promised to save the village in the future. To the one, who had left the village for Hyderabad, Vinodaji said that it was no more necessary for him to do so. He also told the villagers that it should be unbecomable for them that someone should leave their village. Gaudoli, he. They must determine to live and die together. He asked them to be fearless and to be free from the debt and in his speech he impressed on the minds of the audience how so far as he had no interest, non-violence was the only way. (A fuller report of his speech may be read in the Hindustan of June 1951).

On their way back to their houses, people talked among themselves how many acres of land amongst a persecuted source of distressed for 10 people in the village

to become the sole topic of daily talk. Yesterday Vinodaji had declared that he would never today be so much busy. The Government had given only provisions which had proved empty. Vinodaji made his last minute resolution to them. Vinodaji had begun to work.

In the evening the good will and the healthy effect of the whole day reached its climax. The two brothers and their cousins who had not stood together for at least 20 years, now together in a dinner. The other brother's wife arrived from herself. Venkata Reddi was so much moved that he desired to accompany Vinodaji in his tour for a few days. Vinodaji gladly gave his consent. He also provided all the necessary facilities available.

Thus one more aspect of the Telangana problem in the form of family and other internal disputes was revealed. The doctor had diagnosed the disease accurately and suggested the prescription suited to each case. In place of fear and ignorance, seeds of brotherly and mutual love were sown. The atmosphere of the village was changed.

(Translated from Hindi)

D. M.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE, GOVERNMENT OFFICERS AND WORKERS OF GUJARAT

Migration of Cattle from Bhil to Satpada Range

Organised migration of cattle of families within area of Bhil has begun. About 1,000 cattle with their owners have already left their houses and are searching for shelter where our second mother cow can be saved. 4,000 more cattle are ready to move as soon as they get some facility elsewhere. Today in the desert-like and famine-stricken area of Bhil, there is neither grass nor water for the maintenance of cattle. However for the present, Government has given some facility in the mountain area of Satpada and Sonpeth-Vyara. Words cannot describe the sufferings of these people in leaving their hearths at such a critical time. Only those who experience it can know it. Government, no doubt, is there to help them in its own way, but people also can share in the sufferings of these cattle-breeders, by showing their heart-felt sympathy towards them. Life of cattle has become an impossibility in this area. Bhil Nalancha Gopalak Triam makes all possible efforts for the migration of each and every cattle-breeder of the area. To reach their destination, these people shall have to pass through Conting, Dhoveran, Kaveri, Jambhwar, Beroch, Ambikapur, Surat etc. It is our earnest desire that these people can move smoothly and peacefully. Government, will, of course, help them in all possible manner to make their movement as smooth as possible, but people in respective areas are also hereby requested to help these unfortunate migrants in their own ways, within the limits of law. We know that these areas are also suffering from the same difficulties, yet we hope that workers, youths and student unions of these areas will take up the work and share in their sufferings. Relief of famine is everywhere, but that relief has made these people most miserable. Our sense of duty and the little help we can render to them in their sufferings will be a great BOON for them.

26-10-51

SANTAL

HARIJAN

Nov. 17

1951

LAND AND POPULATION

The organization of agriculture is one of our toughest problems. The Planning Commission has devoted considerable space to its discussion and arrived at certain conclusions. Whether one agrees with its conclusions or not, I believe every one will agree that the Commission has tried to approach the problem in an impartial and objective manner. Having regard to the utmost importance of agriculture to our country the Commission has tried to get to a system or combination of systems, which will be conducive to the production of the largest yield from the land. It has no preposition for or prejudice against any particular system or theory as such. But the Commission has to make its way through a complicated situation created by past history, and the correct assessment of the importance of each factor is by no means easy. Hence, it is not to be wondered at if each body of students of the problem honestly came to different conclusions on the subject. This is all the more inevitable, because even on the purely scientific aspect of the right method of cultivation agricultural scientists hold radically divergent views, and even lay economists are influenced by one set of scientists, and some by others, according to their necessarily limited studies and still more limited experience.

The subject is capable of being divided into several heads, each of which may be discussed at great length. I cannot lay claim to have made a deep study of any. My criticism of the subject, therefore, must be taken as that of an open-minded enquirer, and not of a hardened theorist of an opposite school. If I am unwilling to take for granted several things usually regarded as generally accepted, it is with an open mind and for the purpose of calling attention to the insufficiency of evidence for the justification of the usual assumptions.

In the present article, I propose to take up two of such assumptions together, namely, that there is not sufficient cultivable land in India for distribution to every person, and, secondly, that unless the size of the cultivating unit is substantially increased, not much can be done for giving sufficient food to feed the people.

Mathematicians tell us that the fraction $\frac{\text{total cultivable land}}{\text{population}}$ is only a fraction of an acre.

As this will not give him sufficient scope for improving agricultural technique, it is no use giving land to every one fearing it. Secondly, in course of time these miniature holdings will be further divided among heirs, so that in course of time an individual may not get sufficient land

even for his own burial. Thus the principle of small holdings is neither workable nor economic.

Not that there is no food in these theories. But it is admitted that their value is somewhat exaggerated. The fraction $\frac{\text{area}}{\text{population}}$ does not

become so small to actual application as its theoretical mathematical value. It is needy families and not individuals that seek land, and there are always some families who do not seek to be cultivators, and who would prefer to take to other professions if available.

Secondly, the cause of pressure on land is not merely increased population. Perhaps it should be the last factor to be mentioned. The graver factors are: (1) villages have been systematically ruined by killing their industries without providing any alternative employment, thus compelling them to take to agricultural labour as the only means of survival; (2) the cultivators have been systematically made increasingly resourceless by various systems of land revenue and transfer. The collection of revenue in cash as in the British system, or in the form of a share of produce which would necessarily vary every year, are both detrimental to the interest of the cultivator. They have made the cultivator perpetually indebted and incapable of improving or taking full advantage of his land and have made it easy for non-cultivators to become owners of land; (3) intensive cultivation has been very much neglected, the cultivators having no sufficient means for doing so, and the Government having taken no pains in the past to provide them with such means. The result is that we have at present no means of knowing the productive capacity of India's lands. The assumption that unless we manage to bring about large-scale cultivation in some way, not much can be done to increase agricultural produce, seems unwarranted; (4) villages have been systematically exploited by a flow of foreign goods, articles of unnecessary luxury, introduction of expensive fashions, depressed prices and various habits through hotels, bars, show-shops etc., and (5) reduced efficiency.

All these have combined, among other things, to give annual impetus to the progressive nature of them. It is probable that it is nature's reaction to the perpetuation of the race, which would otherwise become quickly extinct under the causes mentioned above. The pressure of population may not be a myth, but it is not and should not be regarded or put forth as a terrifying factor. While we do need to spread out in other parts of the world, yet with the creation of right conditions, we can and ought to produce enough to maintain ourselves in a decent manner by a fairer distribution of land and greater attention to methods of intensive cultivation.

When a landless labourer is made to feel that he has proprietary interest in the land on which he works it will give him an incentive and a joy to put in his heart and soul into the work. The realization that it is too small a piece for

separate cultivation will induce him to seek coalition with his neighbours. It is a general expectation that village panchayats, and co-operative societies have not been developing as fast as they ought to, because the bulk of the population has neither land, nor craft, nor permanent employment, and is very loath to make them interested in such institutions. The few that have land have too unequal holdings, so that the so-called co-operative societies have become miniature limited companies in operation. With the fair and wider distribution of land, the institutions will become movements full of life and vigour. Fragmentation of proprietary interest is not the same as fragmentation of land, and the former can be achieved without actually dividing land into small pieces. Even a whole village might, if necessary, become a single field, owned by five hundred persons.

The law of inheritance to land may be suitably modified to prevent actual partitions. Suitable restrictions on the right of transfer of land may and should be placed to prevent absentee landlordism. Similarly, there ought and should be an obligation on the holder to transfer his land to an actual cultivator when he ceases to be a personal cultivator.

The necessity for the reduction of the birth-rate is not denied. But this is not moral and material considerations other than the fear of the insufficiency of land to produce food. Too many children, with short spacings between them, are detrimental to the health, and freedom of the mother. The orderly upbringing of the children, their training, individual care etc. become very difficult, almost impossible. Illness and disease cannot be prevented. The result is that child mortality is reported particularly among the poor, a necessary accident of life. Hence rapid births are never desirable, even if one wanted one's country to grow in population.

But the means employed to restrict the growth is also an important matter. The rule of parity of means applies to this end also, so to any other human end. It should be applied in this sphere with even greater circumspection, because the act of procreation is primarily a moral and spiritual one, and only secondarily a physical one. Nature will not fail to average the growth or control of population brought about by methods other than those usually proper in spite of every advance in science, the results of improper methods will be new forms of disease, mental developments, criminal traffic, war and perpetual disharmony.

Wardha, 6-12-'31

S. G. MATHURAVALLA

Chief Justice Kania

The passing away of Sri Harish J. Kania, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India, removes one of the brilliant jewels of our country. But for Swami, it is doubtful whether he would have risen to this high post. Swami never ceased to produce men of talent, but for want of incidence she could not make the fullest use of her men children. I offer my heartfelt condolences to Sri Harish Kania and family.

Wardha, 7-11-'31

K. G. M.

PROHIBITION IN ORISSA

The Orissa Government started Prohibition by accepting a resolution passed by the Orissa Legislative Assembly. Shri Harish Kishore Mahapatra, the then Chief Minister of Orissa, appointed a Prohibition Committee to find out ways and means to achieve Prohibition. The Committee made proposals in the form of a memorandum. But the Orissa Government has been playing with them. The whole fear is that there will be a loss of revenue. Also, the policy of the Government has literally changed since Shri Jawaharlal and the Government of India hinted that the Orissa should go along with the policy of Prohibition. As a result of this the Government of Orissa has become lukewarm. To add to this, the Central Government is bound to take 12 per cent of luxury goods along with heavy machinery that they will import. As a result of it, newer and newer kinds of vices have come into this country and drinking has increased and not decreased. If even responsible men say, "It does not matter if a man sips a little here and sips a little there", how can Prohibition succeed? Under our very eyes, many of the boys of the Orissa Government are drinking in the Cutchak Club as many other places do. It has become fashionable to drink and the moral shame or stigma or fear has decreased. The Orissa Government by its hesitated scheme of Prohibition will give rise to many loopholes for smuggling. With such underestimation, the standard of morality is also decreasing. The Cutchak Hotel where there was provision of liquor, but by the criticism of some of the members of the Orissa Legislative Assembly it was stopped, a new disclaimer for getting the licence for liquor. They argue that if Cutchak Emporium and Mahanadi are the licence, why not they? There has been Prohibition on the Railways and yet the trains of Cutchak, Sambalpur etc. flow with liquor. The Cutchak town alone consumes more articles to the tune of twelve lakhs of rupees per year. How can Prohibition be effected in such circumstances? There are a few who talk of their civil liberties being curtailed if there was Prohibition. Some will find an excuse for drinking as some find for debauching. These plead for prohibition in terms and often as a safety valve for safeguarding sacred laws etc. What an argument!

How to Achieve Prohibition

First, all towns must go dry. It may be that there will be some who will smuggle liquor. But that does not matter so much as the open sale now. Next, there should be education for the citizens that alcohol is poison. Textbooks should be written, propaganda should be made through magic lantern slides, cinema and lectures. Distilleries must be closed. The existing distilleries may be asked to produce methylogenic agents and absolute alcohol for chemical and scientific purposes. Public conscience must be aroused against drink. There is no sense in saying, "I

can take a drink and drive just as well as when they don't do that. Drinking creates and intensifies beggary. Total abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the nation—that should be the ideal set before us. Ministers ought to take note of it. It is a pity that the people of Oregon State are spending about two cents of wages on booze, and the Government is taking advantage of the people's weakness in the matter. Government is throwing temptation in their way. This is really unman like.

Liquor as Election Issue

Let this liquor traffic be an election issue. Let us see who preaches for drink and get votes. No drunkard will be thus started. Let us always find out who are drunkards, who drink, who hedge in drink, who bend of it. Let them come to the crossroads and preach it. Let us see who have that courage. The alcohol is a national problem. "The booze casts its shadow shadow over cottage and mansion. It clothes beauty with shame, clouds out manhood's true glory and chases laughter from the face of a child. It aids and abets every other evil, and is overcoming the power of drink, mankind will be free and better able to deal with other ills" (Arthur Lockwood). The roots of our trouble are laid in drink. Industrialization overworked, men get more money they drink and squander. The more money and the devil runs in him. Free all industrial work of drink. Drinking is a headmaster of corrupt political parties. Where is the control of liquor consumption? In the name of control, Government has been making more and more revenue and doing nothing to decrease the consumption of liquor. The Government is not only apathetic but positively sympathetic towards liquor consumption. In the name of stopping out still system they are having more distilleries. The Government is becoming a ready liquor dealer, and a stronger and stronger muscle, a more and more prosperous month day by day.

The Constitution of India directs that the State shall endeavor to bring about "Prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health." Alcoholism is a national disease.

By selling liquor "the State facilitates what may be called the wasteful expenditure of the rupee by the poor." C. Raghupathi Rao has said "No catastrophe will ever happen in this country on account of Prohibition."

Madame Gardin said at Young India (Feb 24 1932):

"You will not be deceived by the specious arguments that India must not be made sober by compulsion and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The State does not cater for the

wishes of its people. We do not regulate and license houses of ill fame. We do not provide facilities for thieves, to enable in their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more detestable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both?"

Let us be Prohibitionist, non-abstract active totalitarians.

In the matter of Prohibition, legislation must precede education or at least legislation has to go hand in hand with the educative propaganda if that be possible at.

From the bottle to the brush!—that is the transition.

In France thirty four per cent of the cases of lunacy among males were due to intemperance. Six out of every ten lunatics in the asylums of Great Britain were made mad by alcohol.

It is a pity that the murderer is sentenced but alcohol goes free.

In chapter 35 of the *Amasthous Parva* of the Mahabharata, Bhishma has advised Yudhishthira to remain abstinent from women (drink) and said that abstinence from it was as good as performing Ashwmedha every month. In the sixth chapter of the *Atthadhyaya Upanishad*, women are linked down upon as the fifth great evil—as bad as committing adultery by a pupil with the wife of his guru.

Let there be no drink during election propaganda or else there will be head-breaking. Elections will not be clean too. In the past, votes have been secured by giving drinks to Britishers and others. This time let us make drink be played for securing votes from Adhirais, Harjans and demandants.

Prohibition is a positive programme and not merely a negative policy of reform. It is constructive, something creative. It aids production of food.

(Continued)

LAKSHMINARAYAN (AIR),
Member, Executive of India Society

Drink Demand Examination

Following into consideration the election dates in Madras State, it has been considered advisable to hold the third Demand Demand Examination on January 15 1932 instead of January 2 as previously announced. The application forms should reach the office on December 5, 1931.

For the convenience of Madras City candidates it is decided to hold the examination in Madras. They may send their application forms along with the examination fee without being signed by District Commissioners and Proctors.

The application form and the Receipts can be had from the undersigned on sending stamp two and seven paise in postage stamps respectively. The place where the examination will be held will be mentioned in due course.

Original: Registrar
Administrative
12/11/31

CHITRAKUMAR,
Parliamentary,
India Commission

PROGRESS OF THE LAND-GIFTS-MISSION IN TELANGANA

It is gratifying to see that the land-gifts-mission initiated by Vinoba for providing land to the landless is receiving support from every quarter. The Hyderabad Government have also passed the necessary legislation for facilitating the work of the mission and they deserve our grateful thanks on that account.

The work of distributing the lands started began in the last week of August and continued for twelve days. During this period, 105 acres of land, including 25 acres of wet land, were distributed to more than 100 landless. From this short experience has made it plain that the work of distribution is not an easy one, because the number of the needy is far greater than the land at our disposal.

We have therefore evolved the following procedure for our guidance in the distribution of land. We prepare a list of the eligible needy after due enquiry. Next we find out if they have enough farm-instruments and seeds to provide the agricultural labour. Land is distributed proportionately to the number of members in a family. A family gets either an acre of wet land or for every member of a family one acre of dry land if an approved donor is already tilling a particular piece of land, he is allowed that very piece.

The importance of the work is becoming clear gradually and people are awakening to the truth that land is a noble gift of nature and all should have free access to this great bounty to raise their requirements. The mission affords the opportunity for the practical implementation of this truth, and does away with the fear of class antagonism which have plagued this part of the country. Apparitions had been reported in some quarters that the gifted land would be either useless or form part of degraded property. So far, I have received only two complaints of this type. In the first a donor had donated the land without consulting his brother, in the other the land received appeared to be useless. However when the fact was pointed out to the donor he agreed to give another piece of land.

It is evident that there could be no better solution of the problem of landless cultivators. The Communists have earned on their destructive activities now for quite a long time, but without any constructive outcome. It is now five years since they launched their campaign of loot and murder in Nagenda and Warangal but the entire movement has been in other than except terror and bloodshed.

The only other solution could be appropriate legislation by the Government to dispossess the rich of their extra land and distribute it to the landless. But that would take time. In the meanwhile only gifts of land could bring them immediate success and relief. It is quite encouraging to find that we have been able to secure 2,000 acres more of land after Vinoba's departure.

However, for the time-being, the fact remains that they get land without exploitation, hypocrisy or pretence. No doubt the work is arduous in that both the donor and the recipient feel blessed.

I request everyone, wherever his political views to come forward and help in this noble undertaking.

KESHAV RAO
PRESIDENT of the
Land-Gifts Mission Committee, Hyderabad

(Translated from Hindi)

A NEW STEP IN ANTI-LAEPHANT SERVICE

The first leading class of the persons to receive work, of a high consciousness, was made in the Press in the winter run by the Malabar Iron Market. Darapur, Mysore was declared open on last October 1954 by the Malabar Iron Market, at a meeting held in the presence of the Honorable Shree Sreeyee—Pravara (Rao), Darapur.

The function was presided by a half-hour meeting, closed speaking. The period was about 10 am, when it began to rain. It was developed into a heavy downpour lasting for more than an hour. Hence the, value of the meeting was markedly changed from the class of landless to a poverty class, were.

The meeting began with the letter written by the President of the Malabar Iron Market, followed by the reading of the message. Thereafter, the Honorable Shree, Secretary of the Malabar Iron Market, of this city and the development of the Malabar Iron Market, during more than fifteen years, last. It may be remembered that, the Malabar Iron Market, the end and of this work and institution. It had commenced the work, step-by-step, with no capital in the stage of individual knowledge or material resources. He was equipped with a house, devoted to the cause of improvement, and the knowledge and moral support of the Malabar Iron Market and other friends, that the Malabar Iron Market, a single piece of currency note of a very tiny amount, which could be converted into small money. It enabled him to get every other form of capital, with an acquisition of necessary technical training and by and by of medical care and other resources and meeting resources. The M. P. Government, such sympathy interest in the work and gave it great support. It could, the Malabar Iron Market has decided to look upon this work of the Government's programme with special interest, and much credit must go to this Trust for the new activities and institutions by the Malabar.

The first scheme is the one which was inaugurated that the, namely, the class of the persons for the work. The Malabar Iron Market, which was necessary to reveal his person for this kind of work. Although the Government of Malabar has a work of technical nature regarding the construction of medical practitioners. There were not available in Malabar, Malabar. Again, more medical knowledge did not suffice for this type of work. It required the qualities of intense compassion for the suffering and suffering from suffering for the suffering and dealing with people whose physical condition was often very repulsive, and whose mental and moral quality was not very good. Their qualifications are not a necessary requirement of the medical training. Also, since normally most of the young men and women who take in medical studies do so for the sake of monetary rewards, the profession is regarded to give, they are not attracted to this type of medical service, unless some other necessary compensation is provided. All these circumstances necessitate the services of persons, who have the right qualifications and want only some technical training, it is not too difficult to acquire that training at least in the extent needed for a majority of the cases. The aid of medical experts would, of course, be needed to supplement their efforts.

Shree Sreeyee had been educated under the scheme. Of these four had been able to join that day. Some of the

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY KRISHNA GANESH)
EDITOR: K. G. MANJUNATHAIAH

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TWO ANNAS

VINOBA IN DELHI

A detailed report of Vinoba's arrival in Delhi has already appeared in the daily Press. I give here just a brief outline.

Shri Vinoba reached Delhi on the morning of the 18th November. The people of the Capital accorded a warm welcome to him. He went straight to Raghat and offered prayers at Gandhi's samadhi. He will live at Raghat during his stay.

Vinoba's work of collecting land-gifts began in Delhi on the 18th with an announcement by President Dr. Rajendraguru, who had already through oral pronouncement declared his desire to donate from his lands in Bihar. He formally offered them. Vinoba, and noted State Raghavadas to visit his lands in Bihar and choose as much as he liked. Vinoba has received during his tour donations of land as under:

Madhya Pradesh	5,780	acres
Vandhya Pradesh	1,000	"
Madhya Bharat	500	"
Bihar	400	"
Other Pradesh	10,000	"
Total	18,680	"

This along with about 18,000 acres of Telangana makes 36,680 acres.

At Shahdara, the place where he halted immediately before arriving at Delhi, Vinoba was presented with banks of hand-spun yarn, and an application by a member of the so-called Criminal Tribes urging Vinoba to put in his word in favour of the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act. The Act has already been repealed in Bombay and a few other States. The demand is perfectly just, and Vinoba promised the applicant to speak to the authorities in the matter. Personally, I have no doubt that the Act must go.

Earlier Vinoba had issued the following appeal to the people of Delhi to donate liberally to bhoomdaan-yajna.

"I am on my way to Delhi propagating the ideal of Bhoomdaan-Yajna. Delhi is the capital of our country. Important people from all over the country live there. Apart from all this it has become a sacred place for us as the remains of the Father of the Nation is located there. We are camping at a place near the samadhi.

"I appeal to the people of Delhi, those who are its permanent inhabitants as well

as others, to liberally donate land for the landless. They should regard them as members of their family with a legitimate claim over the land. It is not necessary that the land should be located in Delhi State, it may be anywhere in India. Those who have money but no land can buy it and then donate it.

"People should remember that I am not asking for alms but want it as a matter of right and am collecting them into the hands of a new ideal."

Varanasi, 24-11-31

K. G. MANJUNATHAIAH

P.S. It is reported that the Government of India has decided to abrogate the Criminal Tribes Act in Delhi. Vinoba has advised the Minister in charge to get it repealed in other parts of the country.

K. G. M.

NOTES

Shri Shewry Vallabhdas

I regret to take notice of the death of Shri Shewry Vallabhdas, who breathed his last in Bombay on Wednesday, the 14th November at the age of 64. He was associated with the old All India Village Industries Association, Wardha from its inception, and was a member of its Managing Board. He took interest in Coonax also.

Having been lodged together in the same barrack at the Nank Central Prison in 1932-33, I had an opportunity to know him at close quarters. His courteous behaviour, sense of humour, regular and clean habits and kindly disposition, together with his keen business acumen, judgment of men, and capacity to detect sharp practice, were pleasing and often amusing.

He was a devoted follower of the Arya Samaj and its constructive path.

About a week ago, he sent me a sum of Rs 12,000/- and odd which was lying with him to be utilized for helping constructive workers in distress. The amount has been credited with the A.I.V.A. for being administered according to his instructions.

In the Sarva Seva Sangh, the Village Industries Department in particular, has lost a valuable friend in him.

Wardha, 14-11-31

"Glossing Your Legislators"

This is the title of a booklet published by Shri Sri Ram Sharma on behalf of the Institute of Public Administration, Sholapur. It gives valuable information and guidance to voters in 40 small paragraphs. I hope it has not been noted in English only. The instructions which it gives are simple and wholesome, and even generally well-informed persons will find that it contains information which they did not know. It has been printed four times. I wish it was made available in not more than one area and in Indian language.

Wardha, 18-11-51

K. C. M.

To Voters

'33 Do not be a cynic and console yourself by the thought that as no party and no programme has your entire support you need not decide yourself at election. Your abstention from voting cannot have the effect you desire to produce. You are still helping in the creation of a government if you do not vote, by decreasing the opposition to the programme you dislike most. You owe it to yourself and to the democratic constitution of your country to keep out the party programme you dislike most. Thus you can do by giving your vote to the party you like most or dislike least.

'34 Do not think you are wasting your vote, by casting it, if you are so inclined, for a candidate who may not succeed or for a party that will not have majority enough to form a government. Casting an "opposition" is almost as necessary a job as creating a government. Remembering that there is no alternative way to the one being pursued by the majority, restrain the majority and keep democracy alive."

(From *Glossing Your Legislators* by Shri Ram Sharma)

SHRI VINOD'S NORTHERN TOUR

†

First Appearance in U. P.

Wardha

It was about 8 a.m. when we entered the town of Uttar Pradesh on the 15th October. About three to four hundred people about Wardha air arrived on the road. Construction workers from all over the province were present. Evidently they had realized the significance and the importance of the meeting, and were there with a new hope and cheer. Ramdas had the air.

Within a few minutes we entered at a temple at the foot of a hill, called Anjuna Ghat. One hundred boys 20 years in number, under 20. There was a procession in the air, which was remarkable. They walked, as if were conscious of the value of time and did not waste it in waste a single minute.

Vinod was much impressed by this simplicity in greeting at Uttar Pradesh, near to the early home of the day. The landscape was also inspiring. The thick forest, the beautiful hillsides. On this day the shining stars and the glowing children—every thing. These and was interesting. The children, when they grew old, would remember how their parents gave away their hands to a fair for the use of the land. It might inspire them later on to sacrifice their all for the sake of humanity.

They had given him some thousands of acres of land but the problem was grave and even the thousands could not solve it. Vinod realized that five more acres should be given away by the present landowners to the landless millions. If that took place the whole world would look with hope towards India. In the land of Buddha and Gandhi such a sacrifice should not be impossible.

At 4 p.m. he left the hillside, over a hillside. About a hundred gathered here again. The members of the party also have their breakfast with him. There are fifteen to twenty and we gladly share our food with them. The only thing the number was very great. I was unable to share with them whatever little we had. How could the small quantity suffice all?

Many attended the lunch and stayed in with the host. And gave lunch and water to those who, who do not repeat his performance here! Indian mythology knows about Brahma's thousandth place. Most of them had to spend two days previous for the last day. We have no Sabbath day, and we require to store nothing. Every morning individuals go to the same house. The officers and regular maintenance there cannot be properly expressed. A small parcel of food received last morning from the house of one of the party members came to our rescue, and everyone got a share.

In this connection, I want not forget to mention how often Vinod was in "Sewage of the hospital, but you may get more hospital and less land!" He means that medicine when every minute should be devoted to work making Brahma a success, should not waste their time over hospital.

Shri Ramdas Singh who had had a few minutes previously donated to work at the Anjuna Ghat, came to Vinod and begged of him to be allowed to say a few words. "Very" said the reply. And the Shri said, "Please allow me to give 100 acres more!" He could not speak more. He was so much impressed with Vinod's morning sermon.

And there were also a few words from Madhav P. Joshi, which we had just left behind. A friend thought, he must not see Vinod off empty-handed! He stood and offered a couple of acres as the parking offering on behalf of his people.

Anjuna in Wardha, on this day, a distance of about twelve miles was marked by Ramdas and Ramdas throughout. It seemed as if the workers, soldiers and soldiers and women had informed the village about Vinod and his mission. That is why he received welcome at Anjuna, Ghat, and Purnima. Besides elderly people, who came with their musical instruments, even children in two threes, four and so on were seen singing Ramdas in their own place, either on the field or on the hillside. They offered washed and white presents to him and their faces expressed their gratitude to their leader. The whole atmosphere was so full of life.

In the course of his grave speech, Vinod asked "Yes, God has been reported to hand over to a few the heavenly over all the water? How can the first appear of the generosity of God to man in a few hands?"

Vinod Ramdas had a method of demonstrating contemplation. "Look, here was the Lord message! He has created it, and given us man to breathe freely. He created the child, and with it provided a perfect daily arrangement. How can He tolerate that land should be possessed by only a few?"

He clarified that Ramdas, Vinod did not mean equal distribution of land. It was not a matter. He believed that his idea if properly understood, was open to grow and would bring the 10 if they understood his idea. His presence would be unnecessary. Land before themselves would look out for the landless as a father does for a child. For his daughter. It was not in a hurry for the spreading of his ideas. It might take the long time.

It is open of his efforts, a bloody revolution was inevitable, as was contemplated by the Communists and all

chained even by the Muslims, he could not help it and was not, in the least disturbed. At the time of Gandhi's arrival, every Christian like Nandu were shocked and berated. When the finger of blame that had been before stopped playing the crime did as at that moment, but Prasad was not disturbed in the least. He would be warmly welcomed. "Prasad, Prasad, my brother! Agha! I am not," said Prasad, Shikhar Vaidya would say, "I am not afraid for the non-violence cause. They will only give the path to non-violence."

And if I depart, while I am trying my best to convert people and educating them in non-violence, I will go with the conviction that my thought will grow in a thousand forms.

Lalapur

The next day, on the 17th, Vaidya went to Lalapur. Speaking to the natives, he opened his heart. He had no desire to go out on any scheme, but certainly for any constructive work. But after Prasad's death it came to his mind and he realised his responsibility. Experience revealed to him that first journey was the only way to non-violence revolution. He traced the history of the growth of non-violence in India. This was repeated in the post-prayer speech and may be said to be that resolution.

Vaidya said that the appearance of Gandhi was a historical necessity in view of the fatal disarmament in India. With Gandhi's departure, even the weapon of non-violence. Though the weapon was employed for the people as far as possible, they had not the fifth Gandhi, which was so essential. He named friends both from the Andhra and Madhya pradesh regions, who at the profitable fact.

Vaidya pointed out how the development of non-violence took place in India. He wanted them to see this with his eyes. His experience had revealed to him that the strength of non-violence would not be diminished by the so-called educated people. Did they follow him, Krishna, Krishna, Jagan or Mohan? But ordinary was repeated in the end and ended the speech.

Then he referred to the new experiment of education of money economy, which he had started at Purna-dham. He explained how it was the friend of both the farmer and the labourer. To him all of them were his friends of the land. He would, therefore, not feel disappointed if the rich did not give him work today. They would do so tomorrow. If not today. He was, therefore, anxious to convert his ideas to them.

He made it clear that he was not connected with any party whatsoever. Love and Service was the only path to which he belonged. The people were his masters and he was their servant. They might belong to any party, his path was the path of love. It was, however, significant that the old state which broke away after the murder of the path lost their splendour after the rise of the path of love.

About a hundred participated in collective spinning. The next evening, Sri Ganesh Tripathi, the assistant Jain leader, came to meet Vaidya. Vaidya had read his biography and had a great regard for him. Sri Tripathi provided every support to the cause of the Harijans.

Vaidya's post-prayer speech which was full of significance has been reported in the previous issue.

Atthimaru and Maharon

Atthimaru and Maharon were two more villages in Uttar Pradesh which Vaidya visited next. At Atthimaru, he had started the whole village for two days. The enthusiasm of the villagers was indescribable. They gave him something to 300 acres. At Maharon, Vaidya collected a little more than 100 acres. The three days in the Uttar Pradesh revealed that the people there were awakened and had realised the importance and the significance of the situation which existed within in the seeds of a revolution.

P. M.

A FALSE STANDARD

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of the fifty-seventh session of the Indian National Congress held at Satyagrahagar, New Delhi, last week, was the want of an exhibition which was regarded for some time past as an integral part of the session itself. Want of time, rather than indifference of those concerned, may be held responsible for the deficiency. But what attracted the eye of a casual visitor was the exhibition of a few giant sign-boards. But also they displayed not khadi or village industries or anything else of the type, but the films running in the theatres of the Indian capital and the notorious 'bribeage' cocoons. I failed to understand whether the prominence they enjoyed was due to the high additions they made into the bill of the Reception Committee, or to 'a new approach' in the Congress outlook. And the fear lurked in my mind.

The Subjects Committee met for two days, the 17th and 18th October, in the morning. After the official resolutions were adopted by it, the President, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, took up the non-official resolutions. However, he summarily disposed them off in a few minutes. Unfortunately the Press agency has dared to reproduce Pandit's remarks on the ill-fated resolutions. Among them was one about banning newspapers. The President said that there was no need for this resolution since the A. I. C. C. had already passed one on the subject and that the Government had appointed a Committee to go into the matter! Thereafter he added (I write from memory) that he wanted to tell the House that resolutions sought to be brought for consideration before such an august assembly as a Congress session must deal with certain standard subjects. Then he passed on to the next resolution. I wonder whether the Congress President would have us believe that all, plus etc., are small things not worth discussion by a great organisation like the National Congress. If newspapers, which is so devastatingly connected with our health and economy, is not a standard subject, an attempt to soothe the suffering of an almost starving people with a discussion on national and international problem is bound to fail in creating any interest. There could be no greater proof, if one was still required, of the wide gulf separating the Indian rulers from their subjects.

KUNHI RAMAKRISHNAN

(Note: Sri Ganesh Ramakrishnan is unnecessarily shocked by failing or failing to find in the Congress certain things against his expectations. He fails to live with his true expectations. He should realise that the Congress cannot have both Nehru as its leader and a non-Nehru policy in its operations. The Sarvodaya movement on the prohibition or restriction of liquor, cocoons, newspapers, sugar, textile industries etc., or on the policy of food self-sufficiency, khadi, village industries etc., must not be

condition in the present Congress set-up. For the present the Congress stand is not on winding down, and it has invited Nehru for the purpose. He demands his fee in the shape of certain plans and policies. It is no use now complaining that Nehru did this or did not do that. It must accept the situation gracefully, for better, for worse.

—K. G. M. I

23-30-31

HARIJAN

Nov. 24

1931

CONGRESS & CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

Shri Lakshmi Narayan of the Bihar Charitra Sangh, and some of his colleagues have circulated a letter in Hindi. I give it below in a slightly abridged form.

The Congress has issued its manifesto for the first general election to be held after obtaining independence. It is an important document, while carrying on its struggle for freedom the Congress had envisaged some fundamental principles. Fundamental later evolved regarding the future social and economic order that is envisaged. There were several persons who had an interest in party politics but who were not drawn to these principles. They joined hands with the Congress, because of this reason. The present manifesto must be taken to indicate the attitude of the Congress regarding these fundamental. That the policy of the present Congress-dominated Government has not been very encouraging is well known, but the manifesto makes it clear that the Congress has now radically altered its attitude towards these principles.

Every citizen or individual has a right to choose his previous principles or viewpoints in the light of the experience gained in carrying on its consideration. We have no objection on that count, but we feel that the time has come when we should reconsider our relations with the Congress in the light of their new manifesto.

In the beginning of the manifesto a reference is made to the policy and record of work of Gandhiji. In our opinion Gandhiji have and not have been dragged into the manifesto at all, because it has refused to recognise the fundamental of the Gandhian Congress.

It is stated in the manifesto that even while the fight for independence was going on, it was not only the freedom from foreign domination that was aimed at but even freedom from want and exploitation of the masses. But the manifesto does not state anywhere how it proposes to attain this objective in the context of their previous policy rather it has now undergone a fundamental change. To begin with, Gandhiji had conceived a village to be the unit of power. He wanted freedom to take root in the villages by making them self-sufficient with regard to the basic needs. Hence he put small and village India first in the forefront and made them the frequent topic of his programmes for the fight for independence.

The manifesto under reference does not envisage any such thing. On the contrary the idea they advocate is diametrically opposed to this. It is stated that during an emergency there is no objection how countries but any country must make law for to they advocate the use of means imposed upon them and not in spirit in trade and with the aid

of various machines and that their policy will be about health and forward means and daily culture of the village. Complete absence of the manifesto on these is serious.

In the same way village industries have not been treated with a just to the manifesto. What are mentioned are "handmade and cottage industries". It is not to be told the difference between small-scale or cottage industries and village industries. Village industries are those industries which supply the basic needs of the village and on which the self-sufficiency of the village depends. A village industry without them will be just like a jail situated off the requirements from outside. As against these, cottage industries and small-scale industries can only become a source of helping people to get together some money. The manifesto clearly says: "The nation on the land of the many people subsisting on it has to be released by the absorption of part of this population in other countries. Most of them can be absorbed in large industries but in the mean, the source of subsistence will come through small-scale and cottage industries."

This is then followed by a warning that whatever small-scale or cottage industries are undertaken should be carried on under the best technology so that they are very efficient and helpful economically. This idea not found in the same realm as those of the first policy! Cottage industry that is hand-pounding of cotton will be reduced to handloom and also will be started. The place of handloom will be taken by mill and consequent and to fight unemployment. Japanese weaving machines will be introduced in villages and villages will be made to make the people economically happy. The last line of village industries was to fulfil the basic requirements of villages. In the villages under the inspection of the villages themselves with whatever means power, labour or personal were available in the villages. This idea not have given a gaily even after weaving machines come!

Last people may have one doubt left in their mind has been replaced by the Gandhian industry. It is said that the handloom is not made cottage industry and it was legitimately claim all sorts of help from the Government. In the this industry was adversely affected for want of enough supply of yarn, so the Government should make adequate quantities of it available to its handloom. The Congress is now declaring from the manifesto that handloom has an end point in our basic cottage industry! This was the very thing the Gandhians wanted to stop and against which the Charitra Sangh, under the leadership of Gandhiji, put up such a long fight.

Whatever it may be we are grateful to the author of this manifesto for making the Congress policy of today crystal clear. We have seen a clear line that under the Congress regime the villages will be degraded to child labouring in large-scale industries however washed or well-coated, they may be.

This is the fundamental difference which has led to the unnecessary expenditure of the resources in thereby destroying the entire wealth of the country. It is this difference which has killed the handspinning industry, but the plan industry has put down on production of gun and the growth of various other village industries. What is left from the high winds for which Gandhiji had warned his followers? There is no more business in substituting our statement. This long manifesto does not contain a word about prohibition. Indeed, during the discussion on it the member of the manifesto and the only powerful man who carried the Congress with him, Mr. Purush Chandra Das, explained that there could not be prohibition for countries by heavily taxing prohibition. Are the steps taken by Mr. Das and other leaders in this direction to be regarded as friendly warning and

Marxism to be retained? On the spirit of the two-world classes he was silent—*"Hindi prashnabhi"*. It is taken for granted that the spirit of the two-world classes is a special charge on the Government, not according to the ideas of the Congress the basis for their cultural and economic uplift can be laid only by making them first *Indian*. Is this the policy of the Congress in consonance with the two principles of Gandhi, by which it stands in the beginning of the manifesto viz. "The means we adopt ultimately shape the end" and "To achieve the moral and ethical basis of National Life"?

During its four years before the Congress has shown its principles to the world. Not only the old ones but even the new ones are made conspicuous by their being denied. That we are a secular state is repeated often at sessions but we say that the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad are given a political voice and allowed to fight the elections as political parties. In a secular State the 'Hindu faith' or the "Hindu Janaki" (established first itself) in politics and in elections is something beyond the comprehension of ordinary talent. In the world today political parties are formed on the basis of some economic or social philosophy. Not here, while existing by a secular form, such parties based on religion are allowed to exist. The communal spirit in the different sections of the Congress may be ignored as being non-governmental but how can we explain away such policies of the Government?

Money has been said about the manipulation of women and the substance of it will be put to the test in the next elections. But it should never be forgotten that the heart of the ill-effects of debt will have to be borne by the women of the land.

We do not want to interfere with and stifle them of the manifesto. What we want to point out is that Gandhi's name has been invoked at the beginning only to ward off impending troubles and to claim a "libel case" for the love path struck up the Congress. That is why we have stated before that it would have been better if Gandhi's name were not dropped here at all. When the basic principles of Hindu and Village Industries are ruthlessly killed it is absurd mockery to say that we will carry on the establishment of the country on the Gandhian road. True, self-sufficiency and moral life in the base on which a new nation really can be created. When that is denied how can it be claimed that we are aiming at creating a new, vibrant society? Therefore we feel that for those who believe in the spirit idea of Gandhi there is no place in the Congress. The title has also come when those who believe in the idea of creating a new vibrant society by adopting local village industries and production etc. in the process to create it, should strike a new path.

I generally agree with Sri Lakshmi Bahu's criticism of the manifesto consistently with my general want of reticence in expressing it. But two of his changes are unfair. The first is that the Congress Government allows communal organizations to function as political parties. It seems to me that under the Constitution this cannot be prevented. If the people do not approve of such bodies they will not support them. But if people want them, a democratic government cannot ban them, as long as they function in a constitutional manner. The same would apply to the Communist party.

The second is Sri Lakshmi Bahu's insistence that those who disagree with the manifesto must necessarily leave the Congress. It is possible that some Congressmen, though in agreement

with Sri Lakshmi Bahu on the economic programme feel that if they stayed in and worked through the Congress, by and by they might be able to form their own majority, and bring about a change in the present Congress policy. This is a legitimate optimism, even if it is not shared by all. They believe in political work, and in the absence of any other political organization adapted by constructive workers or dedicated completely to what are called 'Gandhian ideas'. It cannot be said that by staying in the Congress, such members obstruct the success of the other. If they are honest and do not suppress their opinion whenever it has to be expressed, their stay in the Congress need not be resented by constructive workers. After all all constructive workers have hitherto spent a long time of their life in working with or in the Congress and though the opposition may have become disappointing since, the old propensities in its favour is bound to persist. Constructive workers need not therefore be impatient with those, who stay in the Congress though it is not up to their expectations.

Varanasi 27-10-51

K. C. MANDHUKALA

"MAKE ME THE SERVANT, MY LORD"

(By Shrikrishnakumar Jaisi)

This is the refrain of a well-known song of Mirabai. She asks Krishna, her Beloved, to employ her as a *shankar*, that is a manual domestic servant doing every kind of physical labour. The song goes on to recount the numerous jobs with which the world likes to occupy itself. The song has significance for the constructive workers, and it came to me with the force of a revelation as I reflected over a recent resolution of the Charitra Sangh, which calls upon its workers to give twenty-four hours every month to the performance of wage-labour, in order to achieve identity with the labouring class. The constructive workers too have got to do fruitful service to their Lord, the Community which is His visible form, with the same ardour and in the same spirit as Mirabai.

The resolution consists of two parts. The first sets forth the ideological background of constructive work, while the second lays down the programme in order to implement the ideology. The resolution is addressed to the Charitra Sangh workers but is worthy of serious consideration and adoption by all constructive workers.

The resolution insists on two points: performance of twenty-four hours of manual labour in a month, and secondly, the obligation to do it on a wage-basis in the manner of a day labourer.

It may be presumed that an able-bodied man can put in at least eight hours of daily labour. This means that the twenty-four hours of labour which the resolution requires can be gone through ordinarily in four days. But there need be no rigidity about it. Since the workers of the intellectual class are not used to hard physical labour they may not be able to go beyond four hours in a day. They may, then, require more days to accomplish

their allotted amount of work. It is a matter of convenience and should be adjusted between the worker and his employer. There should be no difficulty regarding the availability of work, because there is no dearth of it. There is a great demand for labour in the villages for the various agricultural operations which spring up seasonally. Similarly, in the cities, in the construction of houses, the laying out of roads, and some type of factory layout, there is enough scope for employment for those who seek it. Discrimination would have to be used in the choice of work, e.g. work in villages might be preferable to work in cities, while work in factories which are opposed to the Sarvodaya order of things may have to be avoided. But we need not go into that aspect of the question at present. Then, it may not be possible for those workers to do the work of skilled artisans. That we should prevent no difficulty, for in all these operations, there is always a residue which involves simple physical labour, and which, therefore, can be done by all.

The next point is that the labourer must be on a wage basis, and after the manner of a day labourer, it has to be considered as an external employer. Workers in constructive institutions are used to physical labour, they take part in rural work at home or in the neighbourhood and in the spiritual work which a good few of the institutions now carry on. They also participate quite extensively in public service activities like the village extension improvement of village-roads, sinking of water-courses etc. This is welcome, so far as it goes. However the significance of the programme held out by this resolution goes further than this.

Of the various class differences with which our society is afflicted, the one between the manual and the intellectual is the most deep-seated. The intellectual worker is regarded as superior to manual workers. There is something in our cultural traditions which has stamped a stigma on manual labour. This is peculiar to our country, for nowhere else do they look down on it as disparagingly as we do. Whatever the reasons, the evil is there. Even the poor who earn their living by manual work do it only under compulsion and would has give it up if there was an opportunity. Of course, this is due to the general social attitude towards labour and the marked difference between the income of the intellectual worker and that of the manual worker. It is really amazing that those who produce all the wealth and wherewithal of life are driven to wretchedness and misery, while the indolent rich enjoy themselves on the fruits of their labour and reap every kind of social honour and prestige. Certainly, this state of affairs is most reprehensible and requires to be ended at the earliest moment. There is crying need for a revolution in our social theory and practice which will rehabilitate manual work in its due position of honour, which should be higher than that of intellectual work. One of the most effective ways

for this emancipation, from the point of view of students, would be for the intellectual workers to adopt the life of the manual worker, in some way or in a programme.

It will surely revolutionize the prevailing social attitude and behaviour. It will eradicate the prevailing inclination to earn one's living with the sweat of one's brow. High profits and hoards of goods have produced a most devastating effect on the life of the middle class people, which has been put completely out of gear. The small traders are also suffering a similar predicament on account of the controls. Many of them are virtually out of employment. On the other side, for many jobs requiring manual labour there are not enough workers forthcoming. And yet the former are precluded from taking to this type of work because of the social stigma attached to it. Take the case of our students. Even those boys who come from the labouring class shun their family occupation and prefer after getting into some intellectual profession. There are a number of students who are poor and seek scholarships and other forms of help. But even they are not willing to take to manual work in their vocations when they can easily do it, and add to their insufficient resources. In America and some other countries the students make up for a part of their expenses by working in the fields and factories, and it is regarded as quite honourable for them to do so. Why could it not be so in our country? We have to bridge the gulf between the intellectual and manual work and that, both in regard to prestige and the money income. This resolution is well calculated to do away with the social and monetary disparities between these two types of work.

It will also provide an incentive to manual workers to work more efficiently. Today, they work perfunctorily, and even when their wages are substantially increased, there is no appreciable increase in their output of work. How can there be any increase in production, no matter how good the demand we make for it, so long as these conditions last? Hence in the very act. Let the wage among the intellectual work the manual workers, and the outlook of the latter would change and they will not only learn to work willingly and honestly but also proudly.

The resolution says that such work should be on a wage basis. The intention is that the workers should work fully and to the satisfaction of the employer. It will also introduce a sense of reality into the work and make for the banishment of the idea that there is anything humiliating about earning one's living in this way.

Let us hope that the constructive workers everywhere will give whole-hearted co-operation in this most well-meaning programme and realize in whatever degree they can the revolution which it envisages to the lasting good of our society.

Benavides, 22-10-61

(Adapted and quoted from *World*)

SHRI VINOD'S TELANGANA TOUR VIII

April 25, Sarvepalli (Kibbi Hall, 5 miles)

Shri Vinayaka Reddy opened a Sarvepalli centre in Sarvepalli last year on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti. Many of constructive work, such as spinning, weaving, tailoring etc., were added to medical services, which were already running as before. A Kibbi Hall centre also functions there.

We reached the village at 1.45 p.m. After the usual reception were over Vinayaka went to a house in the village. He then visited the Kibbi Hall centre. Two lady workers carry on the activities of the centre. Children took of projects and learn stages about the classes. Adult education work is also carried on. Vinayaka saw the children's work and heard their complaints and stories.

Finally we go out to see the village under the guidance of local workers who show us a plan and guide us accordingly. But that day Vinayaka desired to see the village as he liked. He therefore wanted to stay close to Kibbi.

Vinayaka came to the houses of Kibbi and workers. The houses were clean and decorated. He saw two sets of workers—one of them who took upon the quota of mill yarn and were unemployed for three weeks in a month, and the other of them who were handicapped yarn and were throughout busy. The former presented a sad picture of anxiety and worry, the latter that of contentment. Let workers who devote all their industry, and import of foreign goods, come and study for themselves the real life of these villages of India.

We have walked all over Kibbi since in Telangana, every place which is visited has the same tale of anxiety or spite. Communist activities. But we were apparently surprised to be told by the people of Sarvepalli that they were moved from the Communist centres. Vinayaka took us time to find out the reasons for this. Shri Vinayaka Reddy has dedicated himself to the service of the people for the past several years. He has distributed to the landless more than 200 acres from the land which he had received from his inheritance. This prevented the Communist invasion, keeping the real road of staying in the land the Communist problem, Vinayaka said in the programme speech, "The plan which is made for by the service of the people has to come first for the Communist to accept."

Referring to the activities of the Communist, Vinayaka said:

"That they come about among the poor and under handicapped is a matter which defies me. But their method of working is wrong. They have adopted the way of the house. They do not seem to know the culture of India. This land is so real and sacred that those who desire to work in disregard of its culture will meet with defeat in their task. Foreign countries know only the way of materialism and have been enjoying world war one after another. If we followed that way it would spell the destruction of India.

"When people were under-education during the oppression regime of the British and the Muslims it is possible that the Communist might have provoked them and comforted them. But after the attainment of independence, their persistence in according to violence is wrong."

Vinayaka expressed the hope that at least responsible Communists will not refuse to think on this question, as some of them he met had done. Vinayaka explained that the refusal to think was a sign of mental laziness. He said that the correct remedy is to bring the Communist to the right way was for the constructive workers to engage themselves in the service of the people. Vinayaka was glad that some friends had stopped that way.

Vinayaka told about themselves those who for constructive workers. First the helpful work should continue in total prohibition. The number of these trees must not be allowed to be felled into poles. Secondly all villages should become electrified, and thirdly railway in the villages should remain without work and without fuel.

These are the three papers I have set for you. You will have to pass in them."

Emphasizing the importance of creating a bond of workers Vinayaka said, "It should not be understood that the service of the people is a job for a few persons, and the rest are only their masters. Several workers from the village should come forward and join the workers of the Ashram."

In this context, Vinayaka explained the cooperative system. He said, "In ancient times there was a practice with the Hindus to be co-operative (shareholder) and to dedicate themselves to the service of the people. The practice is also that. They enter the Ashram either for marriage and remain interested in private life till death. The right way is that after serving the family for a few years, they should engage themselves in the service of society. Panaprasadacharya is one of the true adherents. It would take one out of every four persons is engaged in the service of the society. Since poor village has a population of 1,500 men, it should produce 500 workers. I therefore desire that persons above 40 to 45, both men and women among you should resolve to be free from land and dedicate the rest of your life to the service of the people. What a great army of social workers the Hindu Ashram has conceived! But we pay only lip-servingly to religion and ignore its spirit. Women think in the hands of a priest. Many motherless deaths. If you realize this you will enough to work hard and engage yourselves in the service of the people."

While trying the Reformation of the Ashram, Vinayaka mentioned the responsibility of the Ashram workers and said, "Now if workers of institutions like this Ashram depend upon money for their requirements they will not be able to bring about a revolution. They should meet their requirements with their own labour. Food, cloth, vegetables, fruits, milk, education and health should be provided by the Ashram itself."

(Adapted from Sarvepalli, Sept. '51)

D. M.

TRIAL WELFARE IN MADHYA

PRADESH—I

(By Mahdipor)

1. The three merged districts of Madhya Pradesh cover an area of 26,600 square miles and have a population of 25 lakhs, or about 85 persons per square mile. Most of the people are scheduled as aboriginals and their backwardness is a challenge to our conscience. The common features are: lack of communications, extreme poverty, chronic drunkenness, high incidence of VD and yaws, and a tribal system of natural government. On certain days in the week, whole groups of villages, including even children, get intoxicated out of their senses. Madhya is common in several parts and many people subsist on a diet of roots and raw meat.

2. The development of this region, comprised in the three districts of Raigarh, Surguja and Bilaspur, has now become the concern of the Madhya Pradesh Government. In spite of their potential forest and mineral resources, these districts are at present completely unproductive, and although the Madhya Pradesh Government gets a subvention of Rs 45 lakhs from the Union Government, it is incurring a reverse loss on them.

3. Nevertheless the Madhya Pradesh Government is doing its best. A system of metalled roads is being laid up and several bridges have been constructed. Schemes for schools, uplift centres and medical aid are taking shape.

4. There is however no definite plan of development, and much of the work is on the traditional lines of the more advanced districts.

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1 PAGES

EXPORT OF BONES—I

Shri Chhotandas of Chaurahara (Gandhinagar, C.P.) is a veteran village worker. For a long time past, he has been drawing the attention of several provincial holding office or influence to the very wasteful policy of exporting bones to other countries to the extreme disadvantage of India's agriculture and potential wealth. He generally keeps us informed of the attempts made by him to that end. His complaints about the way in which these goods saggers in the shape of grants of bones are sent out of India and how the Government policy hinders even the petty attempts of agriculturists to save the small stocks available to them from their own neighbourhood.

It has instance I contemplated with more than one responsible official connected with this experiment, to enlighten to me the logic and economics of the bone export policy. All of them were good enough to give their reasoning. I regret that the explanations have left me unconvinced. The arguments as I have understood them, may be summarised as follows:

The cattle and other large-sized animals like elephant, camel, horse, ass, bear etc. give to India more than 8 lakh tons of bones annually. Out of this, less than a fourth is collected and crushed. All the rest lies unutilised for. It is either washed away into rivers and seas or left on mountain sides, deep valleys and desert lands, which are not cultivated. It does not even enrich the soil. Even of the bones left on cultivable lands, a very small fraction is actually collected. Except, according to some, in parts of U.P. and Bihar and according to others, in Bengal, Madras and Travancore, cultivators have not yet appreciated the value of bone manure and do not care to use them. Large bones are not very useful as manure, they are useful only when crushed. But large size bones are not usually exported as such. They are broken into grains five pieces of pebble sized. In the crushing process about 75% becomes bone-meal. This by-product is useful as manure, and is therefore, not appreciably exported. It is only the grains that are allowed to be exported. The following table shows the export of bones during the last five years:

Statement Showing Export of Bone-meal and Grist

(Figures in Tons)

	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51
1. Bones for various purposes	1,475	1,775	1,730	2,634	2,932	—
2. Bones for Bone-meal (including exports)	22,023	22,062	20,285	22,009	22,300	—
A. Bone-meal	1,779	7,410	12,915	1,007	2,039	—
B. Bone-grist	2,220	1,808	544	104	1,900	—
C. Exports	1,305	965	300	484	—	—
Total	37,277	42,647	32,759	25,237	28,271	—

The crushing away of large bones and their use for manorial purposes, is not the most economical and profitable way of employing them. Bone-grist can become the raw material for various industries, such as glass, gelatin etc. They also yield chemical fertilisers. The manorial purpose of the agriculturists is served by these chemical fertilisers. They are comparatively cheap. While there was no scope for starting bone industries in India until the present, foreign countries are anxious to get our bone-grist in order to run their industries. They are prepared to pay very good price for them. Their price has risen to about ten times its former level during recent years. Hence those who organise the collection of bones get handsome returns against the trivial cost of collecting. The collection is done mostly by Harpans and forest tribes, who thereby get some employment. Superphosphates (the chemical fertiliser) as substitute of bones can be purchased at a few rupees per ton, bone-grist can be sold at five times more price. If we export one lakh tons of bone-grist we shall get several times more rupees than the cost of fertilisers which we need, and in addition to it about 25 per cent bone-meal also. Hence the export of bone-grist and import of fertilisers is a profitable deal. As a result this commerce is capable of bringing dollars to India, which is very important since we want them so badly for purchasing our food, chemical fertilisers and capital goods. Hence, the export of bones is regarded by Government as beneficial and necessary for

* Being incomplete, may be estimated at 20,000 for the year.

the country. After all India must part with something to purchase her own needs, and the question of what is exported is, having everything taken into consideration, a small portion of the total minerals potentially available in the country. The present Government policy is laid down principally with the object of obtaining somehow more dollars.

I hope I have put the Government case as fairly as possible and as I have understood it through my correspondence with them.

Next week, I shall examine it from the point of view of economics in general and agroeconomics in particular.

Wangha, [24]-1-51

R. S. RAMSWOOLA

FROM CHINA

(By J. C. Ramswoola)

The more I see of China the more I admire their spirit. Canton though poorer than Hongkong, cleanliness was equally striking. There were no beggars, few crows or stray dogs. They had the streets perfectly clean. The traffic constables had their moustaches and noses covered like surgeons at an operating theatre. The street traffic was largely of cycles, cycle-rickshaws and buses. There were some cars but these mostly belonged to the State. There were no taxis or private cars in evidence. The air-ports were like ours, the runways were not concrete but only tarmac. There was complete simplicity. There were no conspicuous rich, all were more or less alike. Canton also presented a festival appearance because of the attitude and colourful shopfronts. It is a big city almost as large as Calcutta. You cannot see any waste lands. Even in the city all available space was utilised. They are extremely industrious unlike us. As I took a walk among the poor by-lanes, everywhere we found mothers busy in the morning washing their children.

There is food everywhere in plenty and also other prices necessary at extremely low prices. Of course, there is inflation, but the Government has devised ways and means of getting over it. It has an intelligent administration which has the wholehearted backing of the people, so all the services are one with the people. All wear the same type of clothes and live alike. There is not much of a range between the highest and the lowest. The Chairman Mao himself gets only 2,000 catties of millet, a house and the use of a car (a catty is 1.3 lb.). At the most it may work out to about Rs 600/- per month, I was talking to two Cabinet Ministers, who were each getting the equivalent of about Rs 400/- per month. The volunteers that look after us get about one third of that. Now you can see how China has leaders who share the life of the people. The spirit that pervades here is like that we had in India in 1933. Russia has not the overwhelming influence we imagine. Soviet Communism is based on

large-scale production and automation, with China balance in private property, though limited and small-scale industries. It is primarily based on agrarian reform and agricultural improvement. With this fundamental difference China may not blindly follow Russia. I was interested to notice that the reconstruction plans here is much like the one I had formulated for Sikkim. They get house, clothing and food free and about Rs 100/- to Rs 150/- per month in hard Miao is more scientific as it is attempted on a balanced diet. However the resemblance is striking.

You have enquired about Agrarian Reform. They appear to have made a very realistic approach. The Landlordism which was parasitic, has been abolished but rich peasants who cultivate, are left untouched. Till now tenants paid anything from 50 to 100 per cent of the produce to the landlord's share. This has gone, so the cultivator gets the full benefit of his labour. The land tax amounts to about 15 per cent of the produce and is collected in kind. This is one of the major steps in dealing with landlordism. Government pays its military personnel and the teachers in kind. There is no terrorism excepting drastic handling of landlords who attempted a violent revolt. Their lands have been confiscated, but to those who worked to till the soil the same rehabilitation measures given in other countries were extended.

In Canton they banished prostitution in a few months by putting all such women to productive occupations.

(From extracts of Mr. J. C. Ramswoola's letters as printed in *South Chinese Press*, Kuala Lumpur, 21/11/51)

Spain Taken

Here is a news-bite taken out from the *Indian Express*, Madras, of the 21st October.

Paris Oct. 21. Barringing reports of the incidence of abortion to wine and alcohol by young children in French rural areas have been published here to-day.

After an enquiry lasting a year the French Inter-Child Committee for the Defense Against Alcohol (founded 49 years ago, now that in the wine-producing areas children begin to drink wine "as soon as they begin to talk").

Investigations here, says the report, that most children over the age of two drink half a pint of wine a day and in one district—the Valley of Gironde—adult children had an average of a pint and a quarter. Most of the children in that district had a small glass of wine before leaving for school says the report.—S.P.

T. S. NARAYANA RAO

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TRIFAL WELFARE IN MADHYA PRADESH

II

(By 'Lohmukh')

I have read with interest Shri 'Maharaj's' article on the above subject. Evidently he has not only studied the subject and I am pleased to know that. With this privilege let me give my reactions to his article.

1. There is some misapprehension in the paragraph (para 4) that there is no definite plan of development followed at present and much of the work is on the traditional lines of the more advanced districts. The present work is carried on in accordance with the plan laid down by Shri Theodor Bapa, with such modifications as the financial condition of the State necessitated. I must, however, state that the work suffers on account of unimproved officers and administrators.

2. I do not agree with the view of Shri 'Maharaj' which is also held by many anthropologists, that there is too much interference with the people and their customs and that they are only separated from their past. In the interest of the civilisation some interference is inevitable if we do not wish these tribes to remain in the same sub-human condition in which they have been allowed to live for so many centuries. I have been working among the people for a long time and I do not feel that reforms can be laid upon them in haste or in a high-handed manner. I know anthropologists have often said that Shri 'Maharaj' holds like anthropologists the view that these tribes should be preserved as specimens of primitive civilisation. I might frankly say that I differ from him.

3. I do not think that we need the aid of foreign experts or that our officers should be imported (imported for serving our subjects). I agree that there should be a specially trained body of men here dedicated to the service of the tribals as their life-long work. They must be given special training for about two years. A few expert trained workers could be able to render efficiently good and efficient services after a few years' experience. Such training schools have been started by the joint efforts of the Central and State Governments with such foreign aid as might be available unconditionally.

4. I wholeheartedly agree with the suggestion in para 8 to 12 of the article.

5. I do not doubt about the possibility of the suggestions in para 11 and 12 being accepted. But I would welcome their acceptance.

Shri 'Maharaj' thinks that there is no danger of good efforts. My experience is to the contrary. The work suffers not by want of funds or proper planning but by want of good and sincere workers. Unless the workers love their work and the people they are called upon to serve to amounts of high salaries and other expenses, will raise the level of the work. It will be just mere expenditure and store. The

work will be the responsibility and confidence on the Government and their officers.

(Note: Personally, I have not accepted the anthropologist angle in Shri 'Maharaj's' article with most of his remarks but have doubts about some of the remarks suggested by him. If payment of high salaries, liberal allowances, and granting of special privileges is the condition precedent to the service of the people by their educated and intelligent fellow countrymen, it can result only in securing improvement of the condition of a handful of the tribal people, while the rest of them are made worse and even looked upon as subpeople. If I had to choose between highly paid experts and a hundred devoted but non-expert simple hard working workers I would do without the former — K. D. M.)

WITHOUT COMMENT

The keen race for getting Congress tickets for the legislature has brought out one pleasant and hopeful feature. The standard that there are set through people in the country anxious to serve the nation is higher. The fact is that there is not enough scope to accommodate all of them who want to serve their country in a constitutional and profitable manner. If there were no limitation of the number of seats and the election of members it would be nearly possible to get not less than 50,000 well-qualified volunteers willing to serve the country with ideas or speeches or might be necessary. It is pity that the framers of the Constitution of India by arbitrarily fixing the number of representatives prevent so many willing servants from doing their bit by the nation.

At one time, it was open for any person who paid the prescribed fee to become a delegate of the Congress or a Provincial Congress. Every one who wanted to personally represent his country's interests had the right to do so. The delegates used to pay their fees, bear their travelling, lodging and boarding expenses, and it brought a handsome income to the Congress. The Constitution-makers might have followed that precedent in drawing it up. The legislature should be thrown open to everyone who want to get in. It will be more profitable to the Government than the present system. There will be greater unity in the various political organisations and their respective High Commands would be saved all the worry and trouble of making a selection out of a long list. In place of the present outlaying upon every rival, there will start a race for paying mutual compliments.

There is not any great danger of such legislature becoming more advisory and talkative than what they are at present. This is justified by the past experience of the Congress sessions. Whatever be the form of the Congress, the leaders and orators are only a few. The rest are selected with tolerance and clipping.

Let the new houses of legislature think of this suggestion with profound seriousness.

A. SPECTATOR.

HARIJAN

Dec 1

1951

PAYMENT OF TADANI

A correspondent from the Bombay State drew my attention to the following:

"In view of the impending acute famine, the Government must have considered the measures it will adopt to meet the situation. One of them will undoubtedly be loans of grain. These should be advanced before it is too late and measures should be adopted to see that they are paid promptly and the continued advance steadily pays the pawns. The system of paying through Taluka and Circle Superintendents has not been satisfactory in the past. The collectors get their accounts settled in good time but in full. The Taluka and the Circle Superintendents have to be approached before the collectors get their pay cleared."

It is suggested that a trusted officer should see the loans paid in the presence of himself and a local constructive worker or a person recommended by a constructive workers' institution in the Taluka or District.

Secondly, the collection must not be made to avoid long distances and made to make a full day or more to obtain the loan. It is the officers who should go to the villages or at least to a place not at a great distance from the villages to be served and the making of payments and collection to the people's institutions should take a priority over all other departmental business.

I felt that these suggestions were reasonable. So, I wrote to the Bombay Government on the subject. The Revenue Department was good enough to reply to me in detail. I reproduce pertinent portions from it.

"As regards your first suggestion that money loans should be disbursed in the presence of a trusted officer, and a local constructive worker, or a person recommended by a constructive workers' institution—the payment of such advances is at present made at the Taluka Head Quarters by the Treasury and Revenue. The Minister who is the only trusted officer in the Taluka revenue establishment has multifarious duties and cannot, except personally supervise payment of loan loans. The Minister does attend to this work whenever he is at the Taluka Head Quarters. In his absence the Revenue Minister or Sub-Divisional or the District and District does this work. The Village Officers do not pay loans. They only forward the proceeds in which loans are given. There is however no objection to making of local public opinion and other constructive workers remaining present at the payment of loan advances, provided the Village Officers whose presence is necessary for identifying the borrower as stated above and for completing the loan book etc."

"As regards your second suggestion—I may state that at present, disbursement of loan loans is made by the following three methods—

1. Direct payment at the Taluka District.
2. Payment by Money Order if the recipient is distant and
3. Payment at the village where the borrower resides.

Payment of loan loans at the borrower's village is to be made when possible or desirable. It is possible that this is not always done. These loans

do not therefore being brought to the notice of the officers concerned and they are being asked to see that, so far as possible loans be paid in the presence of the village 'Ink' himself, may not always be possible or desirable particularly in cases where it is risky to take large amounts of money in the rural areas or where the Department has difficulty to reach the taluka treasury etc.

As for your suggestion that loyal officers should be given a comparatively high priority, the present practice requires that loyal applications should be disposed of by the Revenue Officers within 30 days of receipt. Since this is required for investigating the need for the loan, the expediency of the borrower, the nature and extent of security available and for making other suitable enquiries. Every thing possible is done to speed up disposal of these requests. Disbursements are also issued from time to time to the Officers to see that loyal applications are disposed of very promptly by their subordinate officers.

I appreciated the difficulty of making the payments under the personal supervision of the Minister. I suggested that when the work was entrusted to an officer of lower rank than a trusted officer, it should be made obligatory to make the payments, in the presence of a local constructive worker, or a person recommended by a constructive workers' institution.

To this the Government say:

It does not appear necessary to lay down that when the work of paying loans is entrusted to an officer of lower rank than a trusted officer, payment of loans shall be made in the presence of a local constructive workers' institution. There is no need to lay the obligation on such persons knowing the all over discontent of their intention to remain present at the appropriate time and place after ascertaining the order from the officers.

I can understand the Government's attitude, and do not feel inclined to make a grievance of it. It is now for constructive workers—Sarvodaya Sevakas—to perform this type of social service of their own accord. Ultimately, elaborate artificial precautions are not the remedy against fraud, corruption etc. The more steps you introduce in the creation of delays, the greater becomes the delay and the subject the art of deception. We are yet too timid to take the risk of doing away with all precautionary measures, and live by placing implicit trust in every one, at least until that person proves himself unworthy of it; so we go by the opposite method of not trusting any until he proves himself worthy of it, and provide various precautions for every one. These are unavoidable in the present stage of the moral development and courage of man. But they should be as few as possible, and not as subtle and elaborate as expediency can devise. The trusting attitude—unknown with us since the time of the—must be nurtured even if it involves some risk. I have come across habitual offenders executing their duties honestly, if we place all our trust in them. We must begin a new chapter of raising the moral standard of the officers and the people by the method of trust.

It is hardly necessary to say that the specific matter discussed here in its reference to the Bombay Government applies to all the

Governments in India, and I hope every State will attend to the convenience of the citizens as real servants of the people.
Wardha, 29-11-51

K. C. BAKSHIWALLA

NOTES

The Dam Dam Tragedy

Air-plane crashes involving the death of every soul on them in a shocking manner have become almost a daily feature in the news items. Air-plane travelling being confined to men possessed of means, they almost always include a few men of prominence in public life or business, also promising young men of ability. Very often the tragedy is followed by a chain of other tragedies of a domestic nature. The sudden and unexpected loss of one or more very important members of the families of the victims gives to the survivors an irresponsible psychodrama and sudden economic disaster.

The air-crash that took place off Dam Dam last week killed 12 out of 13 of the passengers on the Dakota plane. It was a tragedy not only to the families concerned, but to a very wide public. The plane which had been carrying, among others, a few important journalists to Calcutta for a meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India Editors' Conference included its President, the well-known Shri Deshbandhu Gupta. He was the leader of the vigorous propaganda which the Press of India had recently carried on against the amendment of the Constitution and the enactment of the new Press Act. It was largely due to his efforts that the Press Act became milder and of shorter duration than what was originally proposed by the Cabinet. Shri Deshbandhu's abilities were not confined to the field of journalism. He was also a great Congress leader of Punjab and Delhi and was largely instrumental in bringing about the establishment of Delhi as C class State with an independent Legislative Assembly. He was the member of the existing Parliament, but intended to quit it in order to join the Delhi Assembly at the next elections. His death has been a great loss to the cause of Indian journalism.

Wardha, 29-11-51

"God, Give Us Education."

Shri S. Apparathion of 'Workers' Home, Gandhinagar, South India, writes

"Polymers and Polyamers are two Adivasi communities of the Tribal Hills at about 5,000 and 2,000 in population respectively. The Polymers are destitute year after year and they are known to be friendless. The Tribal Welfare Department was founded in the beginning of this year and certain workers are engaged in uplift work. The Region has organized a school for the aboriginals here at a village called Chendragudi in the hills. There are two hundred boys all of them in the first standard except one in the fourth standard.

One day morning I walked up the hill to visit and reached Chendragudi in the afternoon. I joined the evening prayer in the school. I was expected to speak to the boys. "What could I tell them?" I asked them. "We whom did you pray. The reply promptly came "God". I asked a boy "What did

you do?" "I did nothing," he answered. "I asked God to give me knowledge and knowledge," I continued. "Oh, how could he give knowledge, replied that they should pray for my more things. Finally Icing and Polyamers in all.

Then I asked them, "What child is coming to God or God, who is coming?" But where are the facilities for them? The school are very small in the hill areas. They are too poor to be attended. They have to be attended and led by the Government."

"The Tribal Welfare Department has started a hostel for Adivasi children and applied to the Madras Government for boarding grant with a special request to make the existing G.O., which authorizes boarding grants only to the boys of North standard and above, and extended to Adivasi children even from first standard, as these children have started schooling only just now. The Government reply is as follows:

"The Government do not see any reason for making difference. The hostel at full station for aboriginals in the matter of their provisions for purposes of boarding grants.

"Will the Government within the stipulation of the humble prayer from the simple heart of the Adivasi boy?" "Oh God Give Us Education" is a cry from a corner far away from the main approach of the civilized people and Government. Will the Indian Government realize that these Adivasi children need special treatment and another, the request of the Tribal Welfare Department?

If the Madras Government can see their direction to relax the G.O. in suitable cases, I would certainly welcome it. But the people and workers must also realize the limitations of the Government. They too have exhausted their funds. Besides, we people who enjoy the privilege of possessing private property, may expect the Government to meet all the costs of such activities as schools, hospitals, libraries etc. from public funds. Charity is a necessary obligation attached to the institution of private property, and owners of property should realize it and liberally donate lands and money for schools etc. Workers should also realize that schools must aspire to earn their running expenses from what they produce.

Of course Governments would be installed in discriminating between institutions run by the benefit of the haves and the have-nots and maintain institutions of the haves only after they have met all the reasonable demands of the have-nots. Dotted representatives of the people must insist that the Government do recognize this distinction.

Wardha, 12-11-52

K. C. B.

Adult Education in Nax Taluk

The need has long been felt for some publication which would approach the much-neglected subject of adult or community education from the point of view of knowledge and in accordance with the "basic" educational principles of Nax Taluk. The Education Taluk Sangh has just issued a thirty-four page pamphlet which will help to meet this need. The first part consists of seven brief chapters on "Basic Principles" showing how the education of the community to be realistic and effective, must start from the community's most urgent and fundamental

ment. The second part is a description of how these principles were actually put into practice in Sasangpur village by Shriomati Shanta Narasim working under the immediate guidance of Gandhiji himself. An extremely interesting Appendix resides "Gandhiji's conception of 'Adult Education' " in the form of answers to questions asked by the Adult Education Committee of the Shikharani Taluk Sangh at Poona in 1945. Experiences and programmes of work are also included.

The booklet is entitled *A Factor and Progression of Adult Education*, and is available from Hindustani Taluk Sangh, Deogarh at 25 annas a copy.

HARSHAB CHAKR

BASIC REALITIES

(By Dr. P. K. Seng)

As my husband every day taught me to look upon India as a land of plenty, peace, character and happiness. But the more I grew on the more I discovered that there was poverty, conflict, corruption and unhappiness in my country. This came like a shock and I have ever since been searching for solutions. I know there can be no easy solutions. But I know equally they must be found if India is to live.

I caught glimpses of the reality from Gandhiji. But it was when I came across the work and writings of Shri K. M. Munshi that I knew I had obtained the answers to many of the questions that were in my mind.

I have had the highest university education in India and a good lot of training in the West. I am not conscious of any narrow outlook in my mind. But I am convinced that unless we make the fullest and the best use of the land in India, there is no future for our country. I am not against industrial development. But industrial development must fit into a pattern which has agriculture and agro-industries at its centre.

India's greatest capital is its land and its manpower. We must use both these fully and in such a way that all those who labour and produce will get the best returns in terms of prosperity and social respect. We require no bloody revolution and the breaking of heads. We have only to educate our people patiently in such a sensible manner that they will realise that the full use of land and labour is the proper way to the national key to our prosperity, happiness and peace. We should share that what is good for the many who have nothing will also be good for the few who possess much. That was what Gandhiji did. That is what Shri K. M. Munshi and Shri Vinoba are doing. Let us follow where they lead. Let us forget nothing of modern technology but let us look inside India and apply technology in the way that suits our country. Neither blind imitation nor blind conservatism will help. We must move forward in our own way to meet our own problems.

(From *Green Valley*, Poona, Nov. 31)

VINOBA'S NORTHERN TOUR

VI

In Vinoba Prasth.

On the 11th of October we had to make a temporary break in our Uttar Pradesh tour to visit Vinoba Prasth. Shri K. M. Munshi Chaudhary, the well-known writer, artist and surrounded by a few young men, has been working at Vinoba Prasth for the last fourteen years. An admirer of Father Knapp, and a firm student and critic of Gandhian thought, he had accepted full two weeks of concentrated study at Vinoba Prasth and was so much impressed with his writings and speeches that "all the dust has passed away" and he became one of the staunchest believers in the philosophy of non-violence.

He took Vinoba round the Gandhi Memorial Hall, being the area donated by the Maharaja of Varanasi in Vinoba's memory. Before had been very beautiful here. The stream, the waterfalls, the beautiful forest and in the midst of all this mysterious world of Nature. The collection of several beautiful letters of Gandhiji and Swami Vivekananda, written to Shri Chaudhary and others, was a conspicuous treat to the eyes and the mind. Father K. M. Munshi explained his idea of village industrialisation of Hindustani Prasth, a sort of laboratory for workers in the form of small industries from the recent writings and speeches of Vinoba. He was so enthusiastic about his scheme and so grateful about its success that Vinoba could not give his consent to it. The scheme is helpful in the case of the Lower-Class Indians.

Vinoba Prasth is an inspiration of the 14 pre-revolutionary small states of Hindustani and Gandhian. It has the spirit of Gandhian being the highest, the strongest it is all in Hindustani, coloured in Indian history by means of the lower workers. Labourers and Chaudhary and the modern movement (the Mahatma) states Chaudhary. The nature of the last two are popular in the Hindi language and the following poem of Vinoba Prasth is like a national hymn of Hindustani.

मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं

मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं

मनमान-ही मनमानी ही मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं।

मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं, मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं, मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं।

मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं, मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं, मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं।

मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं, मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं, मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं।

मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं, मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं, मैं न भूलूँ तुम नहीं।

(Singing in this and, Narayani of the other Chaudhary on this side, Tanka on the other)

'And my spirit is light like Chaudhary!'

This Hindustani was good, with its

simplicity and charm,

in the heart of the Hindustani.

The great Narayani taught, her voiceless father here,

The Hindustani Hindustani is not inferior

to Hindustani.

Vinoba is full of pride and brown skin, and dark and hairy. In natural words and natural pronunciation have not yet been fully explained. The last forest is fully populated, full of people, and against 'to which is the average of India.

In spite of this, however, the Hindustani Hindustani is full of pride and brown skin, and dark and hairy. In natural words and natural pronunciation have not yet been fully explained. The last forest is fully populated, full of people, and against 'to which is the average of India.

and are common to the Vindiga people. I found that the Vindiga fields of Vindiga are not irrigated but are in the heart of Vindiga the town which stands strongly in favour of the Vindiga. The Vindiga and Vindiga lands are really rich as we found later on when that some could (sometimes grow wheat) they have in winter for months, from place to place in D.P. and M.P. in which is the field in the lowest corner and which grows for a few months. They are called Vindiga. Thousands go out, young and old men and women with their little ones in their hands or on their backs. The food that they grow locally is not worth eating and has hardly a value than relative qualities. The following is a list of items in order of quality beginning with the worst:

Pigeon or bullock	@ 1 more per bag
Kidney	@ 2
Wheat	@ 5
Barley	@ 7
Wheat	@ 4
Wheat	@ 5
Wheat (planted) Wheat	@ 3

People grow these crops and eat them only to enjoy their little life. They are not of food, money and food. They have to be provided in the market. If the market is required — and they can be required — a great portion of the land could be brought under one cultivation. At least the village appeared Vindiga with an apple garden for the people of one such land that would be the best; 400 acres of land. They wanted (the Government) would subsidize the work. "Will you subsidize and let us?" I can then request the Government to spend for the work, and they agreed. Their application has been sent to the proper quarters. But many more people are to be helped in other lands for such work and many more lands can be required.

During the last days that we spent in Vindiga the day, Vindiga received 200 acres from 200 donors. This is a gift of the land that we were suddenly told that there was no chance of receiving Vindiga in Vindiga. Vindiga, as there was no Vindiga system in existence. All the land belonged to Government, and the system is Vindiga. Vindiga have human nature better and also have that few people possess much land while many possessed none. There is Vindiga Vindiga 20 per cent of the land is in the possession of the Vindiga. It is true that the Government is expected to give land to whomsoever needs it. But this whenever must approach the authorities with an application and if there are more than one Vindiga (the land will be continued) and when it is continued, only the date or the last year — those who are able to pay, those at the highest bid, — are given it. Hundreds of acres are then distributed to Vindiga people who are not Vindiga themselves. A man of Vindiga is coming into existence. Vindiga Vindiga received how his son had also purchased some land without any intention to sell it himself and in spite of the Vindiga's presence in the country.

"Do you or your men go to the villages to buy them, do, and distribute land to the landless?" We have to find out who are landless and offer them land. We offer our daughters and we give some jewelry and to the daughters. Let us similarly arrange for their marriages at the Vindiga. A girl of Vindiga or a girl or a girl or all. This will encourage them to accept land. You can see part there in which the state of Vindiga Vindiga. Vindiga again in place words to the others who were given that demand for land was not forthcoming in spite of the Government's announcement. People stood up to the meeting and declared that they wanted land for profit not just for the hands of others.

I have pointed out that irrigation was the first priority in Vindiga and proper irrigation can transform the state into a kingdom of plenty. I could see the eyes of Vindiga Vindiga a heart when he told Vindiga how thousands of crops have been perished for want of proper watering arrangements. He felt as if so many crops had been lost

and he was not able to do anything about it. He was not able to do anything about it. He was not able to do anything about it.

The Vindiga is a large Vindiga and a large Vindiga. The Vindiga is a large Vindiga and a large Vindiga. The Vindiga is a large Vindiga and a large Vindiga.

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(To be continued)

VILLAGE PROBLEMS OF TAMILNAD

The Constructive Workers of Tamilnad are presenting various organizations, chiefly the Marjion Sewak Sangh, Tamil Sangh, Kama Mandala, Karmachari Trust and other Agrarian centres met at Thanjavur, Tanjore District, Coimbatore District, on 2nd and 3rd September. The following are two of the resolutions which were passed:

1. The Tamilnad land problem is very serious and is causing starvation. A large percentage of land being owned by absentee landlords who engage another exploiting class, the so-called middle class, the very low income and the insecurity of the tenants, the almost complete state of landless labourers etc., are all sources of violence and hatred. The agitation of some political parties makes the problem still worse. Therefore, the Constructive Workers should take active interest in this acute problem, which affects a large number of people in the villages and try to solve this by a non-violent approach in a particular area which may be an example for other areas.

and last year, it could be the legislative assembly. And that all the workers of Tamilnad cannot give their moral support and active help, if they were, to such concentrated effort. A suitable area in Tanjore District can be selected for such purpose. S. A. J. Velumuttu is requested to visit Pappi Thangar for a tour in South India, especially in Tanjore District. The Constructive Workers of Tamilnad express their great appreciation to Thangar for the keen interest he has taken in the local problem and the remarkable atmosphere he has created within a short time.

2. The Constructive Workers of Tamilnad feel strongly the necessity of M. Rice and other M.S. They view with alarm the Government's policy which goes on increasing the number of their exporting mills. The Sangh decides that a suitable area may be selected where a proper atmosphere prevails to stirrify the struggle against these mills educate the people for voluntary boycott of mill goods and that Gandhi Grams be selected for this purpose, and should give full support.

3. JAGANNATHAN

SUPPLEMENTARY GANDHI WEEK

(By A. P. Bhatt)

Beginning with the 2nd of October, the Gandhi or Village Improvement Week was recently celebrated throughout the Bombay State with great zeal. Village sanitation, road improvement and, last but not least, digging of pits for the preparation of compost or green manure, were some of the important items in the programme. Tons of thousands of such pits must have been dug and many of them scientifically filled under the supervision of the officers of the Agriculture Department. Now, the Government generously pays a subsidy of two rupees for each of such pits, measuring 16' x 8' x 2', because the pit will produce excellent organic manure sufficient for application to one acre of land. An artificial chemical manure, sufficient for one acre, costs about 15 to 20 rupees. So, tens of thousands of acres of land, in Bombay State, can get the benefit of this excellent manure six months hence, in April or May next.

Let the Government of Bombay State make it a point to celebrate a consecutive year-long programme in the next April or May for the opening of these compost pits, and issue a directive to the revenue and agriculture departments, to get the valuable manure applied to the soil, under the personal supervision of the village officers and report to the Government the names of the persons to whom and how the manure was applied.

The celebration of such a week-end will be the best supplement to the observance of the Gandhi Week and should, if properly observed, supply tons of thousands of acres of land in Bombay State with excellent organic manure.

ANTI-WAR FORCE

1. Gandhi's Reconstruction of Humanity

I have been reading the book which I had obtained on loan. I could not buy a copy at Calcutta, you say, Bombay. This book is heartily dedicated to the Dearless Richardes K. Gandhi.

Sarkar is now writing for the "Lilly Foundation", of the Harvard University, as a research worker on Sociology. He has five other books on similar subjects. The sort of research that he has been carrying on at the University is directed to the scientific analysis of social factors, which lead to war. His researches lead him to present methods for ensuring social peace. These researches prove that increase of wealth of people, or Prosperity, Democracy, Autocracy, Oligarchy, or whatever other form of Government, or non-world-government for the matter of that, spread of education, facilities of communication, forms of religion, scientific and technological inventions—these and the like have failed to solve the problem of war or prevent the creation of situations arising out of the belated equality of people in general. It is only the moral forces created by characters such like the Buddha, Vedantists, Ramakrishna, Christ, Mohammed, St. Francis of Assisi etc., that can free the world from war. His rule is "ahimsa," and means what we call nonviolence. It is only the knowledge apart that can save the world. He reasons out that humanity can be trained to accept that spirit and that society can proceed practically with it on a mass scale.

You remember, there was a plan to undertake research on non-violence from the Gandhi Sangh. A friend was selected to take up the work. But nothing came out of it. Mr. Sarkar has been carrying on the research which we had intended to do. It is, therefore, that his book has become so attractive to me.

(From a letter to the Editor)

BATUK CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

Bolpur, 21-12-31

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CINCO ANNAS

POLITICAL WORK AND SOCIAL WORK

In his post-prayer speech at Faghat on 14th November 1931 Vinoba chose this vital theme following his meeting with Shri Jankarshi Nalwa that morning. He met the great leader after months, on a day which was his birthday. On this occasion he wished him long life and good health.

During their meeting Vinoba related, Pandit Nalwa had mentioned how pained he was over the unpleasant task of selecting candidates for the elections. Candidates had come from various States. It was not unusual that they should indulge in self-praise, but since such praise often meant denunciation of others, the whole thing became uneasy. The work of selecting candidates then caused him great pain, but as it was a national responsibility it had to be carried on.

This is what was what Pandit Nalwa had said. The work of purifying the Congress Vinoba remarked, was an important one. The Congress was a great organisation with a glorious past. For its present life Vinoba could suggest only one reason. Activity after freedom had taken a wrong direction. When the battle of freedom was on, politics was the only field of action. Even those who believed in selfless service and a life of renunciation had to enter politics. When this was asked what he would do when independence was achieved, his reply was that he would devote himself to study. Search for knowledge was what gave him real pleasure. All day he would be engaged in political work, but at night he would return to his study of the Vedas.

Politics then was the first duty, since it was through politics that independence could be achieved. Politics also offered opportunities for respectability, service and service. Hence, then, real power lay in politics. But when freedom came, politics no longer remained the source of power. Power goes into the hands of those who set themselves the task of changing the social system, of removing economic disparities and of creating a democratic society. It was in this field that people could get chances of service and unattached service.

People however, could not differentiate between real power and the political power one gained by virtue of occupying some position. Positions of political power need not be shunned

if there the best chance of free and unobstructed selfless people could do good work there. But these positions offered temptations and there was always the danger of a fall. No people should accept them only if they could rise above temptations and attachment.

Positions of power were for other people who wanted to work directly in the field of social reconstruction to help the country to go forward. There they were in a greater influence than in the field office. This was a simple enough proposition. For instance, those in political power could not keep people from smoking but workers in the social field could bring about this reform. As a result of the activity of social workers an atmosphere could be created in which smoking could be prohibited. There was the case of prohibition. In the U.S.A. prohibition was not a success because the right atmosphere did not exist. In India, on the other hand, drinking could be prohibited because the majority opinion in the country was against drinking.

After the attainment of freedom Gandhi had advised that the Congress should be turned into Lok Sevak Sangh (social service organisation). Its leaders had, however, made it into a political party. They need not be blamed for it, but the Congress must not be an organisation for fighting elections alone. It should have a programme of service before it. Unless it showed interest in social service it could not be purified.

He had been telling his friends whether of the Congress, the K.M.P.P. or the Socialist Party, that they should not think of politics alone. Unless they worked in the sphere of social reconstruction society would remain as it was and might even deteriorate.

Social workers should neither worship power nor look down upon those in power. They should be a body of selfless people who, while remaining aloof would express their views with courage to influence all round them. The country needed such a body of workers.

Same and there was the need of an opposition. If there was no opposition, there was the danger of the growth of Fascism. This was a Western doctrine and in its limited application it was right. But an opposition would not be enough. The nation would not be purified unless

a body like the Sarvodaya organization was formed to serve the people. The Sarvodayas should alone be able to help India towards progress.

(Adapted from the *Illustrated Times*, 1931-32)

EXPORT OF HOMES—II

Apparently, the Government case looks as wise. They exchange home-grown for a ready fertilizer and dollars. But the exchange is like one made by Allah's mother—who parted with her son's magic lamp because it was old, in exchange for the new lamp of the magician. Or, to take a more historical example, it is like the exchange which the temple Adeवास of U. S. Peru and other American countries made with the Europeans earlier, parting with their vast lands and huge gold mines in bits of glass beads, when the provided by the latter. The sale of homes is like selling even an refined gold ore in exchange of ready-made aluminum-gold articles simply because we have not at present the wherewithal for smelting and refining the ore and putting it to industrial uses while the aluminum-gold looks as rare as gold, and can as well serve the purpose of pure gold for a period, and at a low cost. It is forgotten that even like the gold-ore, the homes, even if they live unused with us for years, are still our potential wealth.

Indeed, the home-wealth of the country is in its own place, even more useful than gold, because unlike gold it can be directly used for several industrial purposes and with less technical skill and no elaborate precautions for safeguarding against plunder etc. It is not slowly under exposure if not used. And it buried under cultivable soil and slowly feeds and enriches the soil in the course of its decomposition. The fertilizer on the other hand, like the aluminum-gold, wears away quickly and—worse than aluminum-gold—even injures the soil by creating false and erroneous stimulation on the productive capacity of the earth. It is like wine and opium given to horses for making them work and run hard.

The growing of new homes, it is alleged, requires heavy machinery. But I am informed that Shri Valankar has devised a simple mobile home-crafting unit. It is a quite handy set and a demonstration given at the Delhi Ministry of Agriculture proved its utility as a very useful contribution for utilizing home in sets in villages.

There are other ways also even if perhaps a little wasteful of working homes. For instance, it is well known that if homes are charred partially they can be easily grown in the ordinary Indian marie-mud worked by bullocks or bul's toes. This can be done in every village and may be directly used for manure. The result of charring homes is large plants in that once all these factories are located in cities like Bombay, Calcutta etc. new homes are transported from villages into cities, and broken into bits and used. The great is exported and the mud is re-transported to villages! The village home collector sells his new homes at about Rs 2-8 per

maund, while the home-craft does not sell for less than Rs 10 per maund. At this price only processors of large quantities can afford to purchase the home-craft. In actual practice, it is generally drawn away by tea, coffee and other plantation estates. Neither the village home collector nor the village collector is able to derive any profit from the homes based in their vicinity.

Perhaps, that is attributed to the incapacity of the collector to appreciate the value of home-crafts. Assuming that it is so, the remedy is to educate the people. There is no sentimental or religious prejudice against the use of home-crafts among cultivators generally so far as I am aware. Rajasthan is pointed out as one, where the cultivators are not inclined to use home-crafts. I believe that there too, this may not be true of all cultivators. For, such articles as baskets, cut-beds, paper-kites, knives and forks with home handles etc., are freely employed even in orchards, high-waste lands, homes, even as they make use of huts. Fish culture is widely employed wherever available. The non-use of home-crafts might be due to want of knowledge and not prejudice. Some or other all a heritage of pre-historic civilization, and its use has been known to mankind for scores of centuries. Indeed, when hides, horns, tusks, gins etc. are freely used inside the home and for medical purposes also, there cannot be a grave objection to the use of home-manure in the fields. If its value is known and its cheap supply is organized.

The manufacture of small home-hold articles from homes does not require very expensive tools or large plants. A few village and cottage industries can be started even immediately, with a little encouragement, and technical experts like Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta and Shri Valankar would be able to give small-scale machinery for the production of even glue, plaster, home-charcoal etc., for which home-great is largely exported.

Agro-economically, the effect of encouraging exports of homes has been one of relieving the price of homes unduly high. Foreign industrialists can afford to pay high prices, making it practically impossible for Indian agriculturists and the few small manufacturers that may be or have a desire to be to purchase them. If a thing that has to be simply picked up from out-of-the-way places at a cost equivalent to the wage of a Harjan or Adami labourer is suddenly made costly by a few foreign companies, the Indian cultivator and home-crafter would have simply to stand by helplessly watching the large hoards being carried away by railway wagons day after day in confusion he knows not which. We do not have even the consolation of seeing the actual home-collector the forest-tribesman getting a proportionate increase in his rate, or the village industrialist of making the great. The bulk of the high price goes to the middleman who organizes the collection, and the city trader. The labourer himself is almost a slave in his hands and at his mercy,

though it is he who often wanders over miles of difficult tracks in search of the materials.

On the one hand, the Government encourages this export. It even subsidizes the exporter by carrying raw bones to the wharf at a lower freight than grain—which is just the reverse of what shippers do. All this is done, for, what is called, a favourable dollar balance. At the same time, the Government advises the cultivator to put more manure into his fields, and for this purpose exports large quantities of elemental fertilizers of superphosphates and nitrates and is often supposed to sell them at a loss. The cultivator does not understand the right proportion in which these drugs should be administered to the soil, and does not have the organic manure which should be mixed with it in order to prevent it from injuring his soil and crops.

There can be no doubt that every step should be taken to organize the collection of bones lying in any unsuitable place. Owners of cattle and village panchayats should be advised not to allow their cattle and other heavy animals to lie dead and unremoved for at any place they happen to breathe their last. If they cannot do anything better, they might at least bury them in their own fields or in the common fields of the village. Even if the earth absorbs the flesh and slowly works into the bones, it is better than allowing the carcasses to be eaten, as carcasses by human beings or broken into by vultures and jackals, scattering away pieces of bones in unapproachable places in the process of their plunder. The fact that foreign industrialists can afford to pay handsome prices for these bones shows how valuable dual wealth is. If the Government can put it to a hundred industrial uses, we can put it to at least half a dozen uses immediately, and by and by would be able to do so to more.

From whatever point of view the matter is considered, the bone-export policy seems detrimental to the best interests of the nation.

Wardha 12-11/31 E. S. Mahendra A.S.A.

SARVA SEVA SANGH PROCEEDINGS

I. Meeting Type:

The Sarva Seva Sangh in its meeting held on the 22nd November 1931, has passed the following resolution on the Blooded Type:

"Whereas the Sarva Seva Sangh believes that the Blooded Type, exposed and advocated by Shri Yeshing, is an essential and inevitable step towards the building up of a non-violent society in India, & whole-heartedly supports the movement for Blooded."

The Sarva Seva Sangh welcomes the enthusiastic response which the move is obtaining from all sides. The Sangh further appeals to all land-owners, small or big, to respond to this sweeping call of Shri Yeshing and to take their full share in this great struggle.

The Sangh specially appeals to the constructive institutions started by Mahatma Gandhi and all those individuals and institutions who have been inspired by his philosophy

to work for the speedy progress of this move with all their strength and devotion, so that the moral resources of our nation may be awakened and equality and peace established in the land through a successful and non-violent social revolution." (Resolution 10)

2. Syllabus for Three Years' Training:

The meeting also approved a syllabus for a course of three years' duration to train village workers for Sarvaya Grama Seva. During these three years the workers will receive training in the Hindustani Yeha Sangh, the Charkha Sangh the Grameyog Yeha and the Krishi Go Seva Yeha. For the first year, 25 students will be selected from all over the country as a preliminary test examination. The training will start from February next.

TOWARDS BOYCOTT

(By Bhawana Mahendari)

I have been talking to the constructive workers for some months past to work for a boycott movement against machine-production, at least in respect of food and cloth. It is a matter of gratification that the attention of workers is attracted to it. After the publication of the Congress Manifesto and the First Five Year Plan, followers of the Sardarya School of thought cannot afford to remain indifferent to this matter. That is the reason why members of Kirti Mandali (Speaking Club) have recently passed resolutions in favour of the boycott movement against machine production.

Several persons raise a question "Why boycott?" My constant question to them is "Why Blood?" Blood has two aims to achieve. First, we are faced with a problem of unemployment, and the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom are a great source for providing employment. Secondly, to bring up a citizen a non-exploiting and non-violent social order, it is necessary to replace controlled mechanized method of production by a decentralized, self sufficient one. Those who subscribe to the first aim only will not merely ways of how best to provide employment to the maximum number of men. But those who desire to achieve the second aim will have under all circumstances to work for the boycott movement against machine articles in respect of food and cloth. There is no alternative remedy.

But mere statements of press intentions or passing of resolutions will not help us much. An organized movement will have to be carried on. Therefore the constructive workers who support this idea should prepare a form of pledge and themselves take it and ask friends to do the same and thus initiate the boycott movement.

A report of progress in taking such pledges should be sent to A. I. S. A. Program, for publication in *Sardarya Sangh*, and *Kirti Mandali Patrika*.

Sangam, Wardha.
22-11/31
(Continued from 142)

HARIJAN

Vol. 2

1952

LOSE NOT FAITH

A correspondent writes

"Recent discussion in the columns of the *Harjan* on the *Five Year Plan* by Mr. Agarwal, Mr. Jeyaraj Murari and possibly prompted me to write this letter. It is generally believed here that 'The *Five Year Plan*' is an election stunt and is not better than even the leading Indian Capitalist's Plan published in 1944.

We are in a dilemma as we do not know where we stand and what we shall do for the future. The Congress leaders are trying various strategies to come to power again. We like that the present Government be accused for the better constitutionally but more important criticism of (the) people may come to know by force if its results change in the possible through the normal method. Why this impatience? Is it not due to greater realization of national and the needs of Hindustani for the present as well as the next generation? Is it not due to our being used of things without their means being available to the people to increase their income at the same time? Working in the opposite direction and curtailing the expenditure may be a solution under the present circumstances but who is going to do it? Mr. C. C. Chatterjee, not the Congress Government and their supporters the Congress Government, the undisciplined Prime Minister before is spite of all his promises, now appears completely bankrupt and belated. Why?

"I do not like to burden you later any further. Only I wish to express myself to you that the general character, said, be concentrated to meet what immediately Mr. Jeyaraj Murari's approach for the solution of that problem is essential. This may be called the second of the so-called Five Year Plan, of course! Not the removal of one of the most vital questions in the policy of the Government of India. It must be said that this policy seems to be very clearly to us, and guide the policy when population of India? If national and subnational the State system people are so far a better lot in the country?"

It is not fair to say that the *Five Year Plan* is just an election stunt. With all the criticisms and differences of approach put forth as necessary, I am bound to say that the Plan is an honest attempt to solve for the country a problem according to the ideas of the Planners. Had it been conceived of in terms of a stunt it would have been drawn up in a more slicking and deceptive style, holding out all sorts of extravagant promises, with some of which could not be fulfilled. It would certainly not have been drawn up in a manner which did not create a wave of enthusiasm among voters in general.

Some of the country's economic difficulties are unavoidable. They are in common with other countries of the world. Indeed, if the economic situation of India and the British Possessions in Asia had not appeared hopeless to the British, they would not have parted with power so readily and hurriedly. They saved themselves the shame of failure and the danger to themselves in staying among millions of discontented people. They left the house when it had become

completely gutted, leaving the Congress to rebuild it as best as it can. While a part of the shame earned by the Congress administration in its own acquisition a large part of it should in fairness be transferred to the British. Even if other large problems which arose after the partition and during the last four years had not been created, it would have been an easy task for the Congress or, for the matter of that, any other party Government to improve the economic situation quickly.

How far a change of Government by itself can improve the general economic situation, it is difficult to say. Not a single party has a sufficient number of leaders with deep study and experience of public affairs and capacity to organize. Several have not even an adequate idea of the magnitude of the problems and the exact manner of solving them. Experts too are often experts in making criticisms and generalizations, rather than men who have earned that distinction by having themselves previously solved such problems. Several — perhaps a majority — of the members hold their office not because they possess any particular ability to handle the problems entrusted to them, but because they have to be appointed somewhere on considerations of party politics. As far as the duties of their office, they are like a professor of chemistry, who knows for the first time the distinction between a chemical compound and a mechanical mixture after his appointment. They begin to understand the problems of their departments by the hit-and-miss method, if they attempt to make any change in the established routine. It is not sufficient to have even clear aims and objectives if the ideas of putting them into practice on a large scale are vague. Hence the various muddle. For some years to come it is possible that the same story will be repeated, whichever party comes to power. Hard experience alone will give an efficiency.

Heavy expenditure on expenditure are, of course, necessary. If a party pledges itself to that programme alone it might bring about a desirable reform and create a healthy atmosphere. The example set by the Head of the Ind-gur Department of the Government of India is a pertinent one in this regard. It may not be possible for every one to love like Mr. Gajanan Nank, but some need raise the mode of previous life, simply because he has now accepted some office in the Government. I understand that New China has provided us with standards, which we might emulate. The general trend is in the opposite direction, and remains.

At the same time it should be borne in mind that those whose sole qualification is Christianism are often weak of imagination and tend in undertaking big plans. For reconstructing a great country like India, statesmen with imagination and vision are also needed. Often, however, such statesmen have a tendency to regard the stability of Empire and the efforts of

attendants and mothers as desirous to be first abolished if retrenchment was needed.

I would ask the correspondents and others looking upon me as one not to take too pessimistic a view of the situation. Providence will supply us with such great leaders as we need and deserve from time to time. While we should make every possible and strenuous effort to improve the administration and our efforts, let us also have faith in the designs of Providence. Let us look at the regular line of all India leaders of the first rank, whom God sent to us during the last 40 years or more. Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Lala Lajpat Rai, Anas Behera, Tinku, Gandhi in the past—each greater than the preceding one. He also presented us during that period great leaders in the spiritual realm. And the deaths of Gurudev Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Ramana Maharishi, Sri Anandaji have not left us altogether forsaken by God. Sri Sri Vallabhbhai Patel, Nehru, Yashwantrao Chavan stepped into the vacuum vacuum created, by no means as second class leaders. Each has contributed to the country with a speciality of his own and, taking everything into account, each has rendered an exceedingly needed service of the moment. Let us not therefore lose the faith that God will always throw up for us the right man at the right moment.

Wardha, 20-11-31

A. C. BHAKTAVATSALA

BHOOCHI DAN TALINA

(The following are Shri Vinodini's questions asked from the various speeches in Delhi and places round about. They have been translated into and adapted with suitable changes from the original reports in the Hindustan Times of the 15th to 18th November 1931 along with those in the Hind. Mahabharata. —K. G. M.)

On Spiritual and Ethical Basis

I am not, as has been said in the hands of those who in the land of all ages. It is a phenomenon inspired by God. For how otherwise can people who fight even for a bit of land be inspired to give hundreds of acres of land freely? My appeal to all and everywhere is to take this as a thing which has been done to do and to beyond the their logic in the land's liberty and justice.

As a friend and well-wisher of both the rich and the poor I could not have said if I could make the rich look upon the poor as members of their own family. Suppose the owner of a 10,000 acre farm has five sons and a fifth is born later. Would he not have to make the share of his property, divided up four? I wish the landholders to regard me as an additional son born to them and give me this share, for the benefit of the poor.

A psychological change like this cannot be brought about by law and violent revolution. It can only be brought about by the methods of Buddha, Christ, Mahatma and other great leaders. Ultimately it is to be the definition of what all for the well-being of all. 15-11-31

Under the existing social order, which is based upon inequality, strife and conflict, is replaced by one founded on equality and mutual co-operation, there can be no salvation for mankind.

In a society where some own land and others are landless there can be no peace. People might bring huge donations to subsidise their state of propinquity. These serve no useful purpose. They tear our hearts and

tear us in two. Let us fight their system on the grounds of truth.

People should accept the principle that all land belongs to God. If at all land is privately owned, the proprietary dominion would disappear and an era of love and co-operation will take its place. 16-11-31

What I want people to do is first to give every man of their land, secondly, they should engage themselves in the service of others. Finally in their service, they should lose all and voluntarily sacrifice everything. This is the path too which I want to follow the people. I know people can accept this path. They are used to land. I have had enough evidence to be convinced of that. I have received even today (15th November) a gift of 100 acres of land made by two people of South by telegram. If the desire to give truly, spreads like an epidemic, we would be much nearer a solution of the land problem. 16-11-31

I have taken up the matter not because it was easy. It is a difficult task. I was left very lonely on the work, and I have this doubt that the Powers that be inspired me to start the work would not be my friends if I succeeded. I approached the work with all humility and I have faith that I shall receive every help in completing it. I am sure that those working in the Harijans' cause will give me support and sympathy. 16-11-31

On National Unity

I refuse to agree that my attempt to make landless people give away their land voluntarily to the landless is contrary to the tenets of history. New things can happen, but not that the British Government had imposed before but it happened. So also this could happen. However, it became what I am doing is not against the tenets of history. It is a National necessity.

My intention is not to start off a revolution. I want to provide a rational revolution and create a new vision in the minds of the nation. The future peace and prosperity of the country depend upon the peaceful solution of the land problem. By adopting it to create an atmosphere in which the tradition, in the Constitution can be put into effect. Landless can be made to agree that they should give full compensation and that they should be satisfied with getting what was enough for them.

"Why not accept the Constitution?" I asked a certain person, "What reply?"

For that we need the moral support of the Gandhian Legislature should not be based on people. Every one including landless should accept it.

Another correspondent said that the psychology of vested interests, was "not in liquidation themselves." Vinodini replied:

I believe this idea about psychology is not correct.

If landless people do not part with land and a proper atmosphere for land reform legislation is not created, the most otherwise would be a bloody revolution. My attempt is to prevent such a violent development, and after my experience in England and in U. S. I am convinced that peaceful methods can succeed. Landless are not or never in a free gift of God and when I am asking for an allotment of the landless to be given (Gandhi). 16-11-31

We begin to see certain signs of land. Some there are, some there are of different kind to land and an average family has two members. I feel that every family would give every descendant of its land holdings, including the past landless man as the sixth member of the family. This is a way of bringing about a peaceful revolution in the country.

There is one difficulty. At the rate at which land is being gifted to me so far it would take many many years before the scheme could be completed. I therefore hope that the work of transfer of land will be speeded up and this vital problem facing the country solved in a reasonable time.

Poona was kept imprisoned by the king who wanted the Poet to devote to his great work the Telugu literature to him. But Poona was a peasant, but he was a great scholar and an equally great Orator. Absolutely alone, unassisted and even, he steadily refused it was and for him to work a king's desire to free his mind. He refused to do the king's bidding.

Vinoba returned to Poona whenever there was an occasion, either in the course of conversations or speeches and drew the attention of the workers to the study of his Bhagavat. Poona's Bhagavat occupies the same place in Telugu as the Bhagavat of Tulsidas in Hindi. However, when in the course of a workers' meeting Vinoba was required to read many of Chankar and read Poona's Bhagavat, only one hour went up. Vinoba was surprised to find that they did not read a book which had such a universal appeal in verse as such the people's book, and the work are pledged in the service of the people would regard reading it only as their job. Vinoba explained to the workers the need of studying and reading as part of their daily programme, the sayings and writings of great sages for the purification of their mind. It is the source from which one derives one's capacity for work and service and the lack of it results in the dissipation of one's urge and capacity to work. Moreover, workers could not serve the people adequately unless they had cultivated the wisdom of a book which had such a strong hold on the people's mind and influenced their lives so greatly. Whether wanted to serve the villagers must be able to share with them the noble faith and confidence which have become a part of their mental make-up and the spiritual climate of the region through such great books.

Shri Keshava Rao Shri Keshava Kaddi and Shri Ramakrishna Shetti who accompanied us on our Telugu tour with other workers, were very much devoted to Poona. They often referred to us constantly from the poet's life and poetic pictures from his Bhagavat, and we stayed along in a highly refined atmosphere. On this particular day Poona was the main theme of our talk throughout our talk.

It is reported that the hills by the side of the village are still blessed by the Chankar. They have their, their and their when they keep stored their great wisdom and wisdom. The hills appeared into sight, one after another like the peaks of a blooming lotus. It occurred to me that the Chankar who have been imprisoned in the folds of the lotus and I wondered how they felt while we moved so freely and easily.

Such happy and meaningful methods and experiences are a part of our daily life. Vinoba himself remarked, 'The profound spiritual experiences which are coming to us in the grave, could never have been possible in a railway, journey. I have travelled a lot by train previously but the whole thing was too hinged by our journey.'

In the room where Vinoba was lodged there was on the wall a big painting of Shri Ramana, his face beamed with the glow of love and devotion. Vinoba kept pointing to it for a long while. His own face now-days shines with all his inner brightness quite as full brightly.

One is simply struck with amazement to see all his efforts to identify himself with the people in this part. Every day there is a regular gathering of the Telugu Shri and the Poona Bhagavat. Though he cannot speak Telugu fluently, he also exercises his desire to see him to speak in Telugu. On visiting a village he makes it a point to go round it and visit as many homes as he can. He would have a look at the children, the women whom they keep the daily life of the daily and the women. He gives out the impression of a student in his laboratory when he experiments and immersed in his quest.

Vinoba has a large population of a community known as Landless. They originally came from Rajahmundry and have been settled here for several generations. They have however preserved their Marathi culture and habits. It was a photograph taken in one about forty Landless women dressed in their children Marathi clothes and wearing Marathi caps. There are pretty women. Vinoba asked them about their dress, ornaments, trade etc.

In his post-prayer speech in the evening Vinoba referred to his talk with the workers during the day. It was here that he wanted to make a statement, which has since become famous. I have now given him the in substance of Poona. Give me only three lines of land, that will be quite enough for me. The background out of which this significant statement burst forth like a flame, had been painting about meeting when the Mahatma tried to convince the workers of the necessity of carrying out the work of land. The incident had moved Vinoba quite profoundly. Here too the gift went in a spontaneous flow. The centre of the house, Mahatma gave them a piece of land. There were other gifts and it appeared that the trouble which had now started was fairly on the way to being laid a mighty stream.

Poona had covered and summarized the whole of space with his three steps. Vinoba desired for three steps of land was equally symbolic in that it carried within itself the seed of the future revolution, which may encompass the whole world and bring the long-awaited order and happiness to the disposition of the earth.

(Translated from Hindi)

D M

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHAKHTA GANDHI)
EDITOR: K. S. MARSHAPALLA

VOL. XV No. 42

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1931

TWO ANNAS

THE BARDAN'S FIRST DEATH ANNIVERSARY

The day on which this week will be published coincides with the first anniversary of the passing away of the Bardan. Though a full year has passed, we feel as if we bade him good-bye only yesterday. So quickly time runs! We particularly miss him very much now, during the election days, when so many political parties and 'independents' have cropped up to confound the voters. The respect and the awe which his name earned might have done much to prevent this state of things.

But the law of God is inviolable. It is into the midst of a society that a new life is born, but when it departs it does so alone. When He sends a new life to the world, He sends a twofold message addressed to the new born and to the world, i.e. society. To the new born His message is "I send you into the midst of society, and you will through others' help and support. Therefore serve the society while you live and do your best to repay its debt. To the world, i.e. society His message is: "I send you a fresh divine spark. You must cherish it and help it manifest its potentialities and make its full and right use before it returns to Me. It is I who send it to you and withdraw it at the right time. On the good and full use which you make of it will depend My future help to you. Be vigilant and careful."

Bapu has gone. Sardar too soon to be followed by Thakkar Bapu. Even these adversaries will admit that they spared no pains to repay their debt to society. It is also indisputable that God has been very kind to us—people of this generation—in sending quite a number of great torch-bearers. No doubt we took from them much service, and also honoured and appreciated them. But can we say that we made full and right use of them? There are two tests for this from any point of view. The line of social servants of the rank of these great souls should not break, and on their passing away the society should not feel helpless. To the extent these two tests are satisfied the society will be said to have progressed and benefited.

Wardha, 5-12-31

K. S. MARSHAPALLA

(Reprinted from Gujarat)

BARDAN GOPALDAS DESAI

The sudden death of Bardan Gopaldas on 25th December—again by heart failure—removes a great and current pillar of Gujarat-Sanskrit. Bardan Gopaldas was perhaps the only member of the panache order who heard the famous call of Gandhiji at the time of the non-co-operation movement and openly declared himself on the side of Gandhiji and the nation. The British Indian Government lost no time in, as they thought, punishing him for his 'disloyalty' to themselves. He was quickly deposed and deprived of all previous privileges and a court was installed in his place. Bardan Gopaldas was fortunate in having a wife—Shramati Bhaktika—and sons, who were equally spirited and supported him in all his political activities thereafter. He had by no means a great propensity to rule over. His rule extended over only three small towns unconnected with one another in Kathiawar. But he was immensely popular in his small area, being a thorough democrat in his every day behaviour. He worked long and devoted with his penmen freely, and personally knew every one of his subjects.

His deposition brought no ill to his spirit. Along with Bhaktika and his son-in-law even he took part in every real national movement of the Congress, and suffered long terms of imprisonment. None of them enjoyed any discriminatory treatment on account of their jointly antecedents.

He had been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Harpura Congress and was President of the Satasabha Provincial Congress Committee for several years past. He took great interest also in women's education, and was actively associated with the Valabhai Karye Vaidyapeeth, Nadiad and the Vallabhi Karye Vaidyapeeth at Rajkot.

Much credit goes to Shramati Bhaktika, ever widowed, for bringing out and developing the higher qualities of the Bardan. The British Indian Government had spared no pains in maintaining him in the same way as they did other Indian patriots. Late all of them he too was brought up for an epicurean life of drink, pleasure and wealth, intelligence. Shramati Bhaktika, brought up in a religious family of almost Gaudhara-like austerity, greatly and lovingly made him give up one after another many of the vices and evils of princely life. The result was that his latest

plants developed with the cultivation of sugar-cane and made him one of the favored leaders of Gujarat and Saurashtra.

Earlier Dadabhai was a spanner of fast years. I think he rarely spent less than 40 weeks, and often over 50. I do not know to what extent he had kept up spinning during recent years.

Saurashtra has been deprived of him on the eve of the elections. It is a heavy loss to the Saurashtra Congress and Government. But every one of us must learn to do without the best of us.

Wardha 7-12-50

A. S. MATHURWALA

MUNICH IN THE MOUNTAIN

I am a sojourner on the northern hills for a few weeks. It is all quiet and peaceful outside, after the bustle and worry of the plains. There is no whirling of motor cars and no roaring of planes in the sky. The pine trees gladden in the sun and sing soothing songs to the wind, morning and evening. I have a vision of the distant snow peaks of the Great Himalayas. When the morning haze is pierced by light and the evening mists are lifted you see these snow tops five miles high—majestic, immovable, almost eternal. You have a feeling of reverence descending on you even in this locomotive age. One feels like retiring to these forests and hills like a recluse, for blood rolls there that cannot be. In the distance, at the bottom, runs a rushing and rumbling stream, that will soon join the broad Ganges as the plains. My mind cannot help rumbling and rumbling down to the plains where I live. This age is the work unending, tireless work. My resort to the hills only helps me to reanimate the rest of my thoughts, pleasant and unpleasant.

I happen to be an old Congressman. Thirty years back when as a young man I joined the Congress I remember to have had only three marks for the five as familiar, one pair of thick black shorts and perajama, one pair of sandals and one dhoti. I worked morning and night, in cold and heat, at one govt. colony. Today my blood seems to run more freely, I find myself in a comfortable job but I do not feel happy. I am not at peace with myself. I am afraid I am engrossed and made good by comforts in the administration. I feel like a little cog in a huge lumbering machine. In fact I am more like a novel part that knows not how to fit in, than a cog. The machine is normally Indian, so as much as it is All-Brown. But the language, the dress, the talk, the manners are All-British. The procedure of business is the same as before, only more slow, the discipline less, for there is not more fear, and honesty or the lack of it is alleged to be a British legacy. As a Congressman I am disheartened by discussions written and confessed by the rashness growth of parties without. There are appeals for unity and a combination of it is mentioned. But there is no unity of head and hands. There is no unity about the objectives set down by Gandhi and still less about the means prescribed by him. Other parties have other

objectives and of course other means. Most of them if not all are quoting Gandhi and as election fever rises they will all indulge in songs of praising by him. A blind-worship follows that someone may be strong, he started. "Don't you worry. I can look after my country by my self. But God save me from my friends." May God save Gandhi from so many friends! As a member of the public it is true I have put a vote and can talk free. But living is so dear and so getting dearer. Food scarcity has become chronic and the fear of famine is haunting us all. A calamity seems to be peering round the corner. Then there seems to have been a serious crackle about cloth and sugar. Some have Pakistan, but I find myself crying in between the melody of satellites and the titanic of plenty it is not difficult to choose.

It was Gandhi's constant effort to spiritualize politics. I think among so many other achievements this was the most unique. To my knowledge it has never been attempted before. In Europe Christianity, or rather its repository the Church, made religion the heart-beat of politics. After the war it was the second line of defence for the State. In Islam religion and politics were so profoundly mixed up that the two became interchangeable. In their Golden Age politics became religion and now in the Iron Age religion has become politics. But Gandhi never wielded actual political power. He only released moral and spiritual energies for purging politics. It was a kind of moral and spiritual re-armament. I think he was always afraid of the Congress Command enjoying political command. Today his political legacies seem to be slowly separating the two. Many Congressmen in high offices have got drunk with comfort and are slaying by ambition. It was a great misfortune that Gandhi died before reorganizing the Congress that had inherited the power of the British. It was doubly unfortunate that he passed away before his moral and religious philosophy was adjusted and accepted. We had always willy-nilly accepted his political leadership. And it was a tremendous success bought very cheap. We had not yet accepted his leadership as an ethico-economic philosophy. The day of his demise was the day for taking up the great challenge of his philosophy. And yet most of his distinguished disciples chose to take up the responsibility of running the Indian State. There seems to be none to sit on his path as Socrates or even occupy the Congress path. Christ and Buddha too had their great disciples who followed their masters and who were the chief means of propagating their faith and establishing their way of life. But of course in their case they did not inherit the kingdom of this earth but led poor and humble lives.

Perhaps nothing great can be achieved without a measure of austerity and much faith. Gandhi's teachings cannot even be understood without this and more—devotion to Truth.

HARIJAN

Dec. 15

1961

A MESSAGE TO THE MIDDLE-CLASS

[The Hyderabad Minister President, all India type now. Unabashed, has used the following message to the 7th Session of the All-India Students Congress, Vellore-20, Nov. 61. Though addressed to the students, it applies to every person of the middle-class. —K. G. W.]

Social exploitation is the root cause of the grave discontent in the world. Its characteristic form is class-inequality. Because of the division of society into masters and labourers, the master class is consciously exploiting the poor. This exploitation is not new. It is difficult to ascertain when the system of exploitation of the poor man's labour by the 'master' class came into being. But today the system has assumed such proportions that this line of inequality threatens to reduce the whole society to ashes.

Minutely all the world over is clamouring to extricate itself from the disaster. That is why there is the demand for a classless society in every country of the world. The whole student world also believes in it. But you must also ponder over an aspect of the problem which the world including the students, has hitherto ignored. They accept the proposition that either the rich should cease becoming a burden upon the poor or the poor should throw them off their backs. Hence they raise the slogan "Down with capitalists." But they should know the real cause of social inequality.

The method of exploitation is so planned that a very large body of toilers is exploited by a few class of petty exploiters of middle-class men at the stage of managers or administrators under various names, such as clerks, contractors, brokers, agents, foremen etc. These in their turn are lorded over and exploited by a very small class of rich owners. Now, while the middle-class struggles to relieve itself of the rich man's burden, it does not wish to get itself down from the backs of the poor. But this plan will not work. There can be only one law in the world, namely either of riding over another's back or of not riding at all. There is no halfway between. If the few class desires to earn its own living by exploiting the labouring class, the rich or the capitalists in turn will exploit it. And if it wants that the rich should get down from its back, it should also cease to exploit the poor and take to personal labour.

Most of you, students belong to the few class. If you wish to bring about the new social order based on equality and justice you will have to change your class and become labourers yourselves.

I hope you will decide your course in the light of this truth.

DEEPAKSHI MAHENDRAN

(Translated from Marathi)

SHRI VINOD'S NORTHERN TOUR

VII

Karnal

At Karnal, a village 12 miles from Thanesar, Vinodji was put up in a small but spacious room at the house. Mrs. Agastya's daughter, decorated it with flowers which Vinodji had received on the way. Many students began to gather from the surrounding villages and Vinodji was soon widely hailed by the deep emotion thereby. One of the songs described how the devotees intended to proceed to Mathura to see Lord Krishna. Vinodji observed: "I am also proceeding to Mathura, but my devotion is not confined to Mathura alone. Whenever I go I see Lord Krishna incarnated everywhere. You all see my Krishna. I have come to have your devotion."

And then he went to take a stroll of the village.

And there was not a single house where he could stand erect.

And there was not a single house where the sun's rays could find entry.

And he saw a lake in a well prepared soil of a farmer. And he said "There is Lord Krishna playing in the water."

The atmosphere reminded us of the Telengana tour. Complaints were received. A widow who was deprived of her lands came with tears in her eyes. "A friend of my husband has forcibly taken possession of my lands and has got the name registered in his name."

And he inquired of the friend.

The friend mentioned his guilt.

"Give away the lands to me in Mathura," said Vinodji, and the friend agreed.

Many a complaint was thus disposed of. **Prithagar**

At Prithagar a deprivation of the fields which began this. The rights of five feet, five feet, five inches which they enjoyed in the local regions did no more exist. When was the Government, indeed, to know for what? Taxes were therefore levied. The depositors wanted to know. It was brought to his notice that the taxes were really very high.

Jaura

After leaving the path full of mud and grass, Vinodji reached Jaura at about 8 a.m. He asked that station, the middle-class Minister who was also Vinodji's charge, inquiries in Vinodji's presence. "How many times did you visit this place, Prithagar?" and that station heard his name. "I am guilty," he said.

But you have chosen all the path and place as a programme which will make us move from place to place, from village to village and I am in charge over it.

Referring to a question regarding co-operative farming, Vinodji reacted against his possible after-effects. The small inquiries of your landholders will disappear. And big landholders will come into existence. The poor landholder who till yesterday was whatever little labour he possessed for the maintenance of his small holdings will now be left to himself. Will have no more scope for the use of his experience and imagination, and will have to work as a labourer on the field under the guidance of the big landholder. There will then be no difference between the tillable and the tillable peasant. It must hardly be repeated that Vinodji was and is in words of partial cooperation.

Munshi

Munshi was the last but not place of our path in Vinodji's last tour. In this area, the road difficulty reached its climax. There was not even a foot path. We had to walk on great stones through the fields, creating small streams, placing over steep country, at the end had become slippery. There were two or three accidents where Vinodji might have met with an accident.

The population of Munshi, Prithagar is about 12 miles. What should be the distance from the Thanesar? Munshi Prithagar had had only 12 miles, and this Prithagar is

The inherent conclusion of the Indian Plantations are as follows:

1. Widespread contamination of both animal and human foodstuffs with poisonous D D T and other chlorine hydrocarbons already exists.

2. The contamination is being spread and intensified by the continued use of these chemical insecticides.

3. One of these insecticides when sprayed on a crop such as corn is absorbed by the ears. The dairy cow or beef cow which feeds on the corn in turn absorbs a portion of the chemicals in its fat, and the merchandise is passed on to the human being who consumes milk or beef from the animal. It has already been shown what concentration of D D T will produce death in test animals. We know too that D D T is absorbed into plant and animal tissues considerably. Therefore, we can only conclude that the continued indiscriminate use of D D T and other chlorine hydrocarbons holds an ever increasing hazard to the public health.

My American bear indicated a visit to the orange-growing district of Southern California. I was shocked to see the number of trees that were dead or dying. These groves are now fed mostly with an chemicals and are heavily sprayed with poisons. They carried notices in scariet letters "Banger - Keep out, this grove has been sprayed with the so and so." Dead small birds were in evidence everywhere. In starkling contrast, I visited one grove that for some years now has been nourished only with heavy manure of oat grass and alfalfa and with organic compost. I was told that a few years ago it was also dying back. When I saw it the trees were in the peak of health, carrying a heavy crop, and the need for poison sprays had disappeared. I have never tasted fruit with such fine flavor, and indeed the oranges from this grove had taken an inter-State post.

Gossids in Korea

[The following letter to the Editor appears in The New Statesman and Nation of June 18, 1951, (p. 680).]

"Sir - The Los Angeles Times of June 2 states in Korea it is estimated that since 1900-000 civilians, the greater part of them children, have been killed or have died of exposure since the start of the war. More than five million (1.5 one more) are homeless and destitute." During July 1950, special survey of the Republic of Korea, reported on June 1 here. "In just one night, there were 270 villages visited. The villages were in the path of an enemy advance. At of course the U N. Forces had to destroy them, and all the old people and the children who were still there because they were unable to find the streets. In one night more killed."

How long shall we tolerate this Gossids? Los Angeles Calif. Ralph Macpherson.

Let India and Pakistan settle their disputes amicably. Or else the Indian subcontinent may share poor Korea's fate.

THE ECONOMICS OF PEACE - THE CAUSE AND THE MAN

(By G. Ramo-Ambrosio)

The above will be the title of a four hundred page Volume, which is now under preparation, to be presented as a birthday to Shri. I. C. Ramo-Ambrosio on the occasion of his 80th birthday on the 4th of January 1952. G. K. George and G. Ramo-Ambrosio are the editors, who have taken up this work with the active co-operation of a number of friends who have long known the life and work of Shri Ramo-Ambrosio. The intention is not to make it a Volume of personal papers, but to produce an authentic book on the economics of peace. The whole of Gandhian economics is the economics of peace and Shri Ramo-Ambrosio has been one of the ablest and most convincing exponents of it. While the Volume will no doubt contain some pages of biographical matter, the major part by far, will contain matter directly concerning the economics of peace. The editors are doing their best to make the Volume one of permanent value to all Constructive Workers and Peace Makers throughout the world.

The Volume is divided into the following parts:

1. Biographical Sketches. This will be under no sections in: (a) Childhood and Youth, (b) First Meeting with Gandhiji, (c) In the Footsteps of the Master, (d) Constructive Worker, (e) Belal 221 and (f) The Man.

2. Extracts from Speeches and Writings. This will be under three sections in: (a) Religion, (b) Economics and (c) Politics.

3. Creative Revolution. This will give the history of the growth and development of the Charitra Sangh, the Shree Vidyut Sangh, the Haryan Devik Sangh, the Mahatma Taluk Sangh, the Krita and Go Sava Sangh, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha and the Karnataka Gandh National National Trust.

4. Light as Problems. This will contain a number of articles on vital economic problems confronting the country by well-known Constructive Workers and writers.

5. Appendixes and Indexes.

Nearly half the Volume has already been printed. The paper used is, of course, hand-made paper from Manganwad. There will be many interesting pictures in the Volume. The printing is being done in the Kalamadi Press, at Wartha. Shri Ramo-Ambrosio of the Gossids Vihar Farahad has given much time to study Shri Ramo-Ambrosio's writings and speeches to collect together valuable extracts which run into more than a hundred pages. The Volume will be priced at Rs. 10/-. Those wishing to obtain the Volume would be well advised to book their orders in advance with the price also in advance. The Volume will be ready for distribution in the first week of January '52.

Shri Ramo-Ambrosio who after his visit to China went to Japan and a new studying agriculture and cottage industries in Japan has called to say that he would be back in India on the 27th of December '51. He will then return just one week before his 80th birthday.

SARVODAYA YATRAS

(By Chandra K. Ghoshal)

In several places Sarvodaya workers have been observing for the last two years a Sarvodaya fortnight from the 20th January to the day of Gandhi's death anniversary in February 12 being the day on which rallies are held throughout the country at various places centred by the anniversary of Gandhi's ashes. They devote the period generally to social (sanitation) and other forms of constructive work. Last year, in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Kerala they organized Sarvodaya Yatra. They set out on foot from their villages to the place of the work so as to reach there in time on the 12th February, and make their offerings of yatra. These propagating parties were quite successful and could develop into a public service for promoting the Sarvodaya way of life if they could be related to a well-thought-out plan and programme.

I suggest the following plan.

The workers in various places whether they carry on their work individually or as members of an institution should invite their friends and acquaintances to participate in the yatra. Those who agree should be asked to meet together when they should form themselves into parties of four to five members each. It would be more convenient if the members of the party belong to neighbouring areas. Thereafter, they should be given detailed instructions about the programme.

Each party should decide for itself the track that they would follow in their journey to the work and the various villages where they would halt. The members of the party would do well to visit the villages where they intend to halt previously and, if possible, organize in every village a small three-man committee to undertake and look after their lodging and to provide them with other facilities for their work in the village. This part of the programme should be over by the 25th January.

The members of the party should observe the anniversary on the 10th, each at his own place, and on the 11th they should collect together at a fixed place. They should set out on the journey, the same day, after the mid-day meal, and reach their first destination by 3 p.m. A member of the party might reach the village even earlier to look into the arrangements made by the village committee and to make good the shortcomings. The village committee should have informed and invited those who are likely to take part in the spiritual singing, or who want to witness their yatra-offerings to the party to be taken to the work. The committee should also provide the party rest day in the morning with the implements for the safe-work or any other type of physical labour-work which the party might have decided to perform there. The young men and women married to assist themselves in these

stages of work should be asked to keep ready so that there might be no loss of time.

After a day or two following the arrival in the village, there should be congregational singing and some offerings by the village girls. Still, in my opinion, I would suggest that organizers of the work at each part should get the prayer program well designed for its distribution among the members of the party.

The journey should be followed by a short speech or announcements of the Sarvodaya. This speech should be got written by some responsible worker of the village and read out at the meeting by one of the party. However, after he has read it out, he may explain and elaborate it if he feels moved to do so. I would suggest that this year it may be on the Bhagwan-Rama. Yatra might give a suitable message for the occasion. In that case the message should precede the speech.

After the meeting is over, each member of the party should return to the house where he has been lodged and have a talk with the members of the family about the Sarvodaya ideology and programme.

Next day in the early hours of the morning, there should be work-sessions with the singing of well-chosen songs, which might be got written earlier in the local dialect by capable song-writers. This year the songs too may have for their theme the Bhagwan-Yatra. This should be followed by the last and the most important item, the physical labour-work for their strenuous house. This should include according to the convenience one or more of the following village work projects for compost manure, model kitchen and urinals. Every effort should be made to get the maximum number of the villagers to associate themselves in this work.

This would finish the programme in the village. By mid-day after a short rest following the meal, the party would again set out on its journey for the next station. The programme would be repeated day after day until they reach the place of the work. The yarn banks received during the 11 or 12 days should be offered there according to the instructions of the Sarva-Sarva-Sangh.

Sarvagranth, 1-12-51

(Adapted from Hindi)

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HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY HARJAN SANGH)

Editor: R. C. NARAYAN



VOL. XV No. 41

AMRITSAR—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1961

TWO ANNAS

AN EXPLANATION

Curiously enough Vinoba and I seem to have been understood by several readers to have expressed the opinion that in putting stress upon the personal qualifications of every candidate and not upon party label we suggest that only a good 'independent' candidate should be voted for, and not one who stands on behalf of a party even if he is a man of integrity and ability. This is quite a wrong interpretation of our views and even the Bawa Bawa Singh resolution to the extent I have understood it. To make it clear by a specific instance: Bawa Bawa Singh in my own constituency Shri S. N. Aggarwal and Shri Late Bhindran Nandhar have been put up by the Congress for the Parliament and the M. P. Legislative Assembly respectively. I regard them as good M. P. candidates from the above standards and as in regard to them I have no hesitation in supporting the Congress. Our insistence on the personal character and ability of each candidate is to impress upon every party the necessity of putting up people of undoubted character and ability in every place.

I am aware that a good representative if he is in a minority will not have much voice in the administration of the country. But a good and honest man will always give good and honest advice and even the majority party cannot totally disregard the views of a good opponent. He also serves his country by keeping out a wicked man from a place of influence.

Hence voters who are not members of any particular political party must choose good men and not merely a party label. Of course I repeat that candidates with communal and violent views must not be voted for whether they belong to a party or are independent and are personally reputed to be men of high character.

Amritsar, 12-12-61

R. C. NARAYAN

BASIC EDUCATION

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QUESTION-BOX

Ministerial Posts

Q Government servants are prohibited from taking part in political activities. Are not the ministers, who draw Government salaries Government servants? If so, how can they carry on political propaganda? Should they not first resign their posts and then stand for election or carry on propaganda for it?

A Ministers, as such, are no Government servants. They hold their offices as elected representatives of the people. The emoluments which they receive are not regarded as for their salaries or remunerations for services rendered, but allowances to enable them to discharge their duties efficiently, without following any profession for their living. They are removable from their posts without notice by the President as well as the Legislature, and also by the people at the time of elections. This is all in accordance with the Constitution of India and also with the accepted practice of democratic countries. They do not cease to be members and active leaders or workers of their respective political organisations during any part of their ministerial career. Pandit Nehru is not prevented from being the Congress President although he is the Prime Minister, but his Chief Secretary cannot be even a primary member of the Congress. This shows the difference between the two sets of 'Government Officers'. To ministers, election is a part of their party organisation work.

The suggestion that they should resign their posts before taking part in political and election propaganda is misconceived. That would mean absence of all government for some time. Under the constitution, the president cannot rule without his ministers. So there would be none to issue any orders in the name of the government.

Of course a constitution can be so drawn as to enable the president to rule without ministers. But in that event too, if the president is elective he would be in charge of the government during his own election. If he is not an elected president and can rule without ministers, the form of government would not be democratic.

Every act in society requires the placing of confidence in some one or another to a large

extent. If we cannot look upon the leaders as men of human and democratic government would be possible. The proper safeguard against abuse of power is the raising of the level of moral morality, and not walls of complicated rules and regulations.

Voters' Lists

Q The voters' lists are seriously defective and negligently prepared. This leads to unsuspected difficulties at the last moment. Is Government justified in conducting the elections with such defective lists?

A Government alone should not be held responsible for defects in the lists. It is as much the duty of the voter himself to make sure at good time previous to elections, that his or her name has been properly registered. Mistakes are bound to occur in making lists of voters. We should see what is the percentage of wrong entries. Government has to do this work through clerks who have not any previous experience of this type of work and are often of limited intelligence, and their proficiency in the foreign language imposed on them is often poor. The voters are even less intelligent, and even when intelligent they hardly co-operate with the clerks. Thus it is a daunting task for the clerks. Government and administrative machinery are more to be sympathized with than reproached if mistakes are discovered. It should also be remembered that this is the first election on such a tremendous scale in the whole world, and the fact that it has been undertaken in an illiterate country like India by an altogether new-born government must be regarded as a great and commendable venture. I understand that facilities have been provided for correction of mistakes even at a late stage. The experience will show if we may not have to resort to indirect elections, which will have no own drawbacks but might be more economic.

Wardha, 9-12-51

R. G. MATHURWALA

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DR KUMARAPPA—A BIOGRAPHY

(By G. Ramakrishna)

This is a brief biography of Shri J. C. Kumarappa in Tamil. The author, Shri M. Varad, is one of Shri Kumarappa's close co-workers during the last 14 years. It is good that the biography has appeared in Tamil to begin with. For, Shri Kumarappa is a Tamilian all-right in spite of all his western education and training and his long life outside Thailand. The book is full of interesting anecdotes about his boyhood and youth and later years. Shri Kumarappa with all his fun and frolic must have given scope for many a good story.

It is evident from the biography that Shri Kumarappa, even from his early years, possessed a truthful and unending character, with a deep sympathy for all, including animals, in town or in distance. That is one of the explanations why he, born in a Christian family and educated and trained in England and in America, has become an uncompromising vegetarian. His first meeting with Gandhiji and his conversion to constructive work are told with a wealth of amusing incidents and conversations. The biography also shows how, Shri Kumarappa, the rebel against the British rule, is still a rebel in free India against many of the policies and programmes of the present Congress Governments at the Centre and the States. This is a biography which young people in Thailand will do well to read. It is the inspiring story of a man who started amassing wealth and then turned away to constructive work, showing that there are great adventures and joys in such work.

Shri M. Varad has collected his materials from notes, articles, essays, letters, newspaper cuttings, talks with friends and relations and researcher in all possible directions covering many years. He has written a good and convincing story for his readers. We should have an early translation in Hindi and in English for the wider public in India and outside. For, has not Shri Kumarappa today become the outstanding apostle of the economic peace in the country?

The biography is entitled Dr. Kumarappa. It is explained how Gandhiji conferred the doctorate on Shri Kumarappa in his capacity as the Chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. Who had a greater right than Gandhiji to confer the Doctorate and who could have deserved a better than Shri Kumarappa? The title conferred was D. V. I. i.e. Doctor of Village Industries.

Varadaya Conference, 1952

The next Varadaya Conference will be held in the first or second week of April in U. P. The exact dates and the venue will be announced as early as possible.

Seagram, 5-12-51 VALLABHSWAMI

AS SECRETARY, VARADAYA SAMITHI

AN EXPERIMENT IN BASIC EDUCATION

(By Gurkhar Singh Bodi)

In 1946, I was sent up for a year's Basic Education Training at Jagan Mitha, Delhi. On my return, I began thinking hard to see if I could make myself useful in the sphere of N.E. Taluk, the government plans about which would yet take some time to mature.

To start my experiment, the training of the teachers for the introduction and the conducting of the experiment, was the first essential condition. But the lack of funds appeared to be a big hurdle. In consultation with my teachers, I decided to hold a ten-day short course at Tarn-Taran, which only selected teachers were asked to attend. They were to come from and go back to their villages daily bringing their lunch with them, thus eliminating any expenditure.

This training camp was held from 21st to 26th August '58 and then on the 2nd, 9th, 19th and 19th of September 1958 with 32 teachers participating in it. In order to do as much work as possible in a short time, we were working for some hours a day, from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. The object of this training camp, though a short one, was to enable the teachers to introduce lakh spinning and some other handicrafts so as to make the schools basic-minded. The following daily programme was observed:-

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|
| 1 | 8-0—8-30 a.m. | Sweeping and cleaning the place outside |
| 2 | 8-35—9-00 a.m. | Morning song and prayer |
| 3 | 9-05—9-30 a.m. | Talk on Basic Education. |
| 4 | 9-35—10-0 a.m. | Talk on Co-operation. |
| 5 | 10-5—10-30 a.m. | Exercise |
| 6 | 10-35—11-0 a.m. | Talk spinning |
| 7 | 11-5—1-0 p.m. | Community lunch |
| 8 | 1-5—2-0 p.m. | Rest |
| 9 | 2-5—3-0 p.m. | Writing of the day's lecture notes, fully in ink |
| 10 | 3-5—4-0 p.m. | Community singing with shloka |
| 11 | 4-5—4-55 p.m. | Other handicrafts like weaving,* knitting, vegetable processing etc. |
| 12 | 4-55—5-5 p.m. | Community tea (prepared by ourselves) |
| 13 | 1 | Sweeping and cleaning was done five times a day |
| 2 | | After lunch 600 tea-plates were cleaned by ourselves |
| 3 | | Songs were sung at lunch and tea times and while spinning |

An effort was made during this short camp of 70 hours to instill a spirit of service and working together among at teaching the value of community life and the dignity of labour. Care was also taken to guide the trainees to make use in their schools of what they had learnt at the camp. Plans "to follow up" were also chalked out, the lecture note books serving as their guides.

These class of 32 teachers, who had undergone this course of training, was then converted

into a Basic Education Society* (B. E. S.), which held its meetings every month at Tarn-Taran, to discuss the working of the experiment, to find solutions of the difficulties and to make suggestions.

In our part of the country, there were heavy rains in the month of September 1958. But in spite of unprecedented rains and flood which did much harm to the cotton crop, the experiment was launched in all 32 schools in classes 4th and 5th (24+7=31) in the months of October and November 1958, on a sort of co-operative basis. Each boy bought his own lakh and wheel and each boy contributed his own share of power. Where the share contribution of power was not forthcoming, loans were advanced from the junior Red Cross societies for the purchase of cotton. At the end of the year in March-April 1959, it was found that more than two mounds of fine yarn (ranging from 6 to 42 counts) was spun by the students of these 31 schools, with only one class working at lakh. All this yarn was collected in two instalments and sold out for more than rupees two hundred by the B. E. S. It would have brought us Rs 56 to Rs 40/- more, had it been wound according to the requirements of the buyers. Still all loans were returned and shares paid back in full and small savings by each school were also made.

Being encouraged by this experiment, the B. E. S. Tarn-Taran, decided in April last to start lakh spinning in all the four classes of these 31 schools on a co-operative basis from May 1959. The B. E. S. also decided that a second training camp be also held for the teachers of the remaining 28 schools of the Sub-Division. This too, has been done from 21-4-'59 to 28-5-'59. This second camp of 64 hours of six working days has done quite well. Now lakh spinning, vegetable processing and handicrafts have been introduced in all the four classes of 52 schools of Tarn-Taran Sub-Division without putting the Government or the District Board of Agriculture to any expense. These 52 schools are now quite ready for being converted into schools of the basic type. Only the teachers might need another short camp course to enable them to understand more fully the method of co-operation since a 54 or even a 70 hours' training camp cannot give them enough knowledge and guidance for the understanding of this difficult thing.

This experiment conducted in a humble way has its own value in the scheme of Basic Education. Experiments of this type if conducted by the Jagan Mitha or Wazirpur-trained men in Basic Education, are sure to prepare a good ground for conversion of the present schools into the schools of the Basic Type. This little effort made as a part of the State of the Punjab, if given the consideration it merits, can lead to very useful results.

Tarn-Taran, Punjab

* This illustrated paper used in socialising.

† Basic means, out of roots.

HARIJAN

Dec. 22

1951

TO VOTERS

(My Dear Sir)

If wholeheartedly endorses the following appeal to voters sent to me for publication several months ago by its author, Shri Dash Bag, a school teacher in New Delhi. I had preserved it all now so that it might be published at the right time. —[E. G. M.]

Let me introduce myself to you as an humble devotee of Gandhiji. I am no partysman. I care the least which party fails or comes to power. What I do wish is that we should not like a crooked, powerful and honourable people with the best law or equity to human life during the general elections, which have already begun.

The period of elections, generally is one of great tension and excitement. Let us not lose our heads but try to remain calm during it. The agents of the various candidates will be very alert and try to create mischief through the Press, the platform and in several other ways during the elections, the liberty of which we are so proud is sometimes shared to such a great extent that our heads must hang down for shame. Violence breaks out in several forms. The hand agents of some of the candidates are responsible for it, but when matched actually break out, they hide themselves.

Our country is a Republic now. We have got full political liberty now, although we have yet to work for our economic emancipation. We have all got the equality of possessing the right to vote. This is no small right if it is exercised carefully and after full consideration. We are free to vote for any candidate of any party we like. The vote is a sacred trust. Let us not, therefore yield to any temptation of money, favour or any other bait. If we do all do so, it will be a sin against both God and society. Let us use our judgement and try to perform this duty of ours honestly and according to the dictates of our conscience. Let us listen to all or none, but try to be propaganda-proof. Let us think for ourselves and vote for the party we think best for our interests. This right we exercise once every five years, so let us do it with the utmost care. We should not wait for any consequence to be lifted in the polling booth, but go there on fact or at our own expense. We should not accept food or drink offered by the agents of the candidates, but arrange these ourselves. To record a vote is a duty to ourselves and to the country and, therefore, no favour to any candidate.

We shall be the greatest fools if we please others or quarrel or fight with them for the sake

of the contesting candidates. Let it be no secret to the less politically advanced people that these candidates meet and treat one another as friends, but we sometimes go to the point of breaking one another's head for their sake. What a shame! Let us also be careful not to listen those who are in charge of the management of the polling booths. The Government have promised a fair chance for all. If anyone is at all found breaking this promise, the matter should be reported to the higher authorities. If we try to take the law into our own hands, the results are often dangerous for all. If we feel that mischief is being perpetrated at a certain place, we should not be a party to it, but should go away from there. It is then safe to come in at end.

No one should try to coerce anyone else to record his or her vote for a certain candidate. All individuals may be naturally related as father and son or husband and wife, should be given a free hand in recording their respective votes. Let us be broad-minded, and let there be no quarrel among us about it.

Having recorded our votes, we should go back home, so that others too may do it conveniently. We had better note our names and other particulars carefully from the Voters' Register with the help of our own friends and acquaintances so that we may not have to depend on the help of the hired agents of the candidates.

How pleasing a sight it would be if all the voters of a village go to the booth together like friends irrespective of the fact that they might choose different candidates to place their votes with! There should be no quarrel about it. Do we not choose different places to play, different dishes to worship and different articles of diet to consume? What if we have chosen different candidates during elections? We should give a good proof of tolerance regarding it. Our country shall, then, be a true Democratic Sovereign Republic. Jai Hindustan.

About Gandhiji's Picture

A correspondent from Harwarh sends me two leaflets published by the local Congress. Both of them bear the well-known picture of Mahatma Gandhi with folded hands and a ballot box bearing the Congress symbol of a pair of ballotas, suggesting that Mahatma Gandhi appeals to the people with folded hands to vote Congress.

I cannot but regard this as an unbecoming manner of exploiting the name of Gandhiji for winning elections. This is as bad as traders or merchants who sell Mahatma Gandhi kurtas and other goods.

I believe that Government should ban such abuse of Gandhiji's picture and the various political parties also should, of their own accord, issue similar instructions.

Wardha, 12-12-51

E. G. M.

colours created by the word 'secular' popularly used in reference to the Constitution of the Union of India, and the word *dharma* as understood in Indian languages. To interpret 'secular' as devoid of *dharma* is as wrong as to interpret *dharma* as religion. The word *dharma* is not the same as the English word 'religion'. In fact no single word of the English language can adequately express all that is covered by the word *dharma*. From very old times *dharma* has assumed different senses according to the context. But even then, until it came into contact with the English language, it never meant a religion. The only words approaching the English sense of religion are *patha* (ways or a road) or *sampradaya* (system). *Patha* was once almost entirely used in the sense of 'religion' but later on it merged with it the suggestion of a depreciable sect. Similarly, the word 'secular' has more than one sense in English itself. In its application to the Government of India a particular term has been given to it. It is clear from the context that what it desires to convey is that the State of India does not give or accept the status of any particular religion or religious sect as a creed. This is clear from the articles 15 to 17 of the Constitution. It will reward all religions and religious sects and their respective followers as equal in law and public administration. It does not mean that it will annihilate or suppress every one, for the matter, of that, any religion or religious sect, provided it does not transgress fixed ethical principles. As Vinoba has shown, it does not seek to make the country devoid of all religions and still less of *dharma*, as properly understood as the Indian sense, i.e. rules of human duties and morality.

Vinoba has suggested Federal as the equivalent of 'secular'. That, too, would be an attempt to add to the word a meaning not actually associated with it. Such attempts are not free from risk. *Vyavastha* itself, like *varas* and 'trustee' used by Gandhi, is a questionable word. My own feeling is that it is better to have a new word for a new idea. The trusteeship idea has been well expressed by the word *satkarmacharya* by Vinoba. To bring about Gandhi's meaning of the word *satkarmacharya* I would like to use the word *satkarmacharya* (अर्थकार्य). For religion I have used the word *ananya* (अनन्य) in my book, *Just Dharma* (जस्ट धर्म) and *ananya* (अनन्य) for the follower of a religion. The idea of 'secular state', I think, would be better expressed if we coin quite a different term—, for instance—negatively by *asatkarma-ananya* (अर्थकार्य-अनन्य) not following any particular religion, or, better and positively, by *satkarmacharya* (अर्थकार्य) following universal principles of right conduct.

Of course, those who want India to be the upholder of the Sanskrit Hindu religion will not be satisfied with this. But that would be a straight issue without a strain on words.

—Vinoba, 4-12-61.

E. S. MANJUNATHA

SIMH VINODH'S TELANGANA TOUR

April 22. Simhavinodha (English Hall, 36 jail cell).
The thought-provoking speech at Vengal Rao's (Vine) Anand 1961-62 naturally became a hot topic topic of discussion among the Congress workers and the people who had heard it. They were a rare meeting in the Simhavinodha Anand and in the law relating to India. Before we started from Vengal Rao for this place, Vinoba received a gift of 40 acres of land from that small village.
Simhavinodha gave start to a new type of work for Vinoba. It was found that one of the members had taken possession of several plots of land in this village. In some cases illegally, in others through an authority as, but in a morally indefensible manner. It was impossible for the Government to proceed to fight him. They presented their application to Vinoba. The member was granted and from 2 to 4.30 p.m. Vinoba found himself holding a court. The only question he had was of whether the moral sense of both the parties. He succeeded in his appeal. The proceeds in some cases got back lands, which they had lost for years. In one case a peasant, who had been deprived of three acres of land some years ago, was prepared to pay Rs 400 to recover it. The member demanded the Rs 400. Vinoba advised him to be satisfied with Rs 200. He decided to the request. It was clear that a peasant was forced to have made a false statement against the member. Vinoba gave him a great relief.

Then it went on till 4.30, when after the proper, Vinoba began to speak.

His purpose in visiting Telangana, Vinoba said was to find a practical solution of the problem which faced them. The way they had been able to solve the problem that day had and the hope that if only they would follow it up the rich and the poor would still be remained and the violent element which had threatened their life would be driven off. It was a pointer that if the rich and the poor would come together and try to resolve their differences in a spirit of give and take, the problem would be solved. Though some of the applications which he stated that day were not legitimate and were quite too and he was glad that they were entirely settled, Vinoba was convinced that if the workers—Congressmen and others—went out to tackle the problem in the right spirit and sincere work could be achieved. But from what he had seen it would seem that the Congress workers had not been able to do any appreciable service. That was the reason for the existence of so much misery and discord among them. He hoped that the Congress and other workers would think over the matter and learn from what they had witnessed at that place.

Vinoba had addressed a few words to the rich. After his arrival there he contacted them and asked them to donate lands for the poor. And though they had given rather slightly he thanked them for whatever they gave. He would be very happy if they had promised to give more even while he was speaking, and announced their decision at the meeting. "Let me tell you that though I ask for three donations on behalf of the poor, and though they are going to hear both the rich and the poor, there is no one here saying which donation that should be rejected and which should be the only three donation open for wealth. Either you agree it or give it to the needy or it goes to the needy. Those who had lands, much beyond their requirements, could not conscience all the problem which these lands created. The capacity of the country was limited. Hence while they could sit there comfortably fully and comfortably but they had to suffer after filling their claims. The money belonged ultimately either to the Government or to the Communities or the lands through tax and distribution. For there were only three ways open to wealth and no fourth. It was not therefore to give their savings to him. "In my book," Vinoba said, "my mother used to tell me when ever you had something to give you must immediately set it to it. She would say, 'those who give are never again

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TWO ANNAS

VILLAGE ECONOMICS

Freedom from Money

The late professor wrote in *Peasant, India*, in 1933. November 1933. Village economy discussed Village Economy. I never heard village like freedom from money as provided for all for planning the place of the village.

—K. G. M.

Expanding his death on the electrification and farm, his efforts of money economy. Village said money was a desperate issue. Any economic structure based on money could not be stable. Nothing could be achieved, if the economic structure in the village was unstable. It would not prosper as much if the money and silver were not brought into the village. But villages must be freed from dependence on money.

Village economy should be based on labour, after money was discarded. Some people imagined he wanted to go back to the old barter system. That was not his plan at all. He was not against currency. Actually he preferred paper currency to exchange. But the currency he wanted was of labour. It should not be printed at Bank at the request of some state. It should be a currency adopted by the villagers themselves for their own use. In this currency there could be no question of any world.

De-centralisation

Heaven's plan envisaged de-centralisation, which was a necessity. An illustration of God's plan is the unfolding of the universe around Him. It was based on a highly de-centralised system. If He had not thought of de-centralisation, He would have had to store all intelligence in some central bank in Delhi and then go there, distributing and collecting it out to the people through messes and planes. Naturally He could not have been imagined to Vishnu lying comfortably at rest in meditation. But for de-centralisation and a self-existing system, it could hardly be conceived that God could take rest. De-centralisation would lighten the burden of God.

Grass-Roots

What he wanted was grass-roots or self-government for villages. Grass-roots in his mind was not very different from the Rajas or local government. Village self-government could be achieved if two materials produced in agriculture were turned into manufactured or semi-manufactured goods. For one thing, this would save transport. Secondly, imports of foreign goods could be reduced.

Village-Town Co-operation

To this end, co-operation between village and town was necessary. People in towns, however did not care for villages. They seemed to be doing everything they could to ruin village industries. In recent years they had seen as many industries ruined. A remarkable thing was that village industries were ruined in the name of the Village Movement. If they started industries, they said they were meant to help village people. If for instance a factory was started for the manufacture of salt a business was ready to go and open it. These industries had a vested hostility. They justified their attitude and actions by arguing that things were being made cheaper for the villagers. It was money again! Villagers might

get old cheaper but their employment was taken from them. They were therefore to stand back for the sake of an empty.

No Blind Followers of Gandhiji

Gandhiji taught the philosophy for 20 years. He had given his talks with Gandhiji on these matters. Students of Gandhiji did not accept what he said when they were considered as it. It had to be seen in fact in. There were some talks of Gandhiji which he had really accepted. He had accepted his political ideas without argument. But when Gandhiji asked of his students, students he asked them carefully and accepted them only when it was confirmed that it was through those ideas that both could go towards progress.

Khandi, Village Industries and Planning

During the recent talks with students of the Planning Commission he had suggested that villages should be allowed to use their own materials like agricultural or semi-manufactured goods. Labour would be found in the village. They should then be encouraged to work and should be given protection. Villagers for instance could produce cloth wherever cotton was grown. When Khandi was criticised as a socialist he said. He could not say they were in the hands of capitalists but the idea of an loving village produce itself was a capitalist idea. In this both capitalists and Communists agreed. The two had the same idea about production. This differed over the distribution of what was produced in the case of Khandi liberality or as a commodity the capitalist idea was being supported.

One of the problems of national planning was full employment. It was accepted that full employment could be provided in all, but it was argued that only a few people were employed in the states of industry. The work was partial planning instead of national planning. If cloth implements and small machines were made full employment could be provided. Therefore in Khandi provided full employment but asked why Khandi should be brought into it. It could be done otherwise. There were others who asked why Khandi was necessary even that labour does not have achieved that they want to have incomes, down by being Khandi? There were still others who wanted to know why Khandi was not being encouraged by their own Government, Gandhiji's Government.

Before the war mills in India produced 10 yards of cloth per capita. Now their production had gone down to 2½ yards per capita. Did it mean that having income like problems we carried less cloth? Cloth was required in the country but the idea of Khandi had not been properly thought by the people. It was not being realised that the struggle was the key of their rebellion.

Some time ago when he took to agriculture and worked in the field every day, a friend congratulated him saying that Vishnu had given him, peace in agriculture as a way of co-existence. He did not accept the compliment and wrote in reply that although he worked in the field all day, it did not mean that the struggle was being neglected. On the other hand, he had begun to give during his morning prayer. Khandi had a content and higher position.

Agriculture gave no money over suggests that there should be no agriculture or farming. But Chavira was being opposed for it was the symbol of the new social structure they wanted to build up. It was in the national flag too. Pandit Nijwa had explained that only the wheat had been taken for conversion and because of its old association with the Jadhav Chitra. But it was the chavira all right. Most people did not realize the value of the chavira.

When asked how they would provide for the life those in poverty said that they would ask them to build roads. There was work which was seasonal. There was a big work which was seasonal. Road-building could go on for four, six or ten years. After that there would only be repair work. But spending could provide work for ever. People would require food as long as machines existed unless they decided to go naked. That life had, was a necessity and its production could give employment to people for ever. It was no argument to suggest that they would find employment for people in seasonal work.

If there is charge back a pledge to provide full employment in all and accepted the responsibility, they could not but help solve of the chavira. The chavira was the only means of solving the unemployment problem. Spending, with the gift of a new had seen the importance of the chavira and had said that his birthday was Chavira day. The chavira is now was a wonderful means of creating a stable economic structure and of achieving self-sufficiency.

If villages produced their primary needs and brought these things from outside, money would not have the same influence for instability. It would not cause the problems it had created.

This was his first conviction. In Telangana he had met Goddard. When asked if they could find a substitute for the chavira in other employment to the people they had no answer. Recently he had had a long talk with Shri Jai Prakash Naraya. Naraya had told him that he wanted efficiency and improved implements and machines but they should be suitable for use in villages. Meanwhile why should they not use the implements and machines they had to provide work for people in the villages? Shri Jai Prakash accepted the argument even though he was known to be a progressist.

Everyone would similarly have to accept the importance of the chavira when he was persuaded. The chavira was the only conception through which they could solve the problem of unemployment.

(Based on report in *Business Press* dated 22-10-44)

RAJU ON LAND DISTRIBUTION

In *South Asia* reports the following conversation in her book *Japan's Economic Future* (Oxford: Oxford) on page 364.

"While he was talking his assistant Mr. Murebala asked Raju, 'How will land be distributed after Swami?' Raju replied, 'Land will be owned by the State. I presume the courts of the Government will be in the hands of those who have faith in this ideal. A majority of the members will give up their lands willingly. Those who do not do so will have to do so under legislation.' Murebala said, 'Then the first step will have to be to educate public opinion.' Raju replied, 'It has already been educated. It is almost ready today.'"

SHRI KUMARAPPA IN CHINA

(By G. Srinivasan)

Here are a few more extracts from letters from Shri Kumarappa.

1. "At Mukden and here these pre-British and Japanese high class Hotels are used as officers' rest houses and workers' dormitories. It is as though the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay or Spencer's Hotel or Connaught Hotel in Madras, were converted into dormitories for Congress volunteers. The only difference is that these buildings are maintained in a very good state. As we went up north the standard of cleanliness became lower, until at Mukden there were plenty of flies and crows and the spitting habit was also evident. There were also mosquitoes. But the people were industrious and well-fed. Even the animals are fat and rounded. The carts and carriages may be in a bad condition, but the mules, horses and bullocks are fat and strong. These people eat very good food. At a station opposite to our compartment, there were found hawthorn, and in their sale-cases, covered with glass, were at least about 8 dozen chickens roasted and well prepared. They sold them at about Rs 1/- each. They also had Chinese steamed bread like wheat and cooked vegetables, fruits sold in strings and other sweet dishes. I have never seen outside the U. S. A. such quantities of food at such low rates. The village children are well-dressed, if anything, they have too much clothing with cotton shoes made in their own hands. It is a pleasure to see them. Their pigs are stuffed. I asked a farmer, 'Don't you let out these pigs to eat anything?' His reply was 'How can we afford to give them such valuable stuff, which we convert into manure?' In any case our pigs would not eat anything as they are not accustomed to it.' I asked our guide about this. He is an officer of cultural relations with foreign countries and he is still accompanying us on our tour. He was rather surprised to hear pigs eat anything anywhere. He said, 'I have never seen or heard pigs eating such stuff.' These people are good meat-eaters and they also eat a lot of vegetables."

(From *Frontier*, 15-10-44)

2. "China has pulled itself up not merely through the measures taken by the Government but largely because of the character of the people. They do not believe in religion but are conscientious and honest. Everywhere from a fish market to a chain store, the prices are fixed. If our country is down and out it is mainly due to lack of character from top to bottom. Their orderliness and expanding power are marvellous. We may have better memories and brain power but we cannot match their native straightforward and instructive practical mind. In six months they had turned the country from inflation to stability. Even now, of course, the prices run into astronomical figures. It is nothing. It is just as though we calculated everything in terms of pao. The unit is small. This can be set right

any time. A quarter acre is equal to 100 yams. Business does not suffer from uncertainty. As I have said food is plenty and so is cloth. Every where you meet smiling faces. This is the true test of good government and prosperity. I have a fear that when this transitional period things may change if they do not look sharp. Already the Indians show a very small crop and a large harvest in cotton, tobacco and hemp. This is a trend we know too well as industrialization, and we also know where it will lead to. I do hope that with this genius for getting things right, they will tackle this strong symptom early enough to control it.

At present they claim that the purchasing power of the peasants in the N. H. Province has gone up by 40 per cent and that of the general population by 50 per cent. I do not doubt it as there seems a general feeling of prosperity. So far they have not spent their money on roads. They have concentrated on agricultural production and that by improving their old methods. I have not yet seen any signs of mechanized farming. It is all done by donkeys, oxen and bullocks. Small houses are also used. These animals are well fed and looked after. Man and beast have enough to eat and to wear, but the latter is against their nature. The Chinese seem to have a peculiar genius to convert all waste into wealth.

"At Mukden, in the Steel Co's the Managers' allowance is about three times of the minimum wage, which latter is calculated to support two persons. Some good laborers get nearly double that of the Manager. Can we say this of Tai's or Sze's?"

Their old rice houses are converted into permanent institutions to educate the masses. The teachers are of basket making. No admission is charged. School children are taken by the teachers. The children take notes of what the teacher say and the latter answer the children's questions most attractively." (From *Monthly*, 17-22-51)

5 "At Shanghai we visited a People's Court, where cases are tried with quick despatch. There are no lawyers. The present being a temporary period even the judges are sole men of six months to a year's training. All the old laws have been set aside and only common sense prevails. There is a Judge, an Assistant Judge and one man and one woman acting as Assessors. This is the Court. The Judge examines witnesses etc directly and the Government provides a defender to the accused in complicated cases to help the Court. Representatives of the public are allowed to be present and to express their opinions also. In a case we saw an ill-treated wife had committed suicide. The mother-in-law got fifteen years, the brother-in-law ten years and the father-in-law two years on probation. While some representatives of the public said that the judgment and punishment were good, one woman got up and said that in her opinion the sentences were lenient, as the suicide was the direct result of the cruelty by others it was al-

most like murder. She thought that the mother-in-law should have been awarded capital sentence. Such is Chinese Democracy today." (From *Monthly*, 24-30-51)

4 I reached here (Tokyo, Japan) after an excellent passage from Hongkong. The bowing and scraping politeness here is so artificial and superficial about all that head-onest but heart-felt cordiality of China. I feel already a little 'homesick' for China. These people were living and lovable. Even the soldiers on the streets, the policemen they recognize me as a foreigner get hold of their mothers' payboxes and gossip and greet me with a sweet smile, and little children come clap their hands in joy. At Chosen little boys had been lined up at the station to say farewell to us with flowers. An one little fellow handed me a bunch of flowers I bent down to put him on his cheeks. Immediately he put his arms round my neck and clung to me. This was a signal for all the other little ones to do the same and they all started clanking over me until Panda Sandvick shouted, "Be careful. He is a blood-pressure patient, you will kill him with your affection." Then some of the other children came to my rescue. Such was the unbounded affection of young China." (From *Tokyo*, 3-11-51)

5 "Tokyo is very much waterlogged. The streets are full of black bog soup. You see all kinds of them. The Japanese baby cars are like oil-seed tapers on the roads. Against these you have the double buses with a front seat that functions like an engine and the rear part is a huge vehicle for passengers. The roads are broad with trees running in the middle. Asari from Central Tokyo the rest is a sprawling big city. The Central Tokyo is like an American city, with buildings of 8 or 9 stories high built in the American style. The war devastations have made it necessary for them to build up all the damaged areas and so high building works are going on everywhere. On the first night they took me to a hotel, where I found a notice in my bed-room that Japanese visitors will not be allowed to see guests in public lounges but only in private bedrooms. Immediately I wanted to leave the hotel but as it was about 8 p.m. I was persuaded to spend the night there. I shifted early next morning to another hotel. There are taxis marked "Foreigners' Cab". No Japanese can use such taxis. There are buses running often empty which are reserved for occupational forces and no Japanese can board them. The British, at their worst in India had never reached these limits. They did reserve a few cabs etc for Europeans. That could be understood because of our habits but the Japanese are completely waterlogged and so there is not even that excuse. The motive seems partly one of humiliating the defeated enemy. I trust all this will soon be removed. These acts are not calculated to make for friendship between the nations." (From *Tokyo*, 7-11-51)

(Adapted from *Comm. Notes*, December, 1951)

HARIJAN

Dec 23

1931

SOCIAL EVILS

Recent correspondents constantly draw my attention to the universal and anti-social nature of cinema films, radio songs, sensational literature, comic-strip cartoons, advertisements with lewd pictures, etc., and ask me to carry on a crusade propaganda against them through *Harijan*. Some of these writers belong to the teaching profession and naturally they feel very uneasy. They witness the disastrous effects which Satan produces through these monstrous means of 'culture' on the minds and behaviour of the young boys and girls under their charge.

I appreciate the demand and wish I had sufficient energy, influence and space in *Harijan* to satisfy it. But even these three cannot be effective unless there are in every locality a band of energetic and enthusiastic moral reformers who, in addition to banning these corrupters in their own houses and personal spheres, propagate against them among their neighbours and friends, and create effective public opinion against them. I notice that here and there a few papers, though very humble and not much known, do considerable work in this direction and work there were more of this type. But they carry a precarious existence: while the number of papers which sell in thousands and thrive on profane literature and gossip is much greater than these. This shows the weak type of the public.

Hence these moral reformers seek Government help. But they should know that a good democratic government is not the same thing as a morally perfect government. A democratic government reflects and follows public opinion whether such public opinion is spiritually or morally on a high or a low level. It can at best, remove an obstacle here and there in raising the spiritual and moral level of the people but can never bring it about effectively if the public opinion is not prepared for it. Of course government policy and good ministers and leaders can help the cause of moral reform by never patronising such displays, and refusing to inaugurate such acts even if they could not boycott against them. But the pressure of public opinion is necessary even for this. Hence, moral reformers must in the first place work hard to create wide wide public opinion in the cause of moral reform before it can become a subject of administrative action.

When my correspondents press me to speak about this constantly they flatter me with a great amount of wisdom and influence. Even if I were as good at that as they assume, there has to be appropriate time for every movement. The

country is at present enveloped in the virulent epidemic of elections, and until it subsides, and the nation regains its normal life, let those who are fortunate enough to have escaped its infection, keep patience and sympathetically lend its victims.

Wardha, 12-12-'31

K. C. MARIWALA

HINDU CODE BILL

At an early stage of the Hindu Code Bill, I wrote in support of the main principles of that Bill in the columns of *Harijan*. Since then the Bill has undergone several changes, which have, I believe, diluted the originally proposed reforms to a great extent. I have not been able to follow up the latest changes.

Even with these alterations there is considerable difference of opinion on this measure not only party-wise, but even inside the Congress Party and both the sides are led by eminent leaders of the Congress. This difference has led to the delay in the passage of the Bill and its passage is comparatively.

The Hindu Law of Inheritance and Succession, Marriage, Divorce and Adoption, Joint Family and Rights of Women varies in different parts of the country. But one common feature of it is that everywhere it is inhuman and provides a good field for courts and lawyers. I entered this in early as 1911-12, while I was still working as a Subedar's assisted clerk. As against the Hindu Law, the Mahomedan Law and the Indian Succession Act are simpler, create very little litigation and are more just towards women. The Khajur, the Cutcher Memon and some of the Mirdha village codes of Basse, which come by custom within the pale of the Hindu Law in these matters, provided a richer field for lawyers to make money than those who came within the full domain of the Mahomedan Law. Hence, particularly when a wealthy person dies without a male heir, and leaves a mother, a widow, a daughter or widowed daughter-in-law as nearest relatives, provide the best pasture land to lawyers. I have not the least doubt that the old law is out-of-date with the requirements of the present society.

But I had had no occasion to discuss this subject either with Gandhi or Vinoba or other colleagues. I was, therefore, glad to read the following report in the *Standard Times*, of 18th November 1931:

Full support for the Hindu Code Bill was given by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in his speech to a women's gathering in Rajgadh this afternoon (18th Nov.).

The Bill has declared established nothing which was against the Hindu religion. Women were given more rights in their father's houses by Hindu scriptures. The Bill was a measure of progressive reform making it give women equal rights with men. Such reform was necessary because of changed conditions.

The Bill also provided for divorce but that need not upset women. Indian women know the way of getting divorce and another. Forgive me the divorce would not change their mentality. There is a room of men for them but broaden their inner vision, but women whose husbands were steadily stricken had much to hope.

Wardha, 18-11-'31

K. C. MARIWALA

MORE ABOUT BONE-EXPORT

[Before publishing my articles on Export of Bones I submitted them for scrutiny to a few friends whom I knew to have studied the subject. Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta was necessarily one of them. He has devoted me with his studies and I wish to share with the public his own letter on the subject to me. — E. G. M.]

The Bone-meat Export Trade

Thinkers in India had from time to time condemned the practice of bone-export. Every time some excuse had been found by the Government to continue this drain. In the report of the Royal Commission headed by Lord Hargreaves it is found that the governmental excuse was the consideration for the poor underclassables. For, if bone export is prohibited, bones would not be collected at all and these poor people will lose their livelihood. (Wide Area in India, page 569, "The Bone-meat Trade of India.")

At another time there was another excuse which was that they the foreign exporters put the bone to better use. But then, we in India, do not get more profit thereby. For bone-meat made in India from whole bones, is not cheaper than stretched cowpungis of goats.

Probably it was the circumstance which the above criticism presented that later on the raw bone prices were made higher than bone-meat. It is a recent step taken by the Government of India.

The exporters of bone or goat are very very influential and it had been impossible to do any thing with bone in the interest of the land which adversely affected the ring controlling the bone business in India. As a result of this is the latest move of the bone exporters. In their interest, a certain size of bone has been specified for export and the offcuts are thereby sold in India at a cheaper price. They have, thus, made it practically unworkable to use local bone for measure. It pays more to sell out whole bones and where possible, get back a portion cheap as "meat" or dust. But it is only throwing dust in the eyes of India's economic interests.

Bone as Manure in Foreign Countries

Even raw bone-meat is used as a valuable fertilizer in the countries of export. A portion of the imported bone goes to make buttons and knife handles, another portion, and probably the largest portion goes for the manufacture of gelatin, which is used as an article of food as also in photography and various other arts and crafts.

Value of Bone Manure

It is suggested in the export-import interests that bone-meat as a manure is a costly article and that mineral phosphates or super (or superphosphate) are a cheap substitute. But it is not so. Mineral superphosphate costs the real but bone-meat only enriches it.

Bone Crushing

Shri Vaidyanath has devised a simple mobile bone-crushing unit. It consists of a trailer truck

on which is mounted a disintegrator. The disintegrator on the motor truck can be carried along the road wherever bone is stacked in the interior at a road side. The engine of the truck is hitched on to the disintegrator on arrival at site and the crushing is done by power from the engine. Thus is a quite handy set and a demonstration given at the Delhi Ministry of Agriculture proved its utility as a very useful combination for utilizing bone in sites in villages.

Superphosphates and its Commercial Utility

Superphosphate is made by treating mineral phosphates of bone (animal animal phosphate) with sulphuric acid. This acid treatment makes a portion of the phosphate soluble in water. But this is of doubtful advantage as some time after application the solubility is impaired. Besides this, the soluble phosphate is liable to be washed away. If only bone-meat is added to the soil, the soil gradually decomposes it and gets enriched and the enrichment may last several years.

Therefore, there is no case for use of mineral superphosphates in India where sulphuric acid is a considerably costly article and is not plentifully available.

Conclusion

India cannot, in her own interest, permit bone to be exported as great as in any raw form. India can manufacture these products that are made out of a elsewhere quite easily by undertaking the enterprises but even if these industries are not created yet it would be against India's interest to allow exports of raw bone.

Rodipur, 26-10-51

KATYAY CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

MR CHURCHILL'S REPLY

22, Hyde Park Gate,
London, S. W. 1,
12th November 1951

Dear Sir

I am pleased by Mr Churchill to thank you very much for your letter dated 30th September signed by yourself, Dr Gilder, Dr Noyes, and Dr Fyfe, concerning his mention of Mahatma Gandhi in his Memoirs, and to tender his apologies for the long delay in answering it. He feels sure you will understand that the recent General Election has caused an enormous increase in the volume of his correspondence, and he has not been able to deal with it as quickly as he would wish.

Mr Churchill is much obliged to you for the evidence you have sent him and wishes me to assure that it is being carefully considered for future editions of his Memoirs.

Yours very truly
Sd/- Weyburn
Private Secretary

Dr. B. G. Roy, M. D. (Ed), D. Ed.

SHRI VINODA'S TELANGANA TOUR

XXI

(April 23 Telangana's North-East II edition)

We started Thapatpalli in the morning at about 5:30 AM. The way lay through a forest of palm trees some part of which were followed by fresh harvested paddy fields. Interspersed frequently by small hills and considerable stretches presented an enchanting view. We were told that the people passed by this way as the surrounding villages were reported to be Communist areas.

The people of the village had walked up two miles in order to greet us. They escorted us with devotion and worked every bit the way. The village was swept clean, some time ago the Communists had murdered Shri Balu Reddy, an old and very popular member of the place. The people considered a repeated mention of him as could be seen in the generous tributes paid to him by all and sundry in their village. We had been good friends for Harlan on his stay at home. Vinoda was deeply pained on hearing the tragic life of his ancestor. And the Communist who hope to serve the poor by killing the good? Vinoda's remained for a time in a deep ponder and reflect on a mood. The problem of Telangana was developing itself in various aspects every day and Thapatpalli with its ever-widened area, was presenting the people for a Communist revolution to meet the problem.

Addressing the prayer meeting in the evening, Vinoda said that though their village was very small it was gratifying to see men and women from distant villages gathering there in a great number. He was glad to know that all lived in love and unity. They knew he had come to ask for donations of land from the rich wherever he went, and they responded to his appeal. But Thapatpalli was a very small village. Excepting one with the rest were all small farmers. Therefore he had not expected big donations from them. Now he felt much pleasure in finding that their donations had broken his expectations. But, unfortunately, one of our companions had remarked that his Thapatpalli ancestor being much the small was easily satisfied. But small though his demands were it was very arduous if it represented the concentrated hunger of all the poor people put together. And so he accepted when ever he could go. But having this consideration the want of the village, no expressed satisfaction with the seventy or eighty acres which he had received there.

Charity prompted with love inherent in value. The donations I have sought have are given with love. And I accept only what is given with love. Therefore I give a high value to your donations.

As Vinoda reflected on the extent for a generous response from that village, he discovered that the credit for the generous impulse must go to their devoted worker who had been killed by the Communists. He had served the rich and poor equally and his earthshaking deeds had won, honor in our hearts. The smiling face at the end of the battle and pure atmosphere that prevailed there, and it was this exemplary sacrifice that had wonned their village and inspired them for the sake of humanity. A large part of the gift which Vinoda had received that day was made to the brother of the late man Reddy, Miral Reddy and said in which that that would bring happiness to their village.

The error in which they had been, Vinoda refused, turned through a forest. There were hills all around. They too surrounded by followed ever passed the way to the last time for the express purpose of having their donation. He came from some pollution on the way. He heard from them that that had in the course of their walk on the surrounding hills presented about 40 to 45 Communist. They said that though the accused persons were designated Communists they looked like people and wanted whether they should be called Communists or people. Vinoda has always maintained that when a man wanted to feel secure in order to achieve ever good ends, he encouraged people from. Though the Communists

pretended that their aim was to improve the welfare of the poor they had adopted the same. They murder and violence in their methods. Hence it was not for people aim to stop their work so that it will not provide to distinguish between a Communist and a people. Nothing good can come out of encouraging people activities. If a Communist were to show at night and threatened them and asked them to part with their belongings they often yielded to them—some out of sympathy with them and others out of fear. But Vinoda advised them that they should neither have any sympathy with people who had taken to evil ways. It proved my comprehension for by killing a good man one can promote the welfare of the poor.

Referring to the evil effects of the British rule in India, Vinoda said that it had an impact of the British rule that many rich had been had gained territory in India. During the British regime several of our rich men people understood European ideas and many people of Europe were not short of work. They would not work now. During the last thirty years they had fought two world wars and were now preparing for the third. By studying their ideas we only copied our ideas. They must have known that the message of Mahatma Gandhi had also said that he had murdered Gandhi in the name of Hindu Mahatma than to please that by killing Gandhi to avoid Mahatma. Similarly the Communists said that they killed the poor for the spirit of the poor. "This is a wrong path and must be abandoned. I have been persuading the Communists to realize that they will never reach their goal by following this path."

(Adapted and condensed from Hindi)

D. M.

SHRI VINODA'S NORTHERN TOUR

IX

(India)

We had to enter into Wardha Pradesh again. We reached Datta (1810-21) after walking about 17 miles from Datta. On the way we received a gift of 1 acre.

At Datta 14 acres donated to poor. Vinoda said however that the work was not done up to the mark. With a view to work them for land. He was with that the story of Thapatpalli he suggested here. The first matter was reached up to that it is to see who have to decide and choose between Communists and Harlan. The last problem has got to be solved the three must be specified and it will be specified with inquiry under 2 pure had not available.

We moved them again their locality is not beyond the case in their domestic affairs. The present family system had given rise to a selfish individual. There was a time when this institution had proved successful but degraded that stage is not progress had been been hindered.

Narrating his experience in Telangana as well as the present tour he said: How long can we provide food to the needy and for how many of them? It is the matter of production that we have to provide. We need our guests to eat. But this distribution is a great, who is unable even to speak and his mind. God has made our life instrument to take the provision of this world. Two of them wholeheartedly employ yourselves in this great revolutionary mission.

(Paraphrase)

We were now on the borders of Madhya Pradesh. We had to cross the river Betwa at a previous hall, Le at Tawara. Trusting received 20 acres. He suggested to the villagers to end all the differences and live in one family.

Caroline all the children as you can and are that no one shall remain hungry in your village," he said. "It was with this purpose in view that I have been visiting from village to village."

(Paraphrase)

At Dattara the first place in Madhya Pradesh he was greeted with great jubilation. The poor was very much. Taking one in his hand and showing it to the people he said: "This poor man has written for giving a ball of

who could in such presentation I think, to the prestige of nation, the glory and the resolve."

He reminded Gopal of Deshpande and said: "For years we spent and that I regularly visited a hotel even during Dham and Dham days in polluted meetings and avoided intercourse. He made us that on the last day when he came out, his progress he had just finished his speaking. He played the wheel in the nation's flag. He resolutely went on ahead. He demanded the Chandra Singh made several mistakes and engaged many workers also in the work. He said to the length of regarding that the word 'chakra' in the title signified physical labour."

But Vinoba complained, people had forsaken the charkha. Some people did wear khadi but even after that some of the people's production of cloth had not increased even by a foot. Khadi was not sold, of course, increased. The whole idea was to wage war and even then the Planning Commission did not move to help any cloth in the charkha. They did not believe that it would solve the cloth problem. How could they believe? They could do so, only if they had contact with the masses."

It seemed to be a question about the efficacy of the charkha in the schedule also. Vinoba put a similar question: "Where is the necessity of kanga in the house when there are so many shifing stars in the sky?" Suddenly the class became more enthusiastic that they to expect progress the kanga."

In his usual lively and appealing way he thoroughly exposed the fallacious and delusive of large-scale mechanisation by giving several illustrations. And in the end warning them against the slavery of mechanisation he wanted them to realise that they were the part and parcel of Divine Power and that however they that power might be, it had the capacity to create and maintain and that they stood by the fact of that capacity, shape the world according to their own planning. They must not forget that they were all created with a bright soul and had the vision to lead billions. Science was but their servant, and had to plan according to their instructions. If they wanted small tools for agriculture it was the duty of science to carry out the intent and not to question why. He categorically repudiated the charge that this was nothing but the clock work and invited them to go and see for themselves the experiment that was going on at Pannambur (Pannar). This year about 5000 lbs. of vegetables were produced in this year in less than 1/4 of an acre of land. The intensity had become stupor. He pointedly exclaimed: "If you pledge yourselves to do some productive work every day you will see that the entire face of the country will change, and then meeting in the next point be concluded." It is however essential that the step should be the power of land."

And people responded in his appeal and to discuss give 250 acres of land.

Many workers had gathered in the evening to meet Vinoba. They had realised that little work had been done in connection with Bhamburda. Addressing them, he said the message should reach each and every one in this country. His vision was the vision of the propagation of an ideology. Land gift was but a pious that they had understood and appreciated the message. Every one therefore had to make some contribution. Indeed, his bag could be filled by a few big institutions; but the second hand should have some should also contribute. While in effect, it was the number of acres that should be big to villages. It was the number of donors that counted.

But land alone was not enough for him. He wanted to meet them and establish contacts with them. Having after all it was they who would keep the flame burning. There a great field of constant service was open for all the workers including the Karmayogis, the Sanghprasthi, the Jais, and all who were united in work. The coming they would, the better, or else one could check the outbreak of a violent protest.

Jaypee

From JAYPEE, 27 OCTOBER 1951, it is significant chiefly in its own national development for the moment less the relationship of the government of Gujarat. Some factors related to the land in the country. The Congress had revealed things for the good of the land. The only failure by which anyone did not realise that it was a failure that had been the old water and light brought to the land, and instead of the light of private property it was the light of the common. It was between a man who and without any. It is an error to see that the change is towards. There was not and not it with their own eyes. But before 1945 to them who in 1945 all this power, and then in the country and with such indifference towards the cloth problem and with the change of village industries which could have given of land some relief. How can it be acceptable to accept? And even then the State Planning Commission say that it was not possible for them to provide work for all. It was in this planning of all."

In the end, referring to the efforts of that Government to meet that meeting wanted to put the Congress. But that was not possible without presenting a programme of activities for the nation. In the absence of such a programme even Vinoba could not have offered the required partnership. Today there was no programme other than the Bhamburda which could inspire the people for constant service and sacrifice and which, if accepted by all the parties had to be the intense power for production. "I think that this is a programme which affects an opportunity for service to all. I call it my Bhamburda plan, and if all people engage themselves wholeheartedly in it and if during this period the entire of acres of land are reforested and freely transferred from one hand to another a great non-violent revolution will have taken place."

Next day we went to visit Laxmi (Gandhi) the capital of Madhya Pradesh. All the responsible workers including some of the officers of the Congress, representatives and others came to meet Vinoba. But let the culture the historic step in the next weeks later. In the meantime I go to before the figures for the week end.

Camp	Donors	Partners	Area
Chandrapur	None	Local People	150-20
Bhamburda			40-50
Donor			100-12
Donor	Donor	Volunteer People	10-15
Ujjain			40-50
Donor	Local	Volunteer People	100-20
Donor			10-20
			Total

Grand total up to date after 12th September 21-22

Total villages covered 122

D. M.

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Two Annas

SRI VINOD'S NORTHERN TOUR

X

Firozpur

Vinodji reached Gujrat, the capital of Madhya Pradesh, at about 11.30 a.m. It was about 15 miles from Firozpur but that the far end of the district in the beautiful scenes of green fields with rich crops on either side of the road but here as we proceeded further we could see only barren lands. The things were gruesome! These acres of crops of land lay idle and unoccupied by plough. The Government of Madhya Pradesh here of course decided to distribute the land to the poor but then the method of doing it is through auction to the highest bidder. The aim of the Minister of the land to the poor is defeated. The Government here, given land to hundreds of acres to big landowners with the idea that it may be brought into cultivation. They have also allocated large amounts of money to these persons to carry on experimental plots. In other hand Firoz, amongst the workers of the Congress and Madhya Pradesh have, however, concluded that the work of distributing land amongst the poor can properly be done by individual agencies like the American Negro School such as has been set up at Gwalior and other places.

By the time we reached Gujrat our party had already reached like a big crowd and masses were being collected all the way. Madhya Pradesh makes only a short speech on the final day of the tour on his arrival. It is a sort of protest in the work to be carried on during the tour. But at Gujrat he dealt at length with the members in his evening speech. He said, "I have walked this last January from village to village in search of a new violent solution of the great problems with which India and the world are confronted. In my opinion there are only two ways open to India. Either she should declare her faith in violence and accordingly prepare for the war or she should go on the path of truth and non-violence. I will take a long time to reply ourselves with a statement. The land of Gandhi is still here in progress. All our welfare schemes for at least 20 years. We shall continue to suppress the value of the people. They will have to be told that their poverty and starvation should be regarded for them as their mission for the country. We shall have to break from within Hindu or America. The way must come to solve our problems. And that it may take a century or more for India to achieve again. And it will involve destruction of all social barriers. For then it will be impossible for them to grow when a big nation like India because the strongest of all. This way does it mean millions of our men to be killed and destroyed. We want to bring heaven upon the earth. We want every poor man to prosper. Justice, means the end (justice) of the strong and not of the weak. I was therefore, trying to find a new violent solution of all the problems and during the night, I found the way in Gujrat through the American Negro School.

I could see that the solution lay in non-violence—the realization of the faith in all. This is the only—

Answer. The path of violence is not correct. It is an error.

Then as we were looking back and deep into the eyes of the audience, with intense sincerity and sincerity, the representatives of the Government and the audience said:

"Finally you have not renounced us. It is our faith, at all times. I'm sure that I was surprised when you came here. But I hope you renounced the war! If you do not I may be compelled to go to the other thing." I, please warning! It was discussing the violence and of the Government.

Then addressing the audience he said, "I want a double donation from you. Your right of ownership (refers) in your land has not been renounced by the Government. I do not want to discuss this right. But I want you to return, members of the Indian of this right. The idea is to end the war, violence, as mentioned with the war or social violence. The term used in the idea is violence or war for the sake of other violence.

We dear brothers! Share this right of ownership. It will bring you no more greater and more real respect. This seriously talks through you to India, particularly when your homes or nation are to be in danger. To survive after relinquishing your rights you will create the violence as I do today.

And then addressing the risk he said, "I do not want to talk. I do not want to hinder the poor by accepting your value. We do I want to make you proud. If you have money you can purchase land with it, and give it to the for the use of the Government. That, pointing to the fact that money between the rich and the poor was attributable to the war. The same money comes with me. Either you are a giver or a taker. Either way you will have to give. You cannot withdraw to give them or the other."

Then explaining his mission further he said, "From the past I am told because they have what suffering is like and therefore should give something to their own power holders. From the risk I want because they are afraid to give. But tonight to find whether the risk are using their possessions in self-interest or in selfless for and service. Everyone, he released, could give his life. But if he would give his life for me. I do not say that I only want my right, the right of the Indian people."

The children of mankind had listened the people very much and they did not want to meet more violence, when they thought to be a spokesman of the Congress. Vinodji there was under from a false sense of pride and to Vinodji could not want to be told that he wanted to make and even them and talk to them. They agreed, addressing the people Vinodji said, "You have not yet known the I have not been to Gujrat for the last 10 years. But only that, I have not been connected with the various institutions of the Congress. I'm people are so free to me. I strongly want to change the ruling wrong social order. As such I get the co-operation of all, irrespective of any barrier

SALARIES IN NEW CHINA

(By Suresh Kumbhar)

Recently an Indian Goodwill Mission, under the leadership of Pandit Bhandarkar, went to China on the occasion of the second anniversary (which fell on 1st October 1951) of the People's Republic of that country. Giving his impressions of this visit, Pandit Bhandarkar, in the course of a Press Conference, said:

Salaries in New China are paid not in terms of paper currency but in terms of goods. In the industries we visited we found that the proportion between the salary of the unskilled labourer and that of the Manager or Director was generally three to eight. In a textile factory, while the unskilled girl labourer was getting 500 units per month, one unit is equivalent to about one rupee and two annas in Indian currency, the Director of the Factory was getting about 500 to Government departments where the lowest salary is generally 150 units per month, the highest is about 500. Similar is the proportion between the salary of the peon and that of a Vice-Chancellor in the University. The salary of the Chairman Mao Tse-Tung is one-twentieth of the salary of the President of the United Republic. The result is that one can hardly distinguish a labourer from the Manager in a factory or the peon from the Vice-Chancellor in a University merely by his dress.

Other members of the Commission have also emphasised and supported Pt. Bhandarkar's observations.

What is remarkable is that most of the Government servants are paid on supply system. That is to say, they get food, clothing, housing, medicine and other necessities free for them and their dependents as also facilities for education of their children. Besides this, they get in cash a pocket allowance of about 100 to 200 rupees per month. All members of the Communist Party are invariably paid on this system. So also the majority in the Army. Moreover, since every soldier has to perform agricultural or allied labour for about seven hours a day, his maintenance offers no heavy strain to the State exchequer.

An idea of the average earnings of an unskilled labourer in various industries can be had from the following data:

1. Coal mines: 400 units* of grain per month
2. Railways: 400 "
3. Textiles: 500 "
4. Tele-Communications: 600 "

In our Indian currency 400 units of grain are equivalent to about Rs 50/-. The minimum wage, as fixed by the Government, for an ordinary unskilled labourer is enough to support two persons. The skilled worker gets on an average 750 units of grain per month (about Rs 100/-), while a technician or an engineer or an expert gets the maximum pay of 1750 units (about Rs 250/-) per month. It may be mentioned that the labourers enjoy many additional

privileges, namely 15 days' paid, in the form of 'happy returns', 600 medical and etc.

In the universities of New China, a professor gets 1000 to 1500 units per month, i.e. between Rs 125/- and Rs 180/-. High Court judges in the various provinces get about Rs 350/- per month, while those in the Supreme Court about Rs 400/- per month. Central Cabinet Ministers are paid Rs 450/- per month, and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung about Rs 800/-.

Thus the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic gets only about an anna for every rupee that the President of the Indian Republic gets, spends voluntarily in favour of the welfare of the leaders of New China. The proportion of the salary as wages of the lowest paid employees to that of the highest in the land is about 1 : 5, which stands in painful contrast to the proportion in our country. Thus not only is our much heavier cost of administration as compared to that in India, but also signifies a far wider gulf, if there be any, between the rulers and the ruled in China, unlike our own country. Naturally the Chinese Government has been able to use its people to such exemplary activity as to transform a food-begging China into a food-producing one within the brief span of less than three years.

Sadly enough the draft outline of our National Planning Commission does not pay any heed to this, a very vital aspect of State finances and human dynamics. Is it too much to hope that it will do so while drafting the detailed plan and earn the good name of a really 'national' and a truly 'planning' Commission?

Our Bhagp Brothers

One of the two men who were sharing a gutter of about twenty 'kita' (kitchen food, dried up) because when he had been taken out by his companions, realising the other member is being treated in hospital. (Times of India, dated 29-11-50)

Thus is the second instance within a few days in which a poor, ignorant and helpless Harijan has been killed due to the negligence of the authorities concerned. Is the Bhagp life so cheap in India, that in spite of modern scientific knowledge and resources, even in the first city of India a public servant performing the most unpleasant task, in the interest of the health of the city is allowed to be because of inadequate measures to protect him against such avoidable accidents? Why do they not merely wear test to detect the presence of poisonous gases, or provide the Bhagps with some gas-mask or other contrivance to keep him safe, before he is made to get down in these drains? Also, why should they not be provided with some small cranes and other mechanical devices to clean the interior of the gutters?

* One Tally = 10 lbs. = 50 gms.

HARIJAN

Jan 1

1952

A CALL TO CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

[By Vinoba]

[The following address given by Vinoba to the constructive workers of U. P. at Mathura on 1.12.51 is a call to constructive workers all over the country to draw out themselves as in the cause of Shramadharma. I hope they will take up the work of Vinoba's labours in right earnest and create the necessary atmosphere in the country for making the fulfilment of the cause of agraric food by Vinoba as quickly as possible. It should be in consonance with the same enthusiasm and seriousness as leaders, workers and people used to when Bapu launched a great movement.]

—K. S. N.]

An Unexpected Discovery

Constructive workers from U. P. had attended the Sarvodaya Conference at Shivanpalli in a fairly large number. But I find you have in a much larger number. Of course, I can understand that it was not possible for many to go to Shivanpalli. But I take it that all of you knew the work that was done in Telangana after the conclusion of the Conference—and I mean in reference to the Land-Gift-Sacrifice. When I left Wardha for Shivanpalli, no such idea had crossed my mind. Had it done so, I would have surely asked for land donations on my way to Shivanpalli. After the termination of Shivanpalli Conference I went to Telangana with a completely open mind. I had the desire to see for myself the conditions prevailing there. I had no notion then that a solution of the problem would also suggest itself. The problem and the solution both came naturally in their course. During my tour I was faced immediately with a specific demand for land. Some people in a particular village demanded land from me. I asked for it of those who had it and my request was immediately met. It was an unprecedented event that a man asked for land and received it so easily. Instances, of course, can be cited of donations of land to institutions such as temples, madras etc. But an instance of land-gifts for the landless was quite a new one. A man does not find it difficult to part with some money, but to give away land in charity is felt like sharing one's body with others. We all know the story of the Mahabharat. The Pandavas asked Duryodhana to give them only five villages. But he refused to give them even as much land as could be held on the point of a needle. These days the price of land has shot up. And the people's greed for land has increased in proportion to the rise in its price. Attachment for land has also increased. In the context of things to make an appeal for land and to get a response to it was no easy task.

But I began asking for land with utmost humility and love. I was not able to express with what humility and devotion I proceeded with my work and in two months the people gave me

12,000 acres of land for Sarvodaya work. I have appointed a Committee there, which has according to the latest figure received about three thousand more acres of land in donation.

Money-Fund

Owing to the monsoon I returned to Wardha and resumed my agricultural work. You know that I have become a cultivator these days. I have been lately stung with a mass of rising militancy on manual labour alone. I am convinced that without doing so our institutions can no longer function vigorously. It is not proper that after the passing away of Bapu people should still be asked to give money donations and we should carry on our work with the support of donated money. I hope that the Gandhi Memorial Fund will now be the last monetary fund collected in the name of Gandhiji. Hereafter none can and should collect monetary fund in his name. Hereafter, we must build up labour for though people will be hard enough to give money for the sake of Gandhiji, it will spell my ruin.

Extension of Telangana Discovery

I was contemplating about my future programme when I received a call from Delhi. In my departing speech at Wardha, I had said that now my non-violence is also people's goodwill were on trial. The land donations which I received in Telangana had the history of Communist attitudes in their background. Hot ground is cooled by rain-drops. But since there was no such hot ground elsewhere, it was feared that a similar success might not attend my appeal for land-gifts. But this would mean that sarvodaya (total destruction) must precede Sarvodaya (the rise of all). If it was to be so interpreted, it was signify of a great disaster.

Sarvodaya without Sarvodaya

Some people held that violence is necessary even for the success of non-violence. But the experiment of non-violence met with as much success in this pilgrimage as in Telangana. Thus it proved that Sarvodaya was possible without sarvodaya. The people of India are ready for Sarvodaya.

India's Peculiar Types

In the Sarvodaya Conference held in Sagor (M. P.) on the 2nd of October last I had observed that for the solution of the land problem of India we shall need one fifth of the land for the landless. If the one fifth part is obtained from landlords through donations made with love and faith a great revolution will be wrought in India. In Europe also efforts in the direction are afoot. The Upwardshook say that in God's order donors earn *merit-points*. *Dana* (charity) is not an occasional duty. Like eating it is an item of one's daily work. Indeed, God has placed before man a programme of constructive work in the form of *punya-dharmas* (meritorious-charity-activities) for everyday practice. Failure to do so, there are many in our country who pursue one of the other type

of austerity. I am on a walking tour at present, but there are hundreds of men and women who tour like me Jan masas (masks) and chander (mats) also do so. Maybe, some of these walking tours have something irrational about it but the fact stands that austerity in the form of pilgrimages on foot has never seemed to be practised in our country. Gandhiji maintained that our country has continuously developed non-violence. People numbering in crores have given up meat-eating. What an amount of austere practice must have taken place to bring about this change in men's lives? I do not want to enter into a discussion of merits and demerits of meat-eating here, but it indicates how our people have always practised austerity in various matters. Similarly our country has a history of its own in the field of renunciation of arms and it should be remembered that even when India was equipped with sufficient military strength, she never invaded other countries. All this history shows that India is a country of conscious austerity.

The way in which we won our freedom through non-violence is unparalleled and unique in the history of freedom struggles of the world. All these achievements are symbolic of that austerity which is characteristic of our country's traditions. In the atmosphere of India, austerity is possible to be practised in ever new forms. With this faith I have fixed the target of five crores of acres for highlights.

Call to Sarvodaya Workers

But this is not a matter which I alone can carry out. Of course I speak subject to God's will. He has His own ways of doing things and He may get it done through even me alone. But speaking honestly, if it goes on at its present pace, it would take five hundred years to finish it. Hence if we want to achieve it sooner, and within a specified time, we will have to bring into the service a hundred fold more devotion, energy and effort. It is a critical period in the history of our national movement. If non-violence fails to solve this, the greatest of our problems, we may be sure that the whole fabric of Gandhiji's constructive work is in danger of being destroyed. On the other hand, if a miracle in this matter, it will make for all-round success. *Ashok*, Harijan work and every other constructive work will also advance. People ask me, "Should all of us join together and pool our efforts to this task?" I wonder why they can not see the obvious. But there are three categories of men — is some a hint is sufficient for understanding — others require to be told in so many words — there are still others who do not grasp even if they are so told. I heard the call of the times and set out on the mission notwithstanding my old age. I worked for *Ashok* for thirty years but today I am using all my energy for this work, because I can see it includes *Ashok* and all the rest of the constructive programme. *Ashok* signifies an ideology and I am glad that it does not spread like leish

and leish. *Ashok* means a revolution — the acceptance of a new way of life. The *Ashokita* is indeed very old, but since it did not symbolise a revolution. They killed the *Ashokita* then because if they did not they would have to go without cloth. But the present day *Ashokita* does much more. It stands to end the evil. It is not the hard skin that turns it now, but intelligence, devotion, and faith — all have to combine and cooperate with the hand. Hence even for the protection of *Ashok*, it should be supported by the means of resolving the present problems. Therefore whatever else we may do, the most pressing need is that of resolving the land problem. And if we succeed there, we will be welcomed as having shown a new way out to the world. The world is a terribly tired today. It is getting more and more strangled in the vicious circle of ever increasing armaments. It is groping in the dark and does not believe that non-violence can help it out of this plight. Therefore if our workers choose to engage themselves in this work, they will be but doing the very thing which has to be done at present. If they keep saying that they are committing a mistake

I have been reminded that I should do something in the way of Harijan work also in the course of my pilgrimage. This is like reminding the Ganga to water the trees on its banks as it flows on. It will do it as a matter of course. It does not need to be told about it. A major portion of the lands that we are getting will go to Harijans. I desire that those of our people who are engaged at present in sweeping should take to farming. Their present work is not worthy of human dignity.

So it is my considered view that it is time justify the entire community of Sarvodaya workers should and must devote itself to this work of the land programme.

Sarvodaya Organisation

I am held partly responsible for setting the pattern of the Sarvodaya Samaj. They complain that the Samaj lacks an essential attribute of an organisation namely rules and regulations. My plan is there are enough of these rule-bound organisations. Let there be one which merely advises and does not command. The workers in the Sarvodaya Samaj are free to accept the advice or reject it as they please. But just are even without any discipline so many of you have gathered here to confer together. The truth of the matter is that a thing gets going and spreads if it appeals to the people and provides in them the sense of duty. Thus is how our Samaj works without any recourse to an external discipline. Let those who have eyes to see look at this gathering of responsible workers and judges for themselves how responsible workers have come here voluntarily merely up on invitation.

This confidence in rules arises from the fact that people are given up of the power of the

and I do not know if there is anything more degrading than the exercise of one's military power for the purpose of the end. What power have I to summon you here? It was love which prompted these workers to respond to our humble invitation. So we must realize that there is an idea behind all this, and hence if we want to reach our target of one more acre of land in Uttar Pradesh, we shall have to bend our strength and talent to this work.

Congress and Other Political Parties

One thing must be remembered: wants to purify the Congress. I am not associated with the Congress in any way and yet I issued a statement in support of Pandit Nehru. But unless an organisation accepts a programme of service involving sacrifice, it cannot purify itself. It is true that a programme of self-sacrifice may mean for the workers, domestic and other difficulties. But that is unavoidable. The breachings of Jesus caused domestic quarrels. The same happened in the case of Gandhi, because both placed programmes of self-sacrifice before the people.

Now parties are coming into existence here also. They say that there must be an opposition in a democracy otherwise it cannot work properly, and may well develop into a dictatorship. I do not disapprove of this development. But when these parties also enter into a contest for elections they too practice corruption. I would therefore advocate the setting up of a party which will keep strictly away from power. It will be composed of workers totally detached from power, devoted to ceaseless service with unflinching adherence to the principles of right conduct and morality. They will serve the people and keep in touch with them through service and discourse among them the right kind of knowledge. The existence of a party of this type only will purify the administration.

Concluding Appeal

Lastly I ask you all to give yourselves heart and soul to the mission we have undertaken, and make it successful. I can pass through only three or four villages while I go forth across the district. I would like that the workers should during the period collect hand-donations all over the district and send them to me in the village where I may be at the moment even as rivers join together and flow into the sea. You will have to send your workers over the entire area and in every Ashram. We need hundreds of workers for this work. Then only can we meet in an appreciable measure the demand of one more acre that I have made at your province. Then only can we hope for a revolution—a real non-violent revolution. Else I am afraid we shall have to wind up all our activities activities which Gandhi initiated and left to our care. It is the most momentous work to be done at the moment and not of one of the many types but one which must be done in appreciation of everything else.

(Transcribed from Hindi)

NO MORE RESOLUTION BUT A PLEDGE

(By Divyendra Mahabadi)

Harijan (Dec. 1 1931) had published the following resolution passed by the constructive workers of Tardai Nadi.

The Constructive Workers of Tardai Nadi strongly condemn the manner of C. B. Khar and other mills. They show a lack of the Gandhian policy which goes on harassing the workers of these spinning mills. The Congress declares that a suitable case may be selected where a proper atmosphere prevails to intensify the struggle against these mills and that the people be prepared for voluntary boycott of mill goods.

The other day the Mahasabha Provincial Sundaya Samitiyan held at Bardi also passed the following resolution.

One of the objectives of the Mahasabha Samitiyan is that villages, especially in India, are exploited units, should be made self-sufficient in regard to the primary necessities of life. It means that the raw materials produced in a particular area must be converted into products or fully finished goods within that area. It is essential in order to prevent these villages industries that appropriate restrictions should be placed on the rival industrial industries there.

The first resolution seeks to criticize the Government while the second wants it to impose restrictions on rival machine industries for protecting the village industries. Now the criticism of the Government on this score is not confined merely to the two resolutions cited above. It is wide-spread and is voiced by almost every constructive worker. But the remarkable fact about it is that the constructive workers themselves give no protection to these village industries.

Really if one looks at it a little closely, one finds that the Government is guilty of no more failure than what the constructive institutions and workers are themselves guilty of. We help the village industries and encourage them in other ways but we stop at that and do not protect them. After all what do we mean by protection? When we ask for protection from the Government, plainly speaking what we want is that the Government should see certain things which thwart the progress of such village industries. But we too do not protect it ourselves in our personal lives or in the management of our own institutions by putting a ban on such articles. If we who pride ourselves on being the champions of village industries do not boycott the mill articles, how can we expect the Government which has no such faith in these industries to undertake this work?

It is therefore a welcome sign that people are coming to realize the need for a boycott of mill-made things. But more resolutions are of little value. Workers and institutions will have to pledge themselves to the use of village industry products only and to boycott mill products at least in regard to articles of food and clothing. There will also have to carry on an extensive educational campaign all over the country to prepare the people to take the class pledge. Until we campaign for this boycott movement and prepare

public works) (Shri Chandra Lal Choudhary) (a) spending a few hours each morning doing the work, even a week (short) in the afternoon of destroying the circumstances required economy and creating a discipline with sufficient moral order in its place.

Srirangam, Wartha

January 1, 1962

It received from Shri

SAHVA SEVA SANGH THREE YEARS' TRAINING

In the Savings of December, 1961, Nambal, (and in Savings of 24th December, 1961) a note regarding the Three-Years' Savings Course Sangh was published. More detailed information about the course is given below.

1. The conditions for admission of the students are notified below. The qualification of the students who want to take up the course must be in accordance with these conditions.

2. An entrance-examination will be held on the basis of the conditions for admission mentioned above and selection of candidates for the course will be made on the basis of the result of that examination. In selecting candidates preference will be given to those who have already taken some training in either the Charkha Sangh, the Taluk Sangh or in any other all-India Constructive Institutions.

3. The students will be given a monthly stipend of Rs. 10/- on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh of which Rs. 30/- for boarding and lodging and Rs. 10/- for stationary etc., will be spent by the Sangh.

4. At the start a written bond will have to be signed by the students to work for five years after the course is over for the Sarva Seva Sangh. In case the Sangh does not require their services they will be released from the contract.

5. Those who will be given work by the Sarva Seva Sangh will be given an allowance of Rs. 150/- to Rs. 200/- per month according to the needs of his family.

Qualifications for Admission of Students of the Sarva Seva Sangh

1. Age
The student must not be either less than 18 or more than 30 years of age.
2. Physical fitness
The student must be physically and mentally healthy. He must be prepared to undergo six hours of physical labour a day specially on land before he is admitted. He will be required to undergo a medical examination.
3. Capacity for being self-sufficient
 1. He must be able to cook simple food.
 2. must be capable of being self-sufficient in regard to his requirement of cloth.
 3. must look after his personal cleanliness.
4. Knowledge of crafts
The student must have elementary knowledge in one of the following subjects—

ironing, wax keeping, carpentry, blacksmithy, basket making, pottery, leather-work etc.

Knowledge of Languages: Mother tongue

1. The student must be fairly acquainted with the literature of his own language.
2. capable of reading the scientific and technical literature both in his mother tongue and in Hindi.
3. capable of describing in explanationally some subject fairly.
4. capable of writing essays correctly in his own language.
5. capable of verbalizing subjects told by him.
6. capable of expressing some independent thought in one or the other aspects of the Constructive Programme.
7. capable of writing legibly and neatly.
8. National Language: The student must have the ordinary knowledge of reading and writing in the national language.

6. Arithmetic

The student must have a fair knowledge of the following:

- (a) Simple and compound addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.
- (b) G. C. M. (c) L. C. M. (d) practical mathematics—simple and compound (e) unitary method (f) rule of three (g) percentages, (h) average, (i) bank keeping and accounts of receipts and payments (j) simple interest—accounts of profit and loss (k) time and proportion (l) budget-making and estimating (m) square roots (n) practical geometry (o) graphs.

7. Simple Science

Ordinary knowledge of Physiology and Hygiene.

8. History

- (a) General knowledge of the history of the evolution of man, the special knowledge of the Indian History, (b) special knowledge of the history of the non-violent Indian national movement for freedom.

9. Geography

- (a) Simple knowledge of world geography, (b) special knowledge of the geography of India, (c) general knowledge of world affairs, knowledge of the political, social, economic and cultural problems facing India and the world.

10. Special Equipment

- (a) Knowledge of the Indian Culture, (b) the student must be free from the narrow linguistic provincial, communal and sectarian sentiments, and (c) acquaintance with Gandhism and the Gandhian literature.

Books

(By Gandhiji)

1. Hind Swaraj, 2. Autobiography, 3. Satyagraha in South Africa, 4. Key to Health, 5. India Diary (Post-prayer Speeches) and 6. Constructive Programme (By others).

7. Specter of Communism—Shri Bhairendra Marudkar, 8. Globalized World History—Shri Jankashankar Naray.

For further information apply to

SHANKARRAO DES

Secretary,

Unit Ward, Sarva Seva Sangh,

Srirangam.

Srirangam, 24-12-61

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TWO ANNAS

VEGETABLE MILKS AND RELATED PRODUCTS

(By J. W. Macgregor, D. S. Bhattacharya
V. Subrahmanyam)

Vegetable milks have been used as articles of diet in China and other Far Eastern countries for nearly thousands of years. Soy-bean is mainly used for the purpose and practically every home finds use for the product.

Soya Milk

The calculation of soya-bean and the uses of soya products have spread rapidly in America, but the use of soya milk itself has not spread very much in Western countries excepting as a special type of cereal or diabetic food. Dr. S. S. Bhattacharya did some very useful pioneering work in developing soya milk, and is trying to popularise it under the name 'soyoline' in England. The Western countries have not, however, taken kindly to soya milk probably because of the abundance of cow and buffalo milk. In most of these countries

in India several attempts have been made during the past 50 years to popularise the soya-bean. Mahatma Gandhi was a great believer in the possibilities of the bean and its various products. The majority of the consumers used the bean however only as a pulse in which form it does not cook well as digest easily. Aylward and Krishnan and subsequently the Soya-bean Sub-Committee of the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the then Indian Research Food Association reported that, as a pulse, the soya-bean is not superior in any of the Indian pulses in spite of its containing practically double the amount of protein as contained in any of the latter.

Between 1945 and 1948, an intensive programme of further work was done at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore (under the auspices of the Food Ministry and the Indian Research Food Association) to study the effect of processing and particularly the possibilities of utilising soya-bean milk prepared in an improved way as an article of human food. This investigation showed that the digestibility and the biological value of soya-bean protein are greatly improved when the bean is steeped, germinated, peeled and then processed into a milk. An extensive programme of human feeding experiments

was also carried out which showed conclusively that the milk had a good supplementary value to poor cereal diets. These results were accepted by the Indian Council of Medical Research which also recommended that the Government should explore ways and means of increasing the area under soya-bean cultivation. This recommendation has so far remained only as a slogan and no action has so far been taken on it.

Soya-bean milk itself has a somewhat gritty flavour which is pleasing, but it takes some time for one to get used to it. But the sour curd and the butter-milk prepared out of it have practically the same flavour and taste as those out of cow or buffalo milk. As curd or butter-milk constitute the chief dairy products consumed by the poor sections of the people who constitute the majority in the country, the practical possibilities appear to be immense.

At the present time, the country produces hardly 35 per cent of the cow or buffalo milk required by the people for normal well-being. Even out of this, a certain part is wasted for making butter and ghee. Over considerable parts of the country, the average consumer gets hardly 2-3 cans of milk per day. A large section of the people gets no milk at all. Although there is a very strong case for expanding our present limited milk supply with a product like soya-bean milk or curd, practically no progress has been made. This is to no small extent due to the fact that soya-bean is still new to our country and much has not been done to popularise it. In the United States the cultivation has spread very fast during the past few decades so much so that it has now taken the foremost place in that category of concentrated foods.

Groundnut Milk and Related Products

Side by side with the experiments with the soya-bean milk, the Bangalore investigators also carried out a programme of work on the processing of groundnut (peanut) milk. In the early days the use of groundnut offered some practical difficulties chiefly because of the characteristic odour and also the instability of the milk as compared with soya-bean milk.

During the past two years, the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, has carried out an intensive programme of work with the object of overcoming the above defects of

milk and to produce nutritious and palatable products that will be acceptable to consumers. This work has now been successfully concluded and it is possible to produce a groundnut milk practically free from the groundnut odour and of the same keeping quality as cow or buffalo milk. The product has also been fortified with minerals and vitamins so as to raise it to the same level of nutritive value as cow's milk.

Groundnut milk can be converted into curd and buttermilk in exactly the same way as cow's milk. It is in this form that the milk has found the maximum favour. If prepared with the necessary care, the curd and the buttermilk can be rendered practically indistinguishable from the cow or buffalo milk product.

Since about the commencement of 1961, the Central Food Technological Research Institute has been producing the vegetable milk used out of groundnut in a pilot plant scale and has been distributing it in the city of Mysore chiefly through the restaurants in the city. The product has found ready use and being also comparatively cheap, the advantage of using it have been generally appreciated.

Speaking generally, one pound of groundnut kernel yields roughly 1 lb. of milk with about the same composition as cow's milk. Depending on the price of groundnut, the milk can be made at a cost of about 2 to 2-4 a lb. In addition to the milk, there is also a useful by-product in the form of the white paste containing the residual part of the kernel. This paste is already finding application in a variety of ways as an article of food.

The method of processing consists in steeping the groundnut kernels in water, removing the outer skin, then paring very finely, filtering to remove the suspended solids, then deaerating and finally homogenizing. The operations are comparatively simple and suitable machinery is available in India. To make the curd the milk is cooled and then seeded with buttermilk. The setting of the curd is complete in the course of a few hours.

The vegetable milk can also be made in the home, but the technical details are such that the various operations cannot be easily put through with the available facilities. Moreover the procedure may appear elaborate if only small quantities are made. The quality of the milk would not be so good as that obtained after suitable mechanical processing. The machinery is however comparatively inexpensive and quite large quantities of milk can be produced either as a cottage industry or on a large scale. In the latter case, with automatic machinery, the cost can be reduced to even less than about 2 a lb.

India is the biggest producer of groundnut and our present production is of the order of 3.5 million tons. Even if a small part of groundnut is diverted to the production of milk and curd,

we can hope to produce very substantial quantities which would be useful as a supplement to our existing supply of cow and buffalo milk products. The production of vegetable milk products will come particularly as a boon to the poorer sections of people who are not in a position to buy the cow and buffalo milk products.

Over many parts of the country, particularly in the drier regions where there is heavy rainfall, the cows and buffaloes do not flourish. All along the regions of the Western Ghats and particularly in South and North Canara, in Coorg and Travancore-Cochin, in the Malabar Districts of Mysore and in Assam, cow and buffalo milks are very difficult to obtain. In such regions the availability of vegetable milk products will be a very great boon to the people. The production of the milk on a fairly large scale also offers scope for the development of new industries whether on a cottage scale or on a factory basis. If a beginning could be made in those regions where the necessity is most urgent, the use of the vegetable milk and its products could then be extended to other regions to make up for the deficiency of cow and buffalo milk products.

Although the scientific evidence is fairly conclusive and the practical possibilities are also very clear the biggest obstacle to progress is prejudice. This has been the difficulty that has stood in the way of practically every new product. With a certain amount of enterprise and active publicity, however, it should be possible to bring home the practical possibilities to the public. If the products are successfully established at even a few centres, their uses are soon bound to spread to other countries. Health and social workers, as also the Press in the country, can render very valuable service by popularizing the use of such food materials.

Central Food Technological Research
Institute, Mysore

(Continued hereafter — K G M.)

Addresses

In the article *Three Years' Training* printed in the last issue on page 383, columns 1, 2 and 3, after item 5, the following:

4. The 'Three years' training' is divided as follows: 3 months each in the Hindustani Tullu Singh, Charika Singh, Gramadhyog Yithag and Krishi-Ga-Sewa Yithag respectively. The following will be the general feature of training of each:

Tullu Singh: Nru Tullu
Charika Singh: From hopes to cloth
Gramadhyog Yithag: *Pravardha Sahitya*
One of the following: *Shanti, Paper-making, Pottery* — 4 months
Secondary Sahitya: *Agony, Tad-Gar, Chalk, Mogen-Chalk, Soap-making, Mogen-Dye, Water-purifier*
— 3 months in all

Krishi-Ga-Sewa Yithag: *Krishi & Ga-Sewa*
SHANBAIJIAN END

ALCOHOL AFFECTS JUDGMENT OF DRIVERS

Severe tests which included "reversing on a seven inch wide plank," were recently carried out on 35 export motorists in Sweden to test their reactions to alcohol. The experiment was organized by Dr. Leonard Goldberg of Sweden's Medicine Institute.

The 35 drivers had to drive at speed out of U-shaped garage-ways, steer in confined spaces, and brake and start in deep sand.

Then pairs of concentration and judgment were carefully studied. Then they were split into two groups, drinkers and nondrinkers.

'Concentration Fear'

Drinks were served to the drinkers and the tests were repeated over the same course, all drivers being "apparently sober."

On the second run, the drinkers were slower, but the nondrinkers were 20 per cent more successful than on the first attempt.

Dr. Goldberg reports that drinkers suffered from over-confidence, inferior judgment, and poor concentration.

One of them was unaware he had knocked down a row of marking poles another did not know his car had slipped off the seven inch plank.

A third became so furious at his failure to back on to the plank that he made 15 attempts without even changing his methods.

The Result

After analyzing individual times and tests, Dr. Goldberg came to the conclusion that "even a slight amount of alcohol caused a deterioration of between 25 and 50 per cent in the driving performance of expert drivers."

The Swedish experiment confirmed experiments made in Britain by Dr. H. M. Vernon, an adviser to the National Institute of Industrial Psychology.

Dr. Vernon's researches proved that some motorists could become dangerous drivers after drinking only one half-glass of cold beer.

32 Per Cent Decline

Small doses of alcohol, he found, not only impaired judgment and concentration but produced slower physical responses of the eyes, hands, and feet.

The Swedish and British tests also proved that after one or two drinks, a driver's vision deteriorated by as much as 32 per cent.

"Alcohol," said Dr. Goldberg, "has the same effect on vision as driving with sunglasses in twilight or darkness."

Although the drivers in these tests were proved to be a real menace, no action could be taken against them under the law of the land.

They suffered no shared speech unsteadily gait, or other signs of intoxication on which the police could base a charge.

Dr. J. Arthur Gessley, Metropolitan Police Surgeon, in a paper on alcohol's relation to accidents says that the first effect of alcohol, and the effect of the smallest doses, is upon the highest functions of the brain.

This infuses the individual with a temporary happiness and sociability but leads to an impairment of judgment, concentration, self-criticism, and the power of estimating risks.

The scientific facts, says Dr. Gessley, present "a serious objection to the consumption of alcohol, even in small amounts, by anyone who is to drive a car."

Dangerous

A Government report on accidents states

"Even where there is no question of drunkenness, a small quantity of alcohol is far more dangerous than dangerous."

"It is essential that those drivers and the public should realize that 'under the influence of drink' does not necessarily mean intoxication or the ordinary sense, but that driving skill is affected long before a man is consciously under the influence of Alcohol."

Some countries have tackled the problem by forbidding motorists to drink while driving. In Norway it is illegal to sell beer to motorists.

(From The Evening Express, London, 11-10-31)

A HEROIC CLERK

There is too much of world selfishness around us and even elementary humanism seems to have become a refuge. Happily it is not altogether dead yet and when heroism makes its rare appearance, it has an ennobling effect and wins public appreciation.

Early last month (Nov. '31) a Colombo clerk, Ramaswamy, rushed to help a college girl who was in difficulties while boarding a moving train. The girl was saved but the runner fell and was killed under the wheels. He was the sole breadwinner of his family—wife and eight children—and a poor clerk that he was, they were left penniless.

A wave of affection and sympathy rose among the public. A Colombo paper started a fund in the orphan family and within five weeks it swelled to Rs 1,60,000. A Colombo doctor promised an individual contribution of Rs 100 for every Rs 1,000 collected by the paper and he has been as good as his word. Smaller rich donations have been few and the bulk of the contributions has come from clerks, workmen, teachers and students.

Ramaswamy covered himself with glory in his heroic death—only less glorious in the manner in which the humane poor have unselfishly given their mite to help the hero's family.

(From Times of India, 25-12-31)

HARIJAN

Jan. 12

1932

TANNERS AND COBBLERS

The harmful effects of the home-report policy on agriculture and village economy have been already examined. The plight of the hereditary farmers and sharecroppers of India is equally lamentable. Since those communities there are well-defined groups scattered all over India, they carry on their occupations with such sturdy rustic resources, implements and technical knowledge as have been handed to them from sire to son. For nearly three hundred years at least neither the Indian society even during the old Panchayat system nor any of the Indian governments, indigenous or foreign, seem to have taken any interest either in advancing their technical knowledge, improving their economic conditions, or providing them with facilities and means of manufacturing their goods. They have survived till now on their unshaken soil inheritance.

The British Government was only an ally of the East India Company. It copied freely for commercially exploiting India. The Indian commercial communities became their willing agents. The Western nations were equally developing technical science and regarded no occupation as beneath their dignity. So, in their own countries, they gave to every occupation the benefits of technical science and produced superior and cheaper goods than our poor, neglected and uncultivated artisans could.

Indian commercialists have learnt only one maxim of economics—buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. We have a well-understood hierarchy of high and low, pure and impure occupations, but have made no distinction between Swadeshi and foreign—patriotism and nationalism having been an undeveloped sentiment with us.

Tanning and shoe-making have been treated such impure occupations with us. And even we transfer the superiority of an occupation to its workers. The tanners and cobblers are too impure people to associate with the clean. Hence none cared whether they lived or died, as long as we could get our leather requirements from the shops. And it did not matter to us if they were manufactured in some foreign factory of Europe or Japan. We could think, if necessary, of a political boycott of British goods for a temporary period, but the principle of Swadeshi was not ingrained in our blood. Truly, in commerce we have always been internationalists.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there did arise in Maharashtra a group of enlightened men, who saw the impending crisis and gave out clear warnings. But there was a note in the wilderness and the present world, as

unchecked until Gandhiji with his dynamic energy and marvellous organising capacity took up the cause. For him Swadeshi had no meaning if it did not work for the rehabilitation of our self-gone artisans and revive their occupations.

Swadeshi is supposed to have come. But has it come with a meaning? Has it set in motion policies which can be taken as indicative of a change in our educational, industrial and administrative outlook and set-up? There are quite a few million tanners and cobblers in our country. Though the consumption of shoes and various types of leather goods has increased perhaps a thousand-fold during the last half of a century, here is a lot that those who carried on these occupations for countless centuries, instead of finding more employment are being almost driven out and cast on the streets.

On 17th September 1930 the Nagpur Press had published the following letter over the signature of a shoe-maker of Nagpur:

"Recently I happened to read an article by Theodor Herzl, the well-known Jewish emancipationist, in the latest issue of 'Nagpur', a famous journal of Bombay, describing his experiences. He says that he came all the way from 4000 miles to India where there are countless opportunities to make money by doing shoe-making business. He says that 20 years ago he used to import 200 pairs of shoes from his country and sell them here. Then he opened his factory in India near Calcutta. Now he claims that he manufactures shoes and sells pairs of shoes every year and sells them the best made in all the cities and towns of India. His factories employing 41 workmen as a result of which there is no longer any shortage of shoes in India. He says that there has never been a pair of shoes sold over the country and does India. He is full of pride for the Government of India which helps him in all possible ways and affords him several facilities in India."

Now I wonder, on any basis of comparison in the domain of shoe-making, how is it that the National Government of our India is exporting all these facilities of India, in a foreign country like Turkey to the great advantage of indigenous manufacturers and workers—the shoe-makers—who have to make their living by leather scraps left over? Whenever the leaders of the British Raj, our Congress Government, should not have allowed foreign capitalists like Herzl to continue to exploit Indian markets at the end of poor Indian shoe-makers—the sons of Mother India. I shall be saying here again if I say that there with the aid of a few Christian Indians and the terrible production power of machinery is carrying away annual tons of money of rupees from the pockets of the millions of Indian shoe-makers. His our own Government gives any thought to the plight that the Indian leather cottage industry will be reduced to by exporting the percentage to foreigners like Herzl? The shoe-makers have been a disorganised, ill-disciplined community for ages, and have suffered terribly. Yet they have been saving their shoe-making skill along by producing leather goods for the people in cottage industry basis. Will the Government take note of this great injustice being done to Indian leather industry for having capital 1—2 per cent?

We tried to approach Nagpur leaders to take up his cause. But who would take up the cause of so low a caste as the shoe-makers? Moreover, our learned leaders have talked thus much, studied the Economic History of other countries, and

perfectly understood that the liquidation of indigenous petty industrial occupations and the unemployment of such artisans is an unavoidable stage in the process of industrial revolution and advance of a country. So to argue with the man or to mourn for him was useless. Industries of this type have to go and the worker has and his comrades realize this truth the better for them.

How is this man of practically no learning to answer such great scholars? He and his community are not yet willing to die. They want facilities to live and to thrive. He came to me last November, and again in December for advice.

It must indeed be a false and illusory industrial revolution which demands the involuntary and sheer death of large sections of people as a price of its supposed blessings.

Japan did not lag behind other European countries in its industrial technique. But it does not seem to have allowed its indigenous, domestic industries to sustain any injury. Indeed, Shiro Sakurabekki, Fumio Katoke, Kunisada all assure us that for the people's own daily requirements Japan is still a staunch advocate of village and decentralised industries. And what an amount both of hard and some skill and application of scientific methods has it developed simultaneously? It has not neglected its management in the crass manner in which we have done it.

It is not only the Government which can be blamed for this, though as being composed of the most advanced sections of the people, its their personal capacity they must necessarily come in for a large part of the blame for not giving a right lead to the people. Nevertheless a great part of the blame must rest on the people themselves and their religious, social and local gods and control-lers. They have not merely neglected, but actively promoted the ruin of our indigenous artisans by treating them as even lower than animals. Our social structure based on a perverse view of religion is one of the chief causes, if not the principal one, of our industrial economic and political downfall and even of large scale conversions of these masses to Islam and Christianity. In order to make Swaraj a living, we have to discard, on the one hand, our traditional social structure and, on the other the superstitions going in the name of economics and sciences. Not until then will even our politicians, economists and businessmen realize the injury they have done and even still bent upon doing to our country.

Romney 1-1-51

R. G. MATHURMALLA

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30TH JANUARY

(By Dhanendra Mazumdar)

This year too the country will observe the Gandhi anniversary on 30th January as usual. On account of the election fever that has enveloped the country the people do not seem to have realised the importance of 30th January. Why is it so? Bapu lived and worked for India's independence and laid down his life while fighting the perils to the country's freedom. In the face of this fact there exists popular indifference. What is the reason for it? Is it the repetition of the story of the *Pharos*? Like Shiva Bapu drank the poison that emerged from 'the churning of the ocean'. Will the great gods of the country fight among themselves in sharing the sector of independence? Will they in the heat of this 'sharing' forget Bapu? The gods might forget Shiva after he drank poison, but how could his power followers afford to forget him? Similarly even if leaders of India forget Bapu, how can his power—the millions in the country—forget him? If we are not to forget him, let us observe 30th January with admirable zeal. We have to re-awaken the sacred memory, not of Bapu's physical body but of his spirit that gave a revolutionary message for the solution of the problem of the age.

The present age is torn with economic centralisation and capitalist economy. We have to perform the task of destroying the capitalist economy and of establishing in its place in every home the decentralised one. They in whose hands are centred power and wealth will not shoulder this task. But they in whose hands ultimately true power and wealth are to fall after achieving decentralisation, will do it.

At present the wealth is centralised in two forms. The industrial system and the monetary system. During his life-time Gandhi pointed out the method of liquidating capitalist industrialisation. He gave the shikara as the symbol of its liquidation and opened the way to decentralisation. But before he could give a dynamic plan for decentralising land among the people, he was snatched away from us. Now Vinoba has taken upon himself this task left incomplete by Bapu. He has given to the country and the world as well the non-violent technique for the distribution of land.

By the non-violent path pointed out by Gandhi India wrought a great political revolution and solved the political problem of the independence of the country. Will that India now lag behind in solving her social problems through non-violence? Indeed the spirit of India has assimilated the message of non-violence, and I have a firm conviction that it will definitely adopt it.

The paper of the great social revolution has already been initiated. Shri Vinoba, its sacrificial priest, has commenced the offering of mantras. The question now is... Who should put the

oblation (gôrah) after the offering is made on the altar.¹

I hope my friends believe that on this auspicious occasion workers will work with zeal to give a demonstration to this unjust and lawless system will make maximum offering to it with full faith and devotion.

Shiragum, 1-3-42

(Received from Shirdi)

SHIRI VINCHAI TELANGANA TOUR XIV

April 25. Aghapuram (Eleventh Bakh, 12 miles). From Shirdi we started early in the morning for Aghapuram. On the way, about two miles from Shirdi we met a crowd gathering up with the cries of Jai and the continuous sound of the mardala. They belonged to a fairly big village about a mile and a half off. Though the greeting was effusive the people seemed distressed. On enquiry we found that there was a violent outbreak of cholera in the village for the last two days. It had already taken a big toll and a few were lying in a prone state outside. The mardala had come from a recent mela held near by. The authorities in the taluk head quarters, and even the army had been informed of the outbreak, but no aid had arrived as yet. We asked the people to observe the usual abstentions and a halt to the Shirdi Shikhar and moved on.

Aghapuram, one place of halt was a small village but stated that one we had visited so far. There were no police-station or local workers even. The arrangements for our halt were made by the Taluk provisions. There were symptoms of the spreading cholera in the village and as we went on up under the shade of a tree outside the village in a hot scorching sun for the purpose. We could have stopped this village from the Shirdi but Shirdi wanted to see the situation in the districts other than those of the Communist-organised Nalgonda and Warangal. From this part of the district of Mahabubnagar has not escaped the destructive influence of the Commies plan. The local behaviour of the village and the district had entangled the people against them and the Commies forced a ready sale for their activities.

Thinks were around the village and personally examined the part of the village and some others. There was lack of security and normal party even as there was that of normal discipline. The part had to suffer full during the Congress movement having been charged with collecting and using arms. The village complained of the presence of the party while the part declared the behaviour of the village. The Commies had murdered them of the party police. And he suggested that the village together with the local Shikhar — a wife of Rajguru who migrated there long back from Rajguru — had helped the Commies in their murder. The mardala had reached in the town of Thinks from early morning and were waiting to talk to him of their tale of woe. They were afraid of being betrayed after Thinks had left. Thinks talked them to his wife and asked them to speak to him of their troubles and trials. And in some light that they were being visited from inside which they had been collecting the last day woe. That he asked the district the last day woe and asked to make them realize the wrong they were doing in their party committee. At first they were reluctant to give any thing and he got to know at which Lakshminarayana had his presence and forced up. "You are sitting in the presence of a man, why called him to Shirdi?" But must repeat of your past mistakes and promises not to appear here your leaders are here to follow."

Thinks pointed Lakshminarayana and spoke to the others of the village mentioned there.

"The military has been looking after your village for the last five years. It does not intend to your credit. But you have for over 1000 should come here for the peace and order and giving protection to the help."

Many of you old officers who have much relation to

the part are in the village and the Commies are gathering and try to create some trouble. So, what is to you can create peace in Shirdi, which I know to be less than our experience. But for the last from those who have it and others to those who have it and need it. The district the party have some all manner they responded to the call Shirdi, for they could not escape the moral that the village had been in league with the Commies and was responsible for the murders of their own men. Indeed Shirdi the head and yet who would deny the possibility influence which it casts over human affairs while it lasts?

In the post-prayer speech Thinks educated the people on their old and new, their past and their future. He said: "I have been your understanding of the problems in this part of the province and know how the situation has so much deteriorated. There are too many landlords, the district, the district and the people have been spent about the long. But I will advise the people not to take to the ways of violence. It is wrong to indulge in murder and all crimes. It will not lead to the good of the part. The only solution way out of this system is the way of Gandhi. I am moving about from village to village and I am trying to prove the efficacy in solving all our ills. That is the reason for my having come to you. I pray that the Lord who is in the heart of every being may manifest Himself back to the part and the state. That is how the situation of the part would come regular. I do not feel inclined to give lecture and want with I prefer to give, in this that the way goes on the path, of mind which is true intelligence."

Referring to his talk with the district he said: "I tried to make them understand their duty. But I could not. I could not make any to their duty by talking to them. They have suffered grievous wounds in the murder of their husbands and the mothers, families in their hearts. And state has the power to change the springs of love and kindness to their hearts. After all, the first thing was that I have to see to it that they feel the same infinite power. I therefore keep pressing to this. There are still of love of land and we are the children. With that and give us a share of that rich of endeavour."

Thinks had begun his speech today with a quotation from a hymn of Lakshminarayana: "गुरुः शिरसि गुरुः शिरसि" (1). Explaining the verse he said: "Thinks starts with the Lord to give him Shikhar for every being and make it good and expand. I also offer this same prayer to the Lord and I am happy to realize that every day the power of the Lord gives me a new lesson in that sense. I go to the village and everywhere I hear of the situation which the Commies have wrought, would talk of murder, but not of the law in houses and areas and I stay in my heart. Look for me to be kind to the Commies also. They indulge in violence but how can we stand them?" For even the Congressmen had done that on certain occasions and done it in the name of Gandhi.

It would be recalled that Thinks began his Telangana tour with a visit to the Commies in the Hyderabad jail. He felt that though they were following a path opposed to his own he must still convince them of their mistake if he could.

Thinks was much tired today and his feet were aching. But his mind was weighed down more with the thought of the and distress which he had seen in the village and the condition conditions prevailing there. There were children crying in these villages but were wanted to have the time to go there and separate help. He said: "I tell the people to stop taking arms. But I do not know what I am to do about this and the distress. Who will come to rescue this needy masses?" The power recovery the province and the Commies' case of their own is piled in and the Congressmen are working even more for the sake purpose of obtaining success in the election, and the regaining of power. The Commies

are certain to be successful and genuine, I expect they would restore the confidence."

But, said the speaker, "let them wait!" And what will come of this situation in the meantime? "If you stick at it steadily," said the speaker, "I cannot say I am so sure that you will find the opportunity to serve the people will come naturally to them. The opportunity for villages is waiting for you, but why are people vegetating? It is not that they are afraid of the cold war, established side by side with political power and belief, even the situation now. The revolution after all speaks in the revolution of the prevailing basic conditions and in the establishment of village power in their place. It is bound to be better unless we take to the arms of cold war politics. When you are treated politically as much as they are and others are ignored, how are you likely to be so sincere in election or a steady revolution? We are not asked to believe which will your enemies and bring all your energy to the service of the poor through the diffusion of these evils."

(Translated from Hindi)

2. 11

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CATCHING COLDS

Two United States Government agencies in Washington — The Public Health Service and the Office of Education — have prepared a booklet for use by school teachers in helping children and parents follow sensible health rules in dealing with colds.

Colds are caught in only one way, the booklet points out, and that is from a person who has one. For the first two or three days, the germs in the mouth and nose of an infected person contain great numbers of cold viruses, the micro-organisms that cause the disease. These germs can easily be passed on to other people. The spray from a cough or sneeze, for example, may be loaded with cold germs.

The following precautions, suggested in the booklet, may help you avoid catching cold.

Keep away from people with fresh colds whenever possible. When there is an epidemic of colds in your community, stay away from crowded places.

Wash your hands thoroughly and often, and always just before eating. Don't use a drinking glass or towel that may have been used recently by a person with a cold.

The booklet also suggests things to do for a cold if you do catch one.

If possible, stay home during the first two or three days and rest. You will be more comfortable, more likely to recover quickly, and less likely to give the cold to others. If you must go to work, keep at a distance from other people and cover your coughs and sneezes. Try to keep comfortably warm.

Instead of handkerchiefs, use some kind of tissue that can be disposed of without handing again. Blow your nose gently and through both nostrils at the same time so as not to force infection into your sinuses and the inside leading to the ears.

Drink plenty of liquids. Don't experiment with pills, nose drops, or other remedies, unless prescribed by a doctor.

If a child in the family has a cold and heavy quavering are limited so that it is impossible to isolate him at night, some doctors suggest the following: "Wrap up a bed so that children can sleep at opposite ends. This will prevent the infected child from breathing and coughing in

the face of his companion. Also, it is a good plan to toss a rug back about five feet apart."

(From 1948 Newsweek)

31-12-1951

KASTURBA GRAM-SHIVKA VITALATA, INDIRA

An ill-fated Kasturba Harijan Yatra protested the opening ceremony of the Kasturba Gram-Shivka Yatra, held at Kasturba-gram, Indira. The following are extracts from the queries delivered on the occasion by Shri G. V. Marikar, the President of the Kasturba Memorial Trust and Harijan Shiksha Yatra.

Shri G. V. Marikar

Addressing Shri Anantlal Motilal, Shri Marikar said that within the last six years the Kasturba Trust had lost two of its prime architects. Shri Anantlal Motilal was on the 2nd October 1945 Shri Marikar Shiksha Yatra had had the foundation stone of the Kasturba-gram. After Gandhiji it was Anantlal who had guided them to the President. He had led Yatra happy when he laid the foundation stone of the Gram. Indeed, he said his happiness was even greater in performing that function than when he created the Madhya Bharat State. He died shortly afterwards during the Yatra — a grievous blow. Yet through the body represented the people he had created out for them was there and the Trustees were resolved to follow it to the best of their ability.

Hardly had they recovered from the shock of the Marikar's passing away when Death dealt a still heavier blow to the Trust, by taking away from their midst Shri Thakur Bapu on January 13, 1951. Thakur Bapu was the founder of the Trust, its father and guardian. He was like the angel of death, who would go running to the aid of the poor, the orphan and the down-trodden in any part of the country. How could he ignore the suffering children in the villages? His life which he devoted entirely to the service of the suffering humanity will ever remain for them a beacon light and inspiration.

The activities of the Trust had been growing day by day, Shri Marikar said. Even at that time was widespread ignorance about its work. That was so because the Trust work was limited in the villages and there it was so generally without meaning any individual. At present they were running twelve schools, working in eleven parishes. The number of students was about 350. These schools trained pupils for their and Permanent teaching, village-education and citizenship. The total number of students involved so far was 700 and of whom 674 were working in 25 villages.

These twelve centres had contributed a good deal to the progress of social awakening in the villages. They helped in prohibition removal of jarda and untouchability and in setting village hospitals. In the recent Assam earthquake, the centres and the students of the Assam Kasturba-gram did commendable service in the villages. After the Punjab services in the Thakur Bapu following the partition brought all dangers with courage and endurance steadily to the work of their distressed villages. The Harijan Government recognised the services rendered by the Punjab branch and the Trust was happy to note that they had appointed Anantlal Marikar Yatra, their Punjab Agent and one of their valued Trustees to the responsible position of looking after the Punjab Harijan Yatra.

Shri Marikar then gave a brief history of the development of the Kasturba-gram.

The Trust had started in Indira under Gandhiji guidance. Since afterwards Shri Devadas Gandhi placed before the Board of Trustees a scheme of work and the Trust started under the leading committee to undertake the work of women in the villages while the male members of the Trust. The trustees carried social education, dissemination of practical knowledge for an efficient house and other work, children's education and industrial culture work. Changes were made in the scheme of work and the period of training extended in the light of the

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHAKTAR CHANDER)
EDITOR: E. S. MANJUNATHAN



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TWO ANNAS

THE CALL OF THE NEW AGE

(By Bhanendra Manohar)

Freedomers left India. The country attained political freedom. But the Swaraj of the masses has not come. The mere exit of the foreign master and the establishment of Home Rule does not bring Swaraj. As long as real democracy is not established one cannot say that the Swaraj has come. In the present-day world either an individual or a party rules the various countries. Therefore, to bring real Swaraj, we will have to democratise the whole social fabric to the actual and direct transfer of all power and administration to the masses. And this is possible only through the democratisation of the economic life of the society.

Economic life involves production from land and industries. The concentration of land and industries in the hands of a few individuals or groups has given birth to totalitarianism. The picture of democracy envisaged by Gandhiji can be brought about only by dematerialising this concentration of land and industry and distributing them in every village and to every home.

Gandhiji has shown the way of extending industry through shuklas and village industries (gramodyog). Hence, in order to achieve this goal, we are endeavouring to boycott large-scale concentrated industries and emphasising the creation of self-reliant economy through village industries. Gandhiji in his lifetime could not give any definite plan for the democratisation of land. He died before doing so. Fortunately, Vinoba, his chief disciple, has undertaken his task. He has through his Land-Gift-Mission, shown a definite way to bring about decentralisation or decentralisation of land.

In fact, the land problem is universal. The attention of the whole world is focussed on its satisfactory solution. But in resolving it, people, by adopting violent means, are inviting more violence in its wake. In such an atmosphere, if Vinoba succeeds in his non-violent revolution, it would mean a definite way to achieve world peace.

On India today rests the responsibility of giving a definite lead to the present-day world. Therefore it is the duty of every son of the

country to take this message to every home and heart.

Savagana, 19-12-53

(Translated from Marathi)

ADVANCEMENT OF LABOURERS

On Monday, the 14th November, 1951, Shri Vinoba addressed at Delhi a large gathering composed mainly of self-workers and landless labourers.

To begin with, he expressed his pleasure in being with a proletarian working class audience. He had performed many tasks, while an ordinary worker did, and had thought over the question of improving their lot. To solve their living conditions and doing a practical solution of their problems, it was necessary to live and work as workers did. I have come to you walking as a worker certainly does. Just as workers have to be practical if they are to reach the mill gates to their I see have reached here at the appointed hour. I do not want to make a speech to you but talk to you as one of you.

The condition of workers in India are deplorable. The grievances of workers in other are quite often published and known, but there is nobody to hear about the lot of their brethren in the villages. Their voice does not reach outside. There are many who work as casual labourers and their plight is the heaviest of all. They go from place to place in search of employment. Sometimes they succeed in getting a job, but on other occasions they are scorned and. Their sufferings are well known, but in India today there is an army of suffering and it is not a healthy sign in the life of a nation.

"Why are they suffering? Because for centuries there has been a tendency among people to look down upon manual labour. There was a division of work, some people took to intellectual pursuit. Others attended to administrative duties. There were others who took to trade and commerce and that came the rich capitalists who were engaged in manual work. Those who rendered the best service of manual labour were assigned the highest social status. First to them in social hierarchy were official clerks. Businessmen occupied the third place. The agriculturalists the fourth and those who did menial work had the last. Thus those who were most useful to society had the lowest status.

"The problem today is that one who does the least work has nearly enjoyed the highest social status but those the heaviest monetary reward. There was a time when it was not so. Brickslayers then did not claim wealth but were only looked to with respect for themselves in the hearts of the people. Now they wanted wealth as well as honour.

"Those who are styled as lower classes have to work because they have no other alternative. If they do not work they have to starve. An agricultural worker in the field always carries a basket of rice or some produce from the stream and a chauri makes shoes. Not one of any feelings of respect for his calling but one of their contempt. There is an over-proud feeling in his mind that it would be a blessing if he got rid of his job.

Dignity of Labour

A community has taken firm root in the minds of people that those who do manual work are inferior beings. Labour has lost its dignity as well as its worth. It was under these conditions that foreigner conquered our country. Once once an Indian and economically established, they said they would win the independence of the so-called lower classes and establish their rule. There was to be no Indian opportunity against them.

Violence has explained how the pervasion of an inequality had damaged the present social structure in India. People who performed tasks of vital importance to society were regarded as unrespectable. In spite of the efforts made by Gandhi to studies it and the present movement that he adopted for its eradication, the evil has not been fully rooted out.

Early a state of affairs has to be noted and all those who produce should be regarded as the true citizens of India. They should be honoured by society and should receive decent living wages. Their life should be made as happy, then others can feel envious of their lot.

The Gandhiji Shiksha which I have undertaken is directed towards this end. I am trying to secure food for the landless and am telling that it is a right. I am not begging for it. All I am telling those who possess land is this: How can we country poorer if people who can till the land do not have it and those who do not of course, cultivate it, themselves possess it?

"God has created land and man cannot become its owner. They can only be servants. Instead of realising this, we strive to be its master. It is an untenable claim. Therefore recognise the right of the landless to your land, just as you give a share of your property to your son. Treat disinheritedness as the wrong, not and give him his due share. Do not give with an idea that you are helping others. Only think that you are righting an obvious wrong. Expect me to your satisfaction and lighten the heavy load that you are carrying."

True Diagnosis

"When a person becomes ill the doctor tells him his hands is unbalanced and if he wants to get well, he should shed some of his surplus weight. He asks him to reduce his diet, give up eating fatty substances, etc. etc., etc. or worse. When the doctor tells him this he is not his master but a cruel well-wisher."

A large number of people had favourably reacted to his diagnosis and had started donating land because they had realised that it is that by their willing. It is spite of accepting his diagnosis these were persons who did not want his treatment. It did not matter. Those who did not donate land today would do so tomorrow. If the need was once well over it would spread one day. Delay or no delay.

"If my ideas reach the people and they accept them, I do not much worry whether they change land now or hereafter. What I am doing today creates the right climate, place and if I am successful in this venture it will not only be beneficial to the landless but to all the poor and down-trodden people of India. Their prestige and respect will be enhanced and their rights will secure their due recognition."

People may say: You are doing something which may benefit those of us who live in the villages but what are you doing for the workers in the cities?

"My answer to this is: My life is dedicated to workers whether in the villages or in the cities. I am greatly anxious about their well-being. The work I have undertaken is of a fundamental nature. If we succeed in it, it is bound to solve many complicated issues (in cities and villages)."

"The success of my mission will help in raising the dignity of labour. It will also result in the payment of an equitable wage for all work."

Labour-Capital Relations

"Those who are engaged in labour whether men, women or children, all of wage increase and payment of bonus. It

is of little use for us to give him a 10% increase if a poor relationship develops. In such a case, he can not improve and workers will come to regard it as a joke. If the employer is not engaged in the other production, the employer will be ready to shoot him together to a 10% increase without a penny. It should come to regard his work as a useful tool for the well-being of society. Workers' rights are stated in a year or perhaps if it should be extended for the experience and development of the understanding another person should be entrusted among workers and a third and smaller one should go in the middle or act by way of means for the investments but by way of remuneration for services rendered by him—for the ability and will be his deprived in managing the affairs of the undertaking."

"Whatever wealth he has belongs to the nation and he is a servant of the people. His share should be decided in mutual agreement. If industrial relations are re-organised on these lines, all international conflicts will disappear and the world will be the domain of a whole will prosper."

The present is an age of rationalism and if we can make people understand our ideas there will be many among them who will be convinced and would take action on their lines. Even if one single individual is convinced the country as a whole is bound to feel the effect. There will be others to follow him in due course."

Real Test

"The best test of the true feelings of an individual is this: Try to find out how an employer who is regarded as hard-hearted behaves towards his children, parents and other family members. Does he love them and treat them humanely? If he does, it is clear he has those kinder feelings. The only possible explanation for his behaviour towards his employees when he has a sharp-crack mind and has come to think that the only way to keep down the price of articles he manufactures and thereby succeed in his business is to pay low wages and that if wages are raised the price of the goods will go up and nobody will buy them. Therefore, he has come to feel that however high wages they may be paid the workers will not work hard."

"In the ultimate analysis he regards money as the only physical means whereby. We have to convince him that there is a much more than force which creates progress: true honesty, love and that if he can win the love of his people he will provide for himself the best protection against all misadventure."

"Labour on its part should also become more organised. Men-o-days talks of boycott and presentation of a charter of demands are considered as hallmarks of organisation among the working classes. But the kind of enlightenment I want is education on the right lines. By that I do not mean education of mere academic learning but technical and vocational skills as well. Technological institutions should be started. Only when people become experts will they be respected and their value taken by their employers."

Relinking

"There is also need of raising the moral standards of workers. It is sometimes said production cannot be increased in a particular area because it is under hard labour work. After relinking from their habits people in villages along Ghazipur and Barwala to relax themselves in the cities found it convenient as a solution. It has taken the place of Barwala and Ghazipur and has become Pali-Bangalore for the people. A friend once wrote to me: 'How can you, who have not killed it, have and understand what relief and satisfaction ought given to tired nerves?' To that my answer was: 'Who does not know that more sleep makes him a workingman? I have told it often for several years. If wherever production has been introduced the condition of workers has improved, all the woodcutters or workers of Ahmednagar and Madras,

How general they are is questionable. Their fires are bigger. It may be said, "What are workers to drink? If they don't want to drink we can take it. When is the need for prohibition?" Liquor is like food and once you realize it really available people tell a story to it. In India the consumption of liquor is growing and it is a danger signal.

Once our workers become hard working experts in their own line and more with high moral standards the whole atmosphere will be changed and then wherever they tell their employers to hand in production effort.

A change of heart is all that is needed. Once that is done all distractions based upon wealth, education, caste or work will disappear and the rich and the poor will become one."

(From the *Frontiers Times* 10-11-61)

INDIAN AND PAKISTAN YOUTH

(By G. Ramachandran)

In October last I spent some days with a group of young people from many countries at the International Seminar in Jhangraon. Three of the participants were young Muslim students from Dacca. They were bright, ideas minded and full of ideas. We became good friends. We discussed freely many things about India and Pakistan. One of them was critical of Prime Minister Lajpat Ali Khan, as so many of us in India are critical about Prime Minister Nehru. We agreed however without reservation that it was a very good thing that India had Nehru as Prime Minister and Pakistan had Lajpat Ali as Prime Minister. We agreed that both were modern-minded and progressive statesmen who, with great ability, kept the tensions and animosities in their respective countries in their proper place. We parted very good friends. Then came the news of the sad and tragic assassination of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I lost got the news in the train from Jhangraon to Wardha on my return journey. From Wardha I wrote to my three young friends in Dacca expressing my deep sympathy at the death of their great Prime Minister. Here are some extracts from the replies I have received from them. They will show that if only the youth in India and Pakistan have their way, the two countries will become good and close friends. Perhaps the kingdom of youth can outcross the boundaries of national States.

1. "I deeply appreciate your sorrow at the tragic murder of Lajpat. You are the symbol of that Bharat which wants to make the relationship between our two countries warmer and closer. You and I should be the people who would make the two States a happy abode for the two nations living so close to each other. I am very much interested in Gandhian economics. Will you be kind enough to send me some literature? Please, at least, send me the famous *Sarvodaya* Plan."

2. "Your sincere condolences on the sad demise of our Prime Minister has reached me personally as well as my friends. Your, mine and many others' desire to have India and Pakistan composed of tolerant citizens is sure to materialise some day or other. The days of tensions and animosities are numbered. It is

hard to tolerate the wrongs and injustices of India which cause grievous losses, like the loss of Lajpat to Pakistan and Mahatma to India. Such loss is not only for India and Pakistan but for the whole world. The world has lost in three brief years a great humanitarian and a keen-minded statesman due to tension. You can well imagine the nature of the grief that the people here had to bear. They were simply overwhelmed. I believe the greater part of India too was shocked and sad, notwithstanding political differences."

3. "I felt a thrill of joy in receiving your letter of sympathy which really bridged our hearts and countries. I felt much the same way, not because of your sympathy only, but as something deeper. I read in the Statesman that Vinodhan arrived in New Delhi to discuss future planning with the Planning Commission on behalf of the unfortunate nation. I hope his mission will be crowned with success. I also read the news of Kamarajappa's visit to New China. Please convey my deep love to your co-workers."

NIGHT-SOIL MANURE

(By Radhakrishnan)

In the Five Year Plan, a very big item has been left out. It is the utilization of human night-soil. This is the raw material which cannot be wasted as easily. At an average of 4 cts. per capita per day it comes to about 15 thousand tons per day, or 35-40,000 tons per annum.

The same might be said of human urine, now many factories like Soda Factory will be required to produce such a big quantity of fertilizer. What State resources and a capital etc. would be needed to produce this necessary item for food production? If produced by centralized system, how much transport and distribution services will be needed to distribute it?

Just as Mahatma Bapasaheb went to Nagpur in his last days for the reform of the prisons, Gandhi went to Bhagal colonies to reform the Bhungs, whom he wanted to entrust with the important item of social and economic welfare of the State.

A brief outline will not be out of place here.

Every Bhagal colony should have a Secondary Inspector duly trained to instruct them how to handle the material usefully. These training schools should be given more importance than the police and military training schools. The training should make them better Bhungs and not middle-class gentlemen, who are actually a burden on the economy of our country.

Every village must have a few movable latrines made by the local carpenters. Village Panchayats should undertake the job of teaching the villagers the habit of using them and utilizing the material usefully.

Miss Gopal

HARIJAN

Jan. 18

1952

COMMON PRAYERS

Shri N. Vyasa Tirtha of Hyderabad Deccan, writes :

In the implementation of the Sarvika Shree, Vinayak wanted to have no walls in a school and very particular questions which teachers teachers like me, "Is it right of Hindu women to be educated that discrimination, prejudice, etc. in a better class?" I am about this question is not in sight in Vinayak Shree. Here we are not in India, that the Hindu women are to be rejected on a day when, say a Hindu school is introduced in the school, it is a case of the women being rejected daily, during the process at the beginning of the school, I should think that it is certainly right-minded to do so.

"It is one thing to view this from very different socialistic attitude. But it is quite different, viewed from the complications that this involves in a common school like the one that I am writing to. Let alone something of the acceptance of Muslims or Christians students by this act, this is then given a wide scope for creating issues to religious leaders. A few of the Christian students are examples of this. In the general assembly of the school and many people are using of Christian scriptures, afterwards a short sermon is also given to it. I need not add here other possibilities of introducing the prayer into the religious studies in different languages. In fact in the last Educational Conference held at Bombay a few Christian teachers did bring in a resolution of that nature. Of course I did oppose it. I even requested that Magistrate, District of Chhatrapati, who was present there to support my opposition that the Vinayak be done as differ from my views.

I am putting to you the same question because through I respect Vinayak and Vinayak very much, in this particular thing I am uncomfortable of their views. I feel they are just underestimating the possibilities of having being caused by such freedom, especially in these days of history in similar thought in our country. Hence I request you to give a wider consideration to all the aspects of this important question, viz. "Can Hindu women or an educated Hindu woman or Hindu be used during the school prayer?" To put it in a simple question, I am a person who is a supporter of the Sarvika, I request you to view this strictly from an educational point of view."

I have always been of opinion that all prayers should be in the spoken language of the people. The reader or readers should be able to follow the meaning of the words recited. Vedic or Sanskrit or Arabic sounds have no spiritual quality in them as such. But it has become a superstition with almost every denominational religion, that prayers should be recited in the original language of the scriptures accepted by it as authoritative, and a text from the scriptures of another religion though conveying no idea to which he can have any objection, cannot be a prayer to which he can subscribe. The essential thing to be seen is whether the text of the recitation contains any idea, not acceptable to the followers of other religions. The tapping of

religious to a particular language and an unusual sounding manner of reciting it, is a dis-honouring superstition, and has to be removed. Naturally the school and other public prayers should be the first place to start this reform.

How is it to be done? For a long time Gandhiji held fast to the idea that for Hindus Sanskrit for Muslims Arabic, for Parsis the language of the Avesta, and so on were sacred, and insisted on prayers being recited in those original languages. As his views about sarvika-sarvika ideas began to intensify, he introduced one after another words from scriptures of several religions in their original languages in the Ashram prayer. Necessarily, very few understood even the Sanskrit verses, and the Quranic and other texts were no more than sounds in a particular rhythm.

The great thing, therefore, to be done is to remove the superstition that a religion must accept also a particular language for praying to God. One way is to select universally acceptable noble thoughts and prayers from every scripture put them into the regional language and adopt that as the text of the prayer.

Vinayak brought about this by degrees. He had already rendered Gita into Marathi, he also rendered Al Fatiha of Quran into Marathi later on. Ashapurna and the Geyatri and the Para prayer also. He also introduced Gita, Jain, and Buddhist texts and the Hindi version of Christ's prayer, and thus made his list of prayers representative of all the great denominational religions. The Purna Ashram and the Khandashra, Taluk Barga at Secunderabad have been using this text for some time and it was broadcast by the Nagpur Radio on the last Gandhi Birth-day. The Buddhist, Jain, and Sikh texts are still in their language of origin. There may also be recited in the regional language or Hindi. If the language of the prayer is not regional but a spoken language of another province or State, and simple enough for readers to follow, such text need not be translated.

If my views are accepted there need be no quarrel about the prayer—except, perhaps, for those who are fanatical adherents of either of the theory of no-religious education or of that of a single denominational religion. The paper would be neither in Sanskrit, nor Arabic, Avesta, Pali, Purna etc. The prayer would be equally of Hindu Muslim Christian, Sikh, Parsi and every other religion, and also of none of them. The text of any religion, if acceptable, would have place in it as a spoken and easily understood language of the country.

In suggesting this I simply extend the principle accepted by the Christians, I believe, all over Europe. The Bible is nowhere read except by scholars, in the original languages in which its various parts have been written. Prayers are conducted and psalms and ballads are sung in the spoken language of the people. Nor do the people

of India from the masses of Amoyan, Mahabharat, and the Purana through Sanskrit. They are all rendered in the various languages of the people. I know several Hindu sects, which do not pass through Sanskrit and for their ignorance of Sanskrit are not less acquainted with the essential principles and philosophy of Hindu religion than any Sanskrit pundit.

The writer refers to the science which might be made by proselytism and communists. This must be guarded against by other methods. The Christians of India has laid down a few principles regarding religion. This is one safeguard. The very fact that the prayer contains translations from terms of every religion will be another safeguard. Public opinion will be a third one. Suitable text books giving convincing stories and literature from various religions would be a fourth and so on. While all safeguards may be adapted against conversion and proselytism, moral and religious education must not be neglected in schools.

Bombay 1-1-52 K. G. MANSURWALA

THAKKAR DADA'S ANNIVERSARY

This issue will be published on the first anniversary day of Thakkar Dada. No Hindu Indian or even illiterate Harijan or Adhimani can be ignorant of his invaluable services. He was a pure humanitarian service free of all party politics. His life was based on the motto: Service of the Harijan and the down-trodden.

People had lovingly and gratefully appreciated his service to the country while he was still alive. Affectionate and appreciative tributes were paid to his memory upon his death. Many witnessed the great respect in which he was held by the public: some of his colleagues were ennobled to raise a memorial fund in him for the maintenance of his two dear institutions—the Harijan Sewak Sangh and the Adhamaji Sewak Sangh. Instead of being a monetary target for the fund, they resolved that donations should be collected from at least 10 lakh contributors. A minimum of four annas was fixed as the smallest contribution. It does not appear that 10 lakh people have yet responded to the appeal.

The work started by Thakkar Dada have still to be completed. They will remain so as long as Harijana and Adhimani do not become so merged in the social fabric as to be indistinguishable from the rest of the people. They must get equality not only in the eye of law, but in the actual life of the society. Then it might be said that the Harijan and Adhamaji Sewak Sanghs have, as such, no reason of service left. But in a different sense, that type of service will always remain in the world. One can hardly conceive of a period when there is none, who is not in distress, and does not need the help and services of his fellow beings. Humanity will always remain in need of kindness, compassion and service. The memorial to Thakkar Dada is really man's homage to these noble virtues.

Bombay 6-1-52 K. G. MANSURWALA

SAHAYDATA YATRAS

(By Bhuvanendra Khosla)

In connection with my article which appeared in the Harijan dated the 17th December 1951 under the caption Sahayadga Yatra, a correspondent from Anandap, Dist. Dharwar has put certain questions for clarification. I am releasing the first of my reply for the readers of the Harijan to keep them informed of the state.

Q. 1 Whether it is advisable to go in groups of 20 or 40 or in batches of 4 and 5? I feel we should go in 20 or 40's.

A. I feel it is not advisable to go in groups of 20 or 40. This will be too much for the village reception committee. This will also destroy the simplicity of the programme.

Q. 2 Whether ladies are to accompany these groups?

A. Such men and women can form a batch. But only those should be selected who have some capacity to discuss with the village people about the ideology and programme of Sahayadga.

Q. 3 Whether all the persons are to be lodged in one place or to be distributed in various houses?

A. The persons should be distributed to several houses where they will stay as guests. It is better if only one person stays at one house. This is necessary as all time chatting with the neighbours of the host is not less important than speeches at the gathering. When 4 or 5 persons will stay at different houses these places will become different centres where people will gather and talk with the people.

Q. 4 Whether we should carry our meals with us or should depend upon the villages for meals etc.?

A. No meals should be carried. The pilgrim (pilgrims) should depend on villages for this. That is why I have suggested that the feeding places should be prearranged. If by chance it so happens that the villagers do not give food to them, they should go without food for a day or so.

Q. 5 Whether we should carry chariot for us? If so, are we to have a conveyance with us to carry our luggage?

A. Bamboo chariot or bullock should be carried. In the first week of February there is not much cold and the luggage will not be much to need a conveyance. It can be carried by the party. If needed a conveyance can be taken. But this should be avoided if possible.

Q. 6 Whether it is advisable to walk in the hot sun or in the early hours of the morning?

A. The time for walking depends on the climate of the place. Generally February is not a hot season. The time-table given in the scheme should be followed if it is not very hot, because if the batches walked in the morning the important items of the morning's programme and again will almost be left out.

Q. 7 Whether it is essential to have the hot day's meal on the banks of a river or on the banks of some big tanks or in temples etc.?

A. If in the locality there is no place where Rapa's carts were maintained then working can employ a *Sarvodaya* Sarvodaya at some suitable place and not a clerk. The water should be organized at the place of Jalis Prasad's (maintenance of water) only.

Srirangam, 28-12-52

'THE BROKEN HARMONY'

[The following is taken from Kathleen Raper's review of Mrs. Jagdishankar Rawkar's *A Good (Grown) Friend in The New Statesman and Nation* of July 21, 1951, p. 78. V. G. D.]

It is no wonder Mrs. Rawkar's linguistic evocation of the haying down of the rock formations that make up the varied islands of Orissa. We shall be reminded that music relates to the land that for three ages, in perhaps the deepest reality of his existence, We can no more be separated from the earth of whose whole we are too parts than corn can be sold apart from the field in which it grows.

Mrs. Rawkar praises some highly those periods in which man used the land with the most sensitive understanding of the qualities of soil, soil and vegetation, having described the haying down of the rocks the proceeds in the year later made of these rocks with stone and clay for human architecture and culture which created their most sensitive harmony in the 18th century, before the full onset of the Industrial Revolution. This was the time when We're selected and equipped with care and knowledge every stone that went to the building of its temple, and when the best varieties of land and sea were refashioned in the fit of fields and villages, designs of implements and human hand styles and families, and chose all its buildings both great and small adapted to the local landscape and its materials. This ecology, a gradual unbroken development whose fluctuations were laid before man who man was designed by technology. The bricks and mortar of the great industrial cities, and the more recent form-conscious realism and characteristics to the culture they bring with them, can only produce sterile, sterile, sterile and sterile unrelated to nature, locally, and ultimately dead, which is part of nature. The machine disconnects between man and his environment, and in a few generations has wiped out a profound growth and civilization that has never been broken. This, says Mrs. Rawkar, is the greatest transition in human culture that has taken place since man made stone and she regards this transition with dismay if not despair. Writing this review on the life of India, that, where the old character Rapa in rocks whose power is still rich in the skills of spinning, weaving, dyeing, spinning, spinning and storytelling. I cannot but share Mrs. Rawkar's belief that such poetry as this, in which words have personalities are what for words (not for words with still any energy) is worth in comparison with the other "standard of living" which is the more than the power to produce the characteristic of the machine.

It is curious that the scientific philosophy of the 18th century was one of optimism, founded on the assumption that all evolutionary changes are bound to be for the good of the species, that the fittest inevitably survive, and that a general improvement of human existence is in the very nature of things. Now it is the scientists who have been the first to see that not all existence leads to survival, that man committed himself to an evolutionary error from which he cannot recover. Now that international changes are placed with confidence and technology were so that nature's power was of its own-hand, man-made, even of land or sea, individuals are working in a spirit of self-interest, the greatest properties of the old Testament. Only those who see the history of man as the unfolding of a single process can possibly continue to hope.

MANUFACTURE OF MOTOR VEHICLES IN INDIA

The Editor,

Srirangam,

I congratulate you further thoughts that were in my mind after reading that V. G. D's article in *Harper's* of September 8, in connection with our expenditure of foreign money in import of costly cars and heavy aids, etc. I completely agree with him and wish to place before you the disastrous policy of the Central Government in the matter of motor manufacture.

In our country the people are using 1,60,000 of motor vehicles, (Cars 80,000, Lorries 80,000 and buses 40,000) apart from military vehicles for which I do not have figures. The Government of India have given manufacturing licences to 8 companies to manufacture different makes (Ford, Hindustan, Daimler, Hudson, Morris, Standard, Austin etc.) of trucks and cars. Each of these companies has been sanctioned the capital and they have been given export licences to export parts and accessories and assemble cars before they are able to manufacture fully all the parts in India.

Taking that the military are using 1,60,000 vehicles our vehicle strength is 4,80,000. Normally a vehicle has a life of 5 years, and so an yearly replacement of 96,000 vehicles is necessary. A normal production and assembling in American standards working two shifts will produce 72,000 vehicles per year, i.e. 240 vehicles per day of two shifts. If the factory is of English type, where more human labour than machinery is employed, the production will be of the order of 40,000 vehicles per year. So if we adopt American plant we need only one factory for our own needs, i.e. of English about two or three factories. In case we have to export we should have three.

Again the spare parts which are used for normal maintenance of cars, trucks etc. will be of the order of Rs. 1,000/- per year per vehicle on the average. The spare parts that we export will be about Rs. 40 crores on this basis. We should have only one or two makes of cars for the whole of India, in which case the spare parts required will be uniform and we can have a class of subsidiary industries which will manufacture accessories locally. This was severely stressed by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman, Board of Directors, Motors Sales & Co.

Again in the matter of cars, in production units, the major cost is of hydraulic pressure which shapes the outer body. The machines have to be changed yearly as models and shapes are changing each year, to attract people to buy cars. A person such as cars where the foreign exchange is involved should look for stability then before if the cost of production units will be greatly reduced if the hydraulic pressure are increased and kept for a number of years.

Another point to be considered is that if we have out the of last cars, with chromium all over and peculiar shapes to attract people we can have stations, machines, for making which we can again have thousands of workshops all over the

AGRICULTURAL MACHINES AND FERTILIZERS

(By H. Sordaniak)

In our small country the exaggerated mechanization of agriculture has caused two drawbacks. The first applies to our small country. The machine requires fuel and spare parts for which foreign currency is needed. And the General Besides soil, for agricultural production water and pasture are required. The machine supplies the water, but not the pasture. The tractor, the combine and the truck don't produce organic manure which is the by-product of the horse and the ox. While the machine replaced them in order to save hard work, the manure has disappeared, and without it, pasture the soil cannot give us her strength.

As the man and also the soil adhere to the principle of give and take. The machine invents a remedy merely the chemical manure, but the chemical manure can be used only in addition to organic manure and not as a substitute thereof. Organic manure only creates humus and only from it comes the life of the earth. Soil, for instance, gives a very nice taste to food, but should man try to live on soil alone he would fall sick. The same happens to the soil if it is nourished by chemical manure only. According to statistics, all plants receiving their nourishment from chemical manure suffer from different sicknesses which affect also the living organisms eating them, both animals and man.

Not long ago it was said that India wanted Israeli agricultural experts and some of our experts were all ready to go and advise that nation which is so far from us in space but spiritually so near. Those however who have read the national agricultural literature know that in India there exists since several decades, a very famous Agricultural Research Institute whose findings were appreciated not only in Britain and her Colonies but even in Germany, which, as is well known, is very high up in agriculture. And the main service of that Institute is soil manuring for returning the strength to Mother Earth. By their experiments, researches and tests in several lines of agriculture and in different countries this Institute came to the conclusion that manuring with chemical manure only is not a blessing but a curse. This Institute found that tea, coffee, wheat, fruits, vegetables, rice and rye grown on chemical manure only reduce the yield, also the quality and the intensely spread sicknesses. One of the popular research workers of this Institute put it so nicely when he said: "Artificial manure creates artificial nourishment, artificial animals and finally artificial men and women."

From the time when the world got so rich in machines it became so poor in organic manure and that Agricultural Institute found after much experimenting that we can create organic manure from waste of plants, from the refuse in houses, courtyards and streets mixed with a little cow or

manure and we can produce with methods analogous to a city budget, fully equipped the use of the new very popular manure according to the Indian problem, and this compost enriched again with human manure soils impoverished by too much exploitation or by too much use of chemical manure.

What do we learn from this? We must at least feed more sheep and poultry — since the horses have been excluded by the machines — and also that we may have to prepare organic manure, composed by the "Indian process".

(Excerpted from an article in an Israeli Hebrew Agricultural Magazine sent by Mr. Michael Pines)

Shri H. Narasimha Rao

The election of Shri H. N. Rao as a judge of the International Court of the United Nations is a great compliment not merely to him personally but also to all India.

I have always believed that there must be in every country some persons at least, who could be implicitly relied upon for impartial justice even if it involved their own prejudice or national interests.

I believe that there must be such noble men and women even now in every country. It would be a great day when mutually adversary nations, instead of seeking trade and doctrinal justice through war, or even through an arbitration by stronger nations would set the tradition of referring their disputes to a judge and jury composed of their own nationals and taking without delay their unanimous decisions as conclusive and final.

To take for instance, the Kashmir problem. The United Nations Council has been unsuccessfully trying to bring about a peaceful settlement for four years now. How grand and noble it would be if India, Pakistan and Kashmir could decide upon a tribunal of one, two three or five upright men of their own Deras, and agree to abide by their unanimous word. If Shri H. N. Rao can be trusted to be a judge of the International Court of the United Nations, can he not be one in a tribunal for settling disputes between India and Pakistan, along with a noble son each of Pakistan and Kashmir? I am sure that Pakistan and Kashmir cannot be devoid of such noble creations of God.

Bombay, 11-1-52

K. G. M.

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SHARVE'S SIGNIFICANT METHOD

In the course of his lecture "Is the Peasantry Revolution Possible in India?" presented (12-2-51) at Ashok Hall, U. of Great Britain, Sharve

It is easy to think of industrial capitalism as providing the extreme examples of social degradation and disintegration. But in no other country was the extremes of wealth and mass destitution so plain as in India. Within its borders of the most lavish and sumptuous kind, while the squalor and uncounting hopeless conditions of the peasants as they wage an unending struggle against lack of equipment, lack of capital, harsh usury, obstacles and debt, is something that Europeans find hard to describe even daily. Both the wealth and the squalor derive from the unequal ownership of land, and it is this basic inequality which equidivides stress in the landowning economy and social issue of the revolution in India. The removal of this inequality is the pre-condition of a just social organization.

The appearance of Acharya Vinoba Bhave¹ and his requests to landowners that they should give him some of their lands for redistribution to landless peasants is therefore a remarkable phenomenon.

Living in the most simple way, and sleeping in the mud huts of the poor he set out on a tour on foot of South India, beginning at Telengana. On this tour the landowner gave him 15,000 acres. Since the beginning of September, when he set out on a 300-mile walk to Delhi, he has been given a further 50,000 acres. At New Delhi he was visited by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, who offered as much of his lands in Bihar as Bhave liked to take. Such a gesture can hardly be lost on landowners generally throughout India.

To Western ideas, influenced by Marx, and by the activity of capitalist property and the class struggle, it is fantastic to see a degree of redistribution of property carried out simply by asking for it. It may be said that Bhave has achieved as far—viz., 65,000 acres of the 50-600,000, he aims at, an area representing one-fourth of the total cultivable area of India. That such an amount is only a step to start off the day when the peasants will seize the land for themselves. Even so, 50-600 acres at the very outset of his attempt, is an extraordinary achievement.

Still more significant is the method. For he is really appealing to the sense of social justice of landowners and by conceding some land for redistribution they are admitting

the existence of inequalities. Such admissions, such admissions are the forerunners of a loss of belief on the part of the ruling class in the basic justice and rightness of their positions of social privilege. Such a loss of confidence is something which has always provided the major revolutions of history.

Then the change of reformers may well be substantiated, and Bhave himself may have no very radical or revolutionary aim, but as he method there is something revolutionary, for it touches the ethical matters that lie at the heart of social justice.

No doubt there is no country except India where such an appeal could have been made without ridicule. Yet when all the shams and tricks have been used, we shall be well to watch this strange experiment which touches the centre of India's revolutionary problems—the land.

SHRI VINOD'S SOUTHERN TOUR

XII

Jaipur

From Jaipur we returned to P. P. Jais in April. Sharve being on his last journey home. Jais is perhaps a corruption of Jaipur. But I have said Vinoba. It is free from the looks of the Rajasthani.

Many persons Vinoba told in his speech had a specialty in the same way every person had an individual characteristic. The specialty of India lay in its sense of mission. It was of Vinoba's specialty. Vinoba believed in the struggle for freedom as defined to him during recent years. Even Vinoba's mission was taken part in that struggle. It became possible for him to do so because they could rely upon the sense of freedom for which the people of India were always reputed to have even in war. This sense of freedom was inside in our people and not one that was imposed by outside. If that sense was not developed further there was the danger of the freedom of India becoming a freedom to do injury. Vinoba discussed it further by referring to the sense of security enjoyed by the Muslims in India. Then—the Muslim attacked it as their—the imperial policy of British India. It was their Vinoba said that there was a chance of all things happening if the leader was not good. But the sense of security was not the result of British India's imperial policy, but in the special culture of India. It was the moral value of India that was responsible for receiving quickly the feelings of indignation and hatred which were generated for a long period. That Vinoba had confidence in the sense of India was also due to the culture of our people. The problem which India would have to face hereafter would also have to be solved by developing further the sense of mission.

The reason which most men in necessity of any culture was that of long-termism. One had enjoyed even more the hope of making another giving charity, and performing justice. But we have been to be taught to be performed occasionally. Nevertheless the importance of mission and being are not looked upon as duties of everyday life, but as good acts to be done occasionally. Only the taking of food is regarded as a thing, which must be done every day, as in giving food to another, it has to be a suitable occasion. We do not realize that compulsion and pity have their limits in everyday life. They must be felt every day in the same way as one feels the appetite for food and water.

Continuing Vinoba said that the meaning of the last sentence was in effect that the foundation of morality

¹ Bhave does not rhyme with dare as suggested by an American journal but it is pronounced to be better and so (12-2-51).

HARIJAN



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EDITOR: K. S. MANSURWALA

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TWO ANNAS

"HARIJAN" PAPERS

Though from 1946 onwards the circulation of "Harijan" papers has progressively diminished, they paid their own way. But during the last two years the number of subscribers has been so reduced that the Mavipvan Trust has been put to a heavy loss on their account, and there is no sign of improvement. The number of subscribers is falling continuously. Gandhiji was opposed to the publication of papers at a loss. And it is against the policy of the Mavipvan Trust to accept advertisements. Hence after considering the whole question from all sides, the Mavipvan Trust has with very great regret, decided to close down the papers from the beginning of their new year, i.e. March 1952. The subscribers and readers of "Harijan" are hereby informed that all the three "Harijan" papers will close down from March 1952. It is unnecessary to relate the contribution made by these papers in shaping the public life of this country. But in view of the number of their subscribers, the Trust has been compelled to come to the above decision.

19-2-52

JYOTI B. DESAI

Managing Trustee

PS. Knowing about the above decision of the M. J. Trust, a request has been received from the Sarva Sansa Sangh, Wardha, that it should be allowed to carry on "Harijan" (English) on its responsibility. Hence it is decided to entrust to the S. S. Sangh "Harijan" (English). The Sangh will carry it on in accordance with Gandhian principles and policy and without taking advertisements. Thus from the point of view of subscribers, the net result of the decision is that not three but two—the Hindi and the Gujarati versions—will cease publication. The English Paper will continue to be published by the Sarva Sansa Sangh, Wardha, of which agents and subscribers will please take note. I shall give detailed instructions for them in the next issue.

20-2-52

J. D.

QUESTION BOX

Hindu Code Bill

Q. Given granting that it is necessary to reform the Hindu Law as prevailing at present, is it open for Government to make laws applicable to Hindus only?

A. This is a legal question. If there is a doubt about it, the Supreme Court should be approached to.

Q. Since this law will be applicable to Hindus only, may not Muslims and other non-Hindu communities abstain from taking any part in the proceedings relating to its passage?

A. It is possible to make such appeal to them with a show of reason, but personally I would welcome their participation at all stages. But if I were a member of a non-Hindu community, I would abstain from voting on the Bill or any clause thereof, and would request other non-Hindus to do likewise, if I found that its passage or failure would depend upon the votes of non-Hindus. As a Hindu I would not make that appeal to non-Hindus. For when I succeed to claim the right of making changes in the Hindu law, I accept the right to participate in similar legislations affecting their communities also. The same reasoning which applies against separate electorates is applicable here.

Bombay, 17-1-52

K. S. MANSURWALA

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VINODHAR'S ADVICE TO VILLAGERS

On 5-1-1952 Vinodha reached Chamunda, a small village of Bareilly District (U.P.). The people are devout and God-fearing. The whole village had assembled to welcome Vinodha with great zeal. But the children outnumbered the rest of the crowd. Vinodha started talking with the boys.

"Do you know the purpose of my coming here?"

One boy stood up and answered: "You have come to restore land gifts."

- "Well, whom shall I ask gifts from?"
- "From the people."
- "From which people?"
- "From those who possess land."
- "To whom shall it be distributed?"
- "To those who do not possess it."

The boys looked bright. Vinodha then said: "God has created water, air and man for us all. Therefore we are all entitled to its free use. Similarly, every one should be entitled to use land which is His creation."

There was congregational singing at 3 p.m. It was followed with his speech. Referring to land, Vinodha said, "If I say that this land belongs to me I am a sinner. You give water to anyone who asks for it. If you do not, surely he thirsts you commit a sin. The same is applicable to land also. Those who get land receive an abject lesson in love. Love begins love and hatred begins hatred. If your face is dirty, it will reflect dirt in the mirror, and if the face is clean it will look clean in it. This world is a big mirror. We must see how we look in this world. What we see, so shall we reap. If we sow selfish seeds, we can never reap happiness."

Continuing he said, "We add to our own happiness by making others happy. People say this

idea is taking enormous pains. Just at present, I am suffering from a wound on my leg and have to use a bullock-cart, otherwise I travel on foot. Hence I am able to say that I am a king of kings. My walking stick 120 inches I have gained 40,000 acres, which means provision of food for 40,000 people. Their happiness gives me immense joy. If you make others happy you will be happy. If you will share in others' sorrows, their sorrows will alleviate, and that too will increase your happiness."

Proceeding further Vinodha advised the people about various things they should do. "In every village there should be a regular reading of instructive literature. Just as we need food every day in order to live, so too, the mind must receive its food. While bread is the food for the body, knowledge is the food for the mind. Villagers should organise the reading of *Tain Samaj*, the *Aesthetics* of Gandhi and *Our Forefathers* (Vinodha's lectures on Gita). The peasant works the whole day and has no time to read for himself. If he reads his eyes get affected. Hence every village should organise public reading. Secondly, there should give us all evil habits. If they cultivate the habit of listening to good things, their village will change in no time. Thirdly, they should form a *Parichaya* consisting of wise persons to guide them. Fourthly, they should learn to work co-operatively and should eliminate all caste, creed and class distinctions. And finally they should work for the *Land-Gift Movement*. They should donate land and persuade others to donate for this reason."

(Translated from Hindi)

L. B.

TO THE MEMORY OF MARIJAN GANDHI

(By Prof. Raymond Baker, M.A., Ph.D.)*

Darkness dropped to casketry on light
For him, his goodness was strong enough
For both. He knew the water's need was love,
And giving it, performed the golden rule
By which heart after heart might glow to faith.
Though looked long in protest to state the tears
Of splintered silver, wedged in iron bars,
And love be taught by the common tears
Of rage—danger of all drama years
And politicians—that love still warms beneath
The frozen snow. Fed by his prayers,
The suns fire brighter beams, ceiling the iron
roofs
Of freedom in the unborn self. Finally one
beats
Musing vainly in the stream of his life and
ritual death.

*The above poem has been reprinted through Devdas Mehta of Bombay International Service as, U. S. Dr. Baker was and lately a Professor of English Literature at the State University of Iowa, U. S. He is a philosopher poet and a leader, and has been greatly influenced by Indian philosophy and has made a great study of Gandhi. The poem has been written for the occasion of the fourth anniversary of Gandhi.—U. S. B.

HARIJAN

Feb. 2

1951

GOVERNMENT SALARIES AND CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

(By Mohanlal Sunder Jaisi)

A devoted constructive worker who is at present working in the Government Department writes to the Editor of *Harijan*.

"Some of the constructive workers of this Institute have gone into government service to carry out some of the constructive programmes through Government machinery. They find it simple and logical in its own justification. I request you to give your opinion on the question of salaries which they should accept from Government for the proper discharge of their responsibilities to themselves and their family. Should they accept the payment in which they are entitled according to the government scale? If not, what should be the maximum? I would request you to prescribe the definite limit. In case these constructive workers accept high salaries without accepting to government scale should they receive the same equal to our teachers and field workers? Many of our workers who have been joining government service for carrying out such activities as Harijans' schools, Harijans' night schools, etc., need definite guidance on this subject. One of the evils resulting from accepting high salaries in Government service is a greater discrimination among other workers. The sense of division of the ordinary class of our workers weakens and they begin to look for a chance to get into government service. But only a few can do so and of them will have to continue in the institution. I request you to kindly write on the subject in sufficient length in *Harijan*."

The subject raised in the letter is an important one in the case of the service of the people. I have been requested by the Editor to respond to the correspondent's request. I do not know whether I should regard the request as an honour or a burden. Obviously, it is an embarrassing question. I fear what I may write may not please some. However, I believe that a dispassionate discussion of the subject would be to the good of all concerned and I undertake to do it in a spirit of duty. Though the question has been restricted to the correspondent to constructive workers, it has a wider aspect covering the whole field of government service. I would therefore consider the question in its entirety.

In a letter to the then Viceroy, on the eve of his famous Salt Satyagraha Gandhi had cited the figure of the income of an average Indian and the pay of the Viceroy, and pointed out the yawning gulf between the two and the economic inequality which it involved to our poor country. He wrote the letter as a representative of the Congress. The Congress Government is now in power all over India. Are we to believe that Gandhi's criticism applied only to then British Government and could not be applied to the present Congress rulers? It is true that the currency has depreciated and the difference which now divides the average income of an

Indian and the highest pay under the Government is not so big as it used to be. However even the existing ratio is not unreasonable. It works out at about 200 to 300 times to 1. And it is a real pity that this inequality has been embodied in the articles of the constitution itself. It has fixed the salaries of some of the principal office-holders of the Government. Whatever happens to the country whether its poverty worsens or otherwise the constitution ensures that these salaries cannot be touched. It also provides—and this is a prevailing practice in almost all Government Departments—that whenever an officer is called upon to take over charge of a superior office even for a few days, he will draw the pay attached to the higher office.

This subject of the scale of government salaries has been discussed and commented upon more than once in the columns of *Harijan* and elsewhere. It has also been debated in the Parliament. But there is no indication that Government contemplates any scaling down. Just recently, in December 1951, Pandit Nehru answered the charge in a speech in the course of his election tour. From the report of the speech published in the newspaper, he appears to make the following points:

(a) It is not only government officials who receive high emoluments, but also industrialists, lawyers and others.

(b) The present equivalent of Rs 500 which the Congress had done as the minimum salary is about Rs 1500 to 2000. After deducting the income-tax etc. the Prime Minister gets a net salary of Rs 1050/- only. For the highest official, the Public Service Commission has fixed the maximum of Rs 3,650/- per annum.

(c) The President gets Rs 5000/- per month free of income-tax, plus certain allowances. The President is the symbol of the status and honour of the country. Not that a high salary is necessary for the maintenance of status and honour, but he has to appear in several social functions and programmes and give large donations for charitable causes. He must live in a style which will hold his dignity and position as the head of the State. The people may, if they so choose, reduce his salary, but that will not make much change in the economic condition of the country.

(d) Jawaharlal is the foremost leader of the country and it may be presumed that ultimately his view will prevail. But it is necessary to point out that there is another strong side to the question.

The first point refers to the very high incomes of persons engaged in industries, law and other lucrative professions. It is suggested that while there are other professions, which hold out prospects of handsome earnings really capable men are not likely to stick to government service at lower salaries. We have to admit that for the administration of a vast country like ours, a large number of capable men will always be

common? How linked are we? I put it differently. Higher salaries are certainly not offered those below the ordinary class of an servant servants is concerned, there is some force in this proposition. But it does not sugar well for the centre of money alone is the most powerful attraction for the higher type of officers also. They must stand in a different class from the ordinary class of traders, merchants and industrialists. They are charged with the heavy responsibility of administering the country. It is in their power to make the administration good or bad. They are designated as public servants. It must prove that men should join government service with the selfish object of making money. They should be inspired by the spirit of service. There should be scope for the fulfilment of one's ambition but the acquisition of money is not a noble ambition for man. Moreover, it should be no small fulfilment of ambition for them that they get the power to carry on the administration of the country. There is an important difference between ordinary money-makers and public servants.

Another grave defect in the system of government salaries is that they continue to rise with every rise in the post. After a stage, there is an essential difference in the worth of upper class government officers of various grades. The rule of higher pay for higher office has no moral or equitable reasoning behind it. If a higher pay is offered because of the heavier responsibilities of the superior office let it be remembered that a man can work only to the extent of his ability and every man is expected to work with his full ability in every office held by him. If it is argued that the rise in the pay signifies the recognition of the higher intelligence of the officers, it is not quite true. For promotions to higher posts are made, often, then not on grounds of seniority. The appointment to a higher office involving enlargement of administrative powers and area should be regarded as a sufficient recognition of and return for the talent of the officer. The holder of a superior office has not only to discharge the responsibilities of his office, he has also to inspire his juniors with the spirit of service to the country. He can do so only if he himself presents an example of service and sacrifice. Hence, having regard to the poverty of the country it is but proper that the salaries of high officials should not exceed reasonable limits.

Even if there is some justification for paying high salaries to government servants, it cannot extend to politicians, magistrates, legislators and similar holders of special posts. They belong to an entirely different category. They are representatives of the people and go there with the avowed aim of serving the people. They are expected to guide and give a lead to the people. Why should they adopt a higher standard of living? Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has referred to the necessity of maintaining the honour and

diginity of office, necessitating the allowance of a high salary. The question is whether the honour and dignity of an office is maintained by cheap simplicity or by display of wealth and luxury? The Britishers maintained a high and business standard of living because they came to exploit the country economically, to overawe the people and to maintain their imperialistic rule. But can these standards be justified in the present day democracy and under India's cultural traditions? We have to remember that riches and favours have been always held in greater respect in our country than kings and emirs. Even among nations and the rich, those who live a simple and austere life are more respected and praised than those who live pompously. How can this conception of associating honour and dignity with wealth and display, do credit to a poor country like ours?

Many of the present ministers belonged formerly to the ordinary middle-class, and lived quite simply before they entered office. They did not hesitate to go on foot or travel third class. Why should they change their mode of living as soon as they become ministers? Many of them made great sacrifices during the quarter of a century of the struggle for Swaraj. They spent long periods of their lives in jails during which they could not earn anything. How is it that now they cannot do without big salaries? Is it that money was necessary at that stage and now it is not? Our leaders feel a deep concern for the corruption prevailing in the administration in the Congress and in the country in general and make some efforts to eradicate the evil. May I ask, however, if these efforts can succeed without ascending the scale—up, shall I call it, the steep pile—of salaries which alone can take us to the desired goal? Unless the leaders to whom the people look for guidance come forward to set the example of sacrifice, how can we hope for any purification amongst the people in general? Governors, ministers, and such other holders of high offices are looked upon by the people as the elders who set the pattern of right living. It is essential for the good of the country that they curtail their emoluments except lower salaries and live simply.

Shri Nehru has stated that the reduction of salaries would not make much difference in the general economic condition of the country. This is largely true. But it is not so much a question of effecting economies in the expenses. The question is how does it fit in with the conditions of want and poverty prevailing in the country? People tend to follow the ways of those whom they consider to be their superiors. If these superiors look for the maintenance of their honour and dignity in high salaries, others will naturally feel inclined to spend their talent and energy for earning money. There is the need to raise in the people the urge for a morally pure life. And to that end, it is essential that the conduct of the elders must be of the kind and standard which will inspire the people with noble urges.

It must be regarded as the natural requirement that the present scales of pay are reasonable for channels of administration. The question would still remain whether a person who does not need that amount may also accept it. Certainly there are many among them who have large properties which yield them enough income, as when sons and brothers are quite able to maintain the family on their own earnings. In short, who are not, fit to enter, to use an old expression, into the *Lower-middle Ashram*. Why should they accept anything even though the Government be prepared to pay them in full? Could they not make even that amount of money for giving a proper lead to the people? There are a few persons who draw very much less than what they are entitled to under the rules but they are so few that they cannot influence either the people or persons in other office-holders. Perhaps such examples are even prevented from becoming publicity. It also appears that there are some, who would be quite willing to work on a lower pay but they hesitate to do so for the fear that it would displease their colleagues. The leak has in the atmosphere prevailing in the government services. A change should be brought about so that while those who might draw their pay in full while those who have other sources or whose requirements are few might give up their salaries wholly or in part.

I think that the answer to the correspondent's questions can be inferred from the above discussion. Vaidya has expressed the view that basically the political set-up of the country would be made of three sides, viz., a party in power to carry on the administration, an opposition pursuing the policy of responsive co-operation and constructive opposition, and a third one which would be a body of non-party workers who would apply themselves to the service of the people without involving themselves in power-politics. The administration and the forms of democracy will be honest and free from corruption and not without proper moral foundations only to the extent that the body of selfless workers grows large and strong. A little thought will convince the reader that only the constructive workers can form the third side of the triangle. In a sense, everything which is conducive to the good of the country may be termed constructive. But generally the term is restricted to the work undertaken in the spirit of *ahimsa* and for the furtherance of the Gandhian programme. Among other things, these constructive workers are expected to be pledged to *aparigraha* i.e. non-possession. It is a virtue which should find an important place in their lives. Economic equality is bound to be one of the main features of a *Kanyasulk* society. Then how can they let themselves be tempted into accepting high salaries? They must take only as much as is necessary to meet their requirements, whatever may be the pay offered by Government.

The correspondent desires to have the head of the maximum salary laid down. It is difficult to lay down a definite limit. Circumstances differ from state to state. Every worker must decide it for himself following his own conscience. If he decides to take more than he needs, he goes wrong. It will not be proper for him to increase his income on a scale a certain mode of living after he joins Government. Rather, he should persist in his simplicity and set an example of a service minded worker. Not only in respect of the monthly salary but in other facilities also such as travelling allowances, leaves etc. he should follow his own desires without any constraint. The government rules are a little too generous in all these respects. A constructive worker will not stoop to take any undue advantage of them. He will charge from the Government only the actual amount of expenses incurred in travelling and the expenses should be consistent with his standard of living which has to be simple and frugal. It is reported that some members of the legislative assemblies make a considerable saving out of the travelling allowances they get from Government. It is a reprehensible practice. The money that goes into the government coffers comes ultimately from the state. We must spend government money as frugally as we can spend.

Remember everything and add dear let not those, who are able to live up to the right standard of simple and non-acquisitive life look down upon those, who are weak and unable to resist the temptation or opportunity of living more comfortably or making some saving. Thence the question of respect and prestige to be given to them in constructive institutions is irrelevant. The virtues of non-possession and discipline will lose their value if they are stained by egoism and jealousy.

Shriyama 25.12.61

(Translated from Hindi)

SHRI VINOD'S TELANGANA TOUR

XV

April 26, Turgall—Nalgonda (Turgall Hall)
12 ruled

A Pleasant Experience

On the way to Turgall by roadstead from Nalgonda and Turgall. At Nalgonda Vinod stopped for a while to receive from Mr. Akshay Shinde a gift-book of 24 pages. Vinod addressed a few words to the villagers asking them to cultivate and spare cows in the village. We had now crossed the Nellore-Nalgonda District and entered into the District of Nalgonda. It is a good road to have a sign of relief. When we entered the village there, that greeted us with 'Hi! Hi!' There is some news which we were giving the construction going with. When we arrived, we were on the way to the village. There were many people in the other two villages who had not reached Turgall in our destination of the day—at about 12 o'clock. The way to the village, from the road side with some news, was very pleasant. The hotel in that corner of the year was in good health.

Vinod looked particularly pleased today. In the afternoon he is usually busy working with the workers and employees. Immediately, however, there was an complete quiet. The public, the district and the

CONSTRUCTION of a well. India had a population of 20 crores. Assuming that on an average an Indian would live up to 40 years of age, the number of marriages in the next 40 years would be about 10 crores. If points used in the village there would be as many new wells by the end of that period. With the water made so abundantly available, India everywhere would get on a rich and bright green. Land was insufficient in India, but the children could be made disinclined for making anything the underground water. Underground water was like the treasure of the treasury. The beneficial points of the treasure would be named that of the Ganga and the Yamuna in the North, and the Krishna and the Godavari in the South. King Bhagwan brought down the Ganga from the heaven. They should consider his example, work hard like him and dig up the treasure from the water region. Every marriage must make the construction of a new well. No person should marry until he had sufficient money to dig around a well. It would provide work to the labourers and create a steady and permanent source of water-supply. It was therefore the married boy did not take one of his wife, it would be a gift to the village.

Warning up Vinod related to the audience a story from Maharashtra in their memories. Once upon a time there was a girl in Maharashtra. After the usual education and marriage, there were children about the well being of his life. And one of the questions that put to him was, "I hope agriculture in your kingdom does not depend solely on heaven?" There implied that agriculture which depended for water solely on the rain would not flourish. It must harness the underground water for its crops and secure growth.

A. Fable about Precious Mines

There was a well in the underground. It has to be dug out. For the hole that they were they gouged the earth out. For water has to be when they called "precious stones". He could not understand what exactly he could clear stones for to use. They could not satisfy hunger or thirst. People continued to search that they were precious because they were beautiful. But then they should give them to children to play with instead. They treated these stones with great respect in terms of money and, since money could also buy grains they were considered with the utmost attention as a price of either in grain or white stone according to equal to enormous quantities of grain. This was really silly. Vinod said, but there it was and it had come about because of the love of money.

And Vinod went on to give a fascinating story about how the diamonds treasure had come to be discovered. Once upon a time a stone was digging his dirt, and he came upon a glittering white stone. What that he was he gave it away to his son to play with. When his son had a boy friend the son of a rich man. The latter asked his father to procure for him a similar stone. The father was in a predicament for he did not know where he could find it. Finally he went to the stone and asked him to part with the stone in lieu of a large sum of money. The poor stone had a gift to the temptress and what was a more stone was reluctant to be worth that much money. This prince was his father. For the stone was called by the king's name and to be desired to possess it. The king gave a fabulous price to please his son. This situation, the play thing of young boys, started higher and higher as the price went up and up until the pleasure of the sale of value. And then what helped it rise to that position had done to a very poor where while a stone was asked, once was dug out.

Concluding Vinod was again warned the people to realize the importance of wells for the agriculture and provide their comfort by digging it in an unexcused failure of a marriage ceremony. The underground Ganga will flow, the marriage and secure the prosperity and well-being of every couple.

Office Hours

D M

TERROURISM IN MAHARASHTRA

Terrorism is an age-old evil of Maharashtra. It has been repeatedly stamped by political developments with disastrous effects upon the prosperity and moral and social progress of the otherwise very shrewd and intelligent people of that province. It has often been pronounced contrary only for more than a quarter of a century. But it does not seem that it ever succeeded in the end in favour of the terrorists.

It had been tried during the early British period but had to surrender ultimately. It has made its appearance now, during the infancy of the consolidated Maharashtra State.

It is notable that these disaffected men have some genuine grievances against the Congress administration or that they want a different type of political set-up of Maharashtra from that created after the withdrawal of the British. But the history of Maharashtra itself and the experience of terrorism elsewhere should teach them that however long they might hold out, and no matter how many, important or innocent lives they might take, ultimately it is the terrorists who have to surrender or be exterminated.

The dastardly murders committed by these bandits in order to terrorize the voters might affect an election here or there but they are unworkable self-defence, if they think that the non-allocation of them or that constitute or even of the entire Congress party will make their position any better. No party that attains power and wants to govern will give quarter to terrorists. Not even those who might be secretly sympathizing them just now.

Terrorism is not the way of getting grievances removed or of bringing about a revolution. Even if they feel that ordinary constitutional methods are unable to help them, let them take a lesson from their own Maharashtra, who showed how even a foreign Empire might be made to surrender by the power of non-violent Satyagraha.

It is extremely tragic that Gujarat and Maharashtra—popularly regarded as the home of Non-violence—should have displayed more scenes of diabolical violence and unprovoked propaganda than other States.

January 24-1-72

K. G. SHARMA VLA

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY MURTHY LINGAI

Editor: K. C. MANNURALA



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AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1937

Price 15/-

THESE PAPERS

Readers ought have read in the last issue the decision of the Navayana Trust to terminate the publication of the English Hindi and Gujarati editions of Harijan from the end of the present month. Simultaneously, they have been informed that upon the request of the Sarva Seva Sangh Wardha, the Trust has permitted that Sangh to continue the publication of the English edition as a responsibility of the Sangh. As the Sangh would need some time to complete its arrangements, the Navayana Trust will continue to publish the English edition on behalf of the Sangh during the interval.

It was with no easy mind that the Trust came to this decision. The circulation of the papers has fallen progressively year after year and the financial loss has become considerable. — I understand more than forty thousand rupees per year. It is beyond the capacity of the Trust to go on bearing the loss indefinitely. It would need nearly six or seven thousand more rupees from contributions among the three editions to make them self-supporting. The present circulation of the three together is 1,500. The Gujarati edition leads with a little less than 4,000 and the Hindi edition is the weakest being less than 2,000. The Trust does not expect that the situation will improve in the near future.

It is well known that Gandhiji was opposed to carrying on a paper which did not pay its own way. Now the situation is that even the three combined do not pay their part way. Thus is in spite of the fact that all along the papers were fortunate to receive encouragement, sympathy, co-operation, appreciation and helpful criticism from various quarters. Apparently the papers seemed to enjoy the same reputation as in the time of Gandhiji. But in terms of economy, they have failed to succeed.

The Sarva Seva Sangh, I believe, looks at the matter from a different point of view. It is a multi-purpose institution. It is dedicated to the task of Gandhiji's Constructive Programme and the propagation of Gandhiji's ideas. Some of the items of the Constructive Programme are meant to be self-supporting even if they are not so just

now. Some can be carried out only with the help of donations. Its activities need an organ in English also for the instruction of the general public as well as the workers and workers. It has to recruit, need to have some loss for it. Hence it is that it made itself bold to undertake this responsibility as soon as it got information of the decision of the Trust. I think it has done a piece of good service to the public in doing so. But it is clear that even the Sangh would not be able to do so for an indefinite period if people will not support the papers by subscribing to them in sufficient numbers.

My request to all those who feel that these papers should continue to be published is that they should give a continuing and persistent proof of their opinion during the remaining weeks of February by subscribing to the papers in such large numbers as might prove to the Navayana Trust sufficient grounds to reconsider its resolve. Not ultimately such gesture would also encourage the General Body of the Sarva Seva Sangh to undertake this responsibility with greater confidence.

There is no conflict or competition between the Trust and the Sangh as regard to these papers. No question of policy is involved. The Trust will give all its help and advice to the Sangh to give it as good a start as possible. Even after the transfer of proprietorship to the Sangh, the paper will be continued to be published from Ahmedabad for the first three months under the management of the Trust. All the assets, the process of transfer will involve outlay of new capital, setting up of a new machinery of printing and administration and a new general set-up. Possibly also some disorganisation. All this trouble can be avoided by a quick response of the public to the situation.

A word about myself. The editing of the papers has left a heavy strain upon me. I have been long seeking retirement and rest. The Trust felt that it could be so if they decided to close down the papers. They were willing to give and did give all the facilities I wanted in respect of retirement. But what I wanted was an Editor who would step temporarily relieve me. This

more completely understood. Hence I had to wait for the book to be published, demanding energy, time, and, naturally, the demand to close down the papers created conflicting reactions both in me and all the workers and friends who learnt about it, that it was a source of relief that I would be unburdened of a heavy weight and a sense of disappointments that the papers would be closed.

I naturally hoped that my retirement would not be delayed but would rather be facilitated when the transfer of Harpoo to the Sarva Seva Ashram. But neither the Singh nor the Trust is concerned with the change of editorship during the last three months. The result is that my resignation continues to persist for the present.

Personally I am so fully conscious of my shortcomings as an editor that I believe that a great deal of the failure of Harpoo is more due to these shortcomings than to any other cause and a change of editorship is urgently needed. A more energetic and creative editor and actual writer of the Sarvodaya ideology should be placed in charge of the paper. Harpoo while on the one hand the great amount of confidence placed in me and the love and respect shown to me by everyone concerned in the papers raises in me feelings of self satisfaction and gratitude. I feel and that Harpoo will still have only a broken staff to help it go. I request every reader to pray that I might soon have the pleasure to see Harpoo under the editorship of some one who will be acclaimed by everyone as having put me in shade in presenting Harpoo in the greatest Gujarati form and spirit.

Bombay 1-5-62

X. C. HAREENDRA

Hind-Hindustani Examinations

The result of the Hind-Hindustani Examination held in January 1962 will be declared on February 13, 1962 and the application forms for Hind-Hind Hind-Hindustani, Hind-Hind and Hind-Hind (Fourth) Examinations to be held on April 13-15, 1962 should reach the office at Ahmedabad by February 22, 1962 through some centre and not directly. The list of the centres can be had on sending money (not in postal stamps) to the undersigned. No forms received after February 22, 1962 will be accepted.

In big places like Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat etc. the candidate can send his form to the local office along with money order receipt of the fee. No forms accompanied by the money order receipt of the fee will be entertained.

The candidates from Bombay can, however, send their forms along with the money order receipt of their fee direct to the undersigned.

Phone 42-87

GENERAL SECRETARY

Copy to: City Office

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Ahmedabad

Hind-Hindustani Examinations

THE CAUSE OF CORRUPTION AND THE REMEDY

(By Michael Puri)

What is the cause of corruption and unethical activities such as black marketing, hoarding, juggling with forward markets etc.? Of course, obviously it is to gain money. But then, what for do people want to gain this money? This question will at first appear to be very silly, less, but if only we think a little we shall find that such a question is justified. If crimes were committed mostly by poor people only, it would indicate that they transgressed the law on account of sheer despair or necessity. A poor Government servant might accept bribes of 100 rupees because his salary was absolutely insufficient for obtaining even the bare necessities of life. A poor merchant might charge an extra or two extra for the same purpose. If that were so while we should still condemn these activities we might probably try also to undo the causes thereof by raising the salary of the poor Government servant or the profit of the poor merchant. We find, however, that from time to time big millionaires or millionaires and highest officers are also arrested for such crimes. These people rarely are not driven to commit them on account of sheer despair or necessity. They do so for the sake of making money.

It is usually held that the urge to make money originates from the so-called struggle for existence and continues even after the desire for existence has been secured, either out of the habit of accumulation which has, in the mean, time been created or for the sake of ensuring better and more security. However, when we examine this matter more closely, we will find that it is neither a habit created, nor is the accumulation process indulged in for the sake of additional security.

Man does not live on bread alone. Besides the requirements of the body man craves also for recognition, status, prestige, honour etc. Many people, therefore, who accumulate money do not do so for the sake of the good things of the world they can obtain with it, but rather for the good place in society which is given to them on account of their money. We are supposed to be living in a democratic State, but it does not require a deep study to note that, no matter what is written in the Constitution, the relation between the different members of society is so ordered that it looks more an oligarchy than a democratic State. The special treatment given to the rich is so common that there is no need to recount it here. Even when a rich man commits a crime the attitude to this criminal is different from that shown to a criminal of the poorer class. The newspapers will then carry a banner headline "Millionaire Arrested" to show that something extraordinary had happened. When in the prisoner's cage and in the proceedings and judgment of the magistrate, he will be addressed

is referred to in a different manner than an ordinary accused. Even after conviction and sentence, the rich man will still retain his former rank in society as long as he has money.

The marriages of the rich man's sons and daughters are reported in the papers with their photographs and full description of the parties, the dresses, the food, etc. In any function even in public prayers and religious gatherings, he sits in the front row. At the time of elections it is to him that they go for money for fighting the elections.

Even the greatest man, if he happens to be poor, counts for nothing; but the rich man who may be a crook is held in high esteem. In these circumstances, how can one expect the businessmen to start to go straight and become a nobody with whom no one who matters would like to be seen? What is there, therefore, to withhold the rich man from striving to obtain money by any means? Again, since the upper class means the moneyed class, all the simple people consider richness as a goal worth striving for. No wonder, therefore, that in such an atmosphere anti-social activities flourish.

In order to rectify all these malpractices, we have to change fundamentally the structure of society. The structure of society has to become such that no respect or honour will be paid to a person for the sake of his riches. In order that this change may have its revolutionary effect on society, we shall for some time have to withhold honour from otherwise very deserving people for the only reason that they happen to be rich. And since these rich people are good they will not mind foregoing their honour knowing that it is for the good of India.

When such an attitude will prevail all over, more and more people will stop acquiring money after reaching a certain point, i.e. when they have enough to live on. If at the same time we create another ideal of a person to whom we pay our tributes, for instance, the social worker, the saint, the ordinary peasant or worker, we shall develop slowly a different outlook on life, and in that ancient land of India a new great people may be born.

If this idea is found correct, this start will have to be made by the Barrodayas or the Gandhi workers. They have to start by not giving a special treatment to the rich in their gatherings, and later on this should be followed by the Congress. The Congress should get its money for the elections — if at all there must be money for elections — from the poor people by taxes and gifts and not from the rich, by bribes and crooks.

Lastly, it was said somewhere in connection with some election that the candidate must spend his own money for propaganda. This is basically wrong. Such things will have to be abandoned. The man who spends fifty thousand rupees — that figure was mentioned — does not only expect and get honour for the amount, but may

try to get the amount back through some way or other.

If the Congress adopts this attitude, the face of society will slowly change. When people will be able to obtain only respect and honour and comfort for money and not honour and greatness, more and more people will stop trying to sell their soul for a pot of rice and meat and less people will be inclined to imitate the rich men, and when the national ideal will become the great man who forgives himself and works for his fellow human beings that may lead, if not to *Swarnajayanti* at least to a much more India than what it is today.

SLAVERY TO ENGLISH

(By Manabendra Ghosh)

English came in after finishing his daily spinning. On hearing two brothers talking in English, Bapu said: "What a great misfortune it is that two blood-brothers talk to each other in English and one of them even says that he thinks also in English." It is we who have invited this slavery. I have often declared that the firstborn have done this or that harm to us. But for the use of English in our daily conversation I have not blamed them. It is our own fault. We consider it a privilege if we can speak in English. Indeed it is our ambition to do so, and we spend quite a lot of time after it. And if an English man pays us the compliment of speaking Indian English we become elated. If we calculate the number of hours spent by us for learning English we shall realise that instead of rendering any service badly needed in the country, we spend hundreds of hours over learning a foreign tongue. And even then we are not able to get mastery over it. I receive a number of letters from persons holding high degrees and diplomas of the verities, in such poor English as might be described as shocking. No doubt the language is worthy of study as a hobby. It is a mine of precious literature. But it should not be given an undue place. Many of the delegates to the Amrita Conference had paid a visit to me. But they talked with me in their own tongue e.g. Japanese, Turkish etc. and an interpreter who knew English and their foreign tongue interpreted to me their talks. Thereupon I felt that Hindustani stood a chance of being the lingua franca of all-India. An interpreter might learn the language of a foreign country and our National language. If this is done we might be able to connect and bond together like members of a family the different countries of Asia, which is now divided into different parts. And this is one of the most important tasks. But to whom can I say this when I see two blood-brothers who, in spite of knowing Persian and Hindi, speak in English?"

New Delhi, 8-4-1947

(From *Shree Ganthi's Diary* as reported in
D. K. Bhattacharya's *Reminiscences*)

Gifted to the author

HARIJAN

Feb. 1

1932

REMISSION OF RENT

Shri Vasant Margalkar and his wife Shrimati Indrani Margalkar are two earnest workers among the Harijans of the Thane District (Bombay). They stay in a small village called Khated for some years past, and witness with their own eyes the wretched condition of the Address tenants of this part. Starvation or almost so far at least most months in the year is their usual lot. When the year is bad this period is necessarily longer than usual.

It is well known that the crops of the Thane District failed miserably this year. The official reports I understand estimated them at an average of an average. If they had been estimated at four acres or less the Government would have been obliged to remit their share of land revenue. As it is, the Government have claimed their revenue from the Khatedars and the Khatedars in their turn have become entitled to law to remit their share of crops from their respective tenants. Under the present law they can exact even their stipulated share for failure to pay their dues even for a single year. The Government are expected to remit the rest of their respective percentages for the recovery of the dues or the reduction of the tenant. The evictions itself is a severe penalty, and the penalty becomes still more severe because the tenant might in addition be used as a criminal even for arrears. When a farmer is allowed to starve upon the life of the tenant like I heard hanging upon his head night and day.

Shri Vasant Margalkar has made a humbly-faithful appeal to the Khatedars of his district to remit absolutely their share of crops this year from their respective tenants. It is perfectly well known to the Khatedars that the official estimate of the yield (one acre in the report, even if assumed to be correct) is an average of good and bad yields of all the fields taken together. It is not a true picture of the yield of a majority of the fields. It is generally not disputed that the actual yield of a great number of tenants is two acres or even less.

The rate of the land revenue payable to the Government to the value of the Khatedars' estimated one fourth share of the crop is considerable. I understand that it is nearly 1/20 to 1/30 in some villages. The more that is normal year against the payment of one rupee to the Government revenue, the landlord receives 50 to 60 times more from the tenants. The system has gone on for such a long time that the Khatedars feel aggrieved and dissatisfied if the justice of this system is questioned.

Why, I say, do the landlords of the Khatedars to look at the wretchedness in their tenants? Every ounce of grain is a crop which the Khatedars consume or sell for profit is produced by the labour of these people. And still, what is the actual condition in which these people live? What is the amount of food that returns to their share and what is their standard of living? What would year and any conditions and feelings be if a sudden turning of tables obliged you and me to exchange places with them?

Vasant has been appealing to all land owners to give free gifts of land for distribution among those who want to live by tilling, but have no lands of their own. It is the right of everyone who wants to till himself that he should have his proportionate share in the country's land. Though Vinoba has not yet arrived in this State in person, he asks to the great sacrifice is addressed to the whole country, and the Khatedars of this State should also respond to it generously and enthusiastically.

Shri Margalkar's appeal is very much limited. Much as he would wish to appeal to the Khatedars to gift away an adequate part of their lands for the benefit of the poor, he knows his limitations. He is young and but for his devoted wife is left to work almost alone. Hence, he has made only a limited appeal to the Khatedars to be compassionate to the wretched tenants and make a gift of not of the land itself, at least of their (Khatedars') legally obtainable share for this year. The Khatedars are aware that there have been more than one bad year within the last three or four years, and decrease or ruin is pending against many for past seasons. This year has been very wretched indeed. Some of the lands are empty of all stores already. But the harvest process has already been started by some Khatedars. If from the Khatedars the generous-hearted ones will voluntarily remit their dues and purchase their brother Khatedars to do likewise, they will give a lead of great moral and spiritual value. It will knit bonds of goodwill and friendship between them and their tenants.

I have known Shri Margalkar for some years. My estimate of them has grown progressively. They are truthful and sincere workers and earnest exponents of the Harijanism, and intensely eager to seek an effective non-violent solution to the tremendous agrarian problem of our country. They have no sympathy for violent methods, but they do not feel satisfied with non-violence which refuses to probe into the root of the disease and engages itself into doing more superficial social work. They strongly realize that if the root cause of the evil is neglected, Communism will be inevitable.

I endorse Shri Margalkar's appeal to the Khatedars for the remission of the year's share of the crops in all cases in which the crops have miserably failed. I also request other Adhikars

means of Thane to support Sir Vignakar's appeal, and join in propagating it.

K. C. MARUDUWALA

Bombay Gandhi Narayana Day
30.1.32

TO THE MIDDLE CLASSES

(By C. Rajagopalachari)

There is a great deal of commiseration and much talk about the sad plight of the middle classes. The middle classes played a great part in the progress of civilisation in the past. The middle class, a new kind of middle class, not the hereditary middle classes as we knew them then, will yet play a great part. But I am now addressing the hereditary or as I would call them, the *regimental* middle classes.

I shall not try to please, but shall speak what I consider is the truth. I may appear to be unsympathetic, but what is the good of blarney? The truth though unpleasant may help. Troubles and griefs are apt to breed anger and confuse the understanding and even distort the memory and lead to grave errors of judgment and consequent disaster. This is scripture and even God's truth as I have seen in my experience. I crave for patience and understanding and wisdom in action.

As long as there is a strong government freely in the middle, as, a party in power whose prestige is good and which commands the loyalty of the civil and military forces of the State, votes count, votes help, and progress through democracy is steady though slower than it could be under dictatorship and violent methods. But if the charm is broken and prestige disappears, votes do not count, be they as a narrow franchise or be they based on the widest form of suffrage. I may explain why.

As long as there are numerous classes that depend on the physical labour of other classes and such physical dependence is in things essential for existence, there is no independence and there is no real power behind votes. The power is in work that is essential not in the votes. When those who work in essential services are organised either in the general interest or selfishly, either wisely or in anger but efficiently, it is they that rule and not either votes or democracy. The votes may be cast in the prescribed manner but they are cast in open or veiled fear, and according to orders from organised labour. The writ of democracy any more than that of a king does not run by divine right but can do so only by force of economic and social organisation. Where men and women depend for essentials on the labour of others, and they have learnt to withhold it for achieving their will, the writ of democracy runs according to the enforcement of essential labour and not on the strength of Parliamentary Parliamentary statistics become a dead letter when organised labour does not like them. If forms are to be maintained, the statistics are awarded for democracy's sake.

Thus far is the early history of the British Parliament. The Constitution appeared to place high credit in the hands of the King and the Lords, but the taxpayers controlled everything through the Commons, as in the present phase of civilisation when physical work in the essential services is even more important than the education and abstract of funds, the real power in the government of the country has actually passed from Parliament to labour organisations. The revolution is upon us even in countries. It is concealed in other countries. I can put things plainer but it is unnecessary.

If boys and girls among parents or other working classes are not able to find opportunities for work at the levels at which their parents worked, they go down unobtrusively to lower levels. They do not prefer to remain idle or allow themselves to become dependents and parasites on others, to be the slaves of the rich, widows or other classes. They find no shame in working for wages under others and they struggle and rise again if they can. If boys in the *regimental* middle and upper classes do not get a *desk-job*, they starve, borrow, beg and suffer and their distress is only relieved by the acceptance by those among their kith and kin who happen to be more lucky, of the obligation to help and maintain them. The necessity of the *desks* section of the class for *desk* and *status* helps to a certain extent in easing the situation for acceptance of obligations. But all this cannot last and while it lasts, it is intense unhappiness.

Desk-less

There is no room whatever in tradition for the strength of among the middle classes to find their living by manual labour. There has recently been some improvement in this respect. It cannot last for the nature does not long tolerate change. Young men are prepared to take up occupations which previously had not been considered possible. Still the deskless dominates and even in the newly-found lines of occupation they look for jobs that mean more supervision and administration and less of direct manual work. When such jobs are not available they prefer to suffer and be a burden on others or becoming common workmen and being content with the standards of life appearing therein. Of course with increased national prosperity, the middle classes will find many more places to fill, but that prosperity is itself delayed by the present unorganised misery of the middle classes.

There should at once be a determined effort to reduce if not to eliminate the dependence on the labour of others. Simply life and try to do everything yourself. Both men and women should follow this important prescription in domestic life. There may be much more reliance felt in the change, especially when it is undertaken in right earnest and not as a token. But as the new way of life proceeds it will unfold joys which before

middle class. And the Vaid, the middle class (as it is, before the, perception with pride and pleasure. But then they have and we have not in our country many labour-saving appliances. We cannot command ideal conditions in any manner. We should all the more take lessons and try to apply the principles learnt in spite of the greater difficulty in our own country and its conditions. Labour-saving appliances have again a limit of turning out to be dependence on others in a concentrated form and liable to result in the same breakdown as plain dependence. Let us therefore not give away, but wait for true independence that is non-dependence on others in daily life. Neither political independence nor political democracy is enough for true happiness. We have to equanimity in all respects. Unless we all work in the physical sense, we cannot establish democracy. There should be no distinction of status in work. All tasks should be deemed equally noble and as forms of pity and homage to the household gods. Otherwise we must submit to be ruled by the people who are prepared to wait and can live to be an indifference. A new and necessary middle class will arise, not a middle class based on birth, but a true middle class of mental workers from who have attained skill and status by work and learning who can design, make and teach the machines at which go down or up according to talent, industry or circumstances and who do not come to position by birth only.

The present structure of a 'middle class' based on birth must become a thing of the past. It can be achieved voluntarily and this would be preferable. Let us begin by taking gone through in all schools and colleges under the guidance of teachers who will not show sensation and mockery. Further elaboration would take up too much space.

From *The Hindustan Times* (Republic Day Supplement)
284-29

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NOTABLE AND CURIOUS — I

(By *Ernest Choudry*)

[An article by the 'Navayana' and his co-workers of the Mysore Food Research Institute in respect of milk of cows and goats and its production in the 'Hindustan' dated the 15th January 1952]

Something had aroused public curiosity during the early decades. Curiosity expressed with it, but a brief period during the early days of the Hindustan (Hindustan) Industries Association. But it then passed the method of preparing milk, either from cows or goats, was not known to the 'Hindustan' Association and anywhere that in other forms was not found in the same early days. (The early days) But the early days were not yet passed.

But Ernie Choudry of Mysore, India, in a recent graduate and an excellent dairyman, he studied the process of preparing milk and made from goats and for some time has been experimenting upon it. Here is a brief account of his experiments and experience.

— (C. C. C.)

I was inspired to make my experiments by Vinayak who had himself begun to provide groundnut 'butter' in place of cowmilk to the inmates of his Prashadashram Ashram. His reasoning was: (i) since milk was not produced without a birth preceding it, it involved much of Brahman's energy, hence, a Brahmin should avoid it. (ii) with the increase of population, it will be expensive for men to take more and more vegetable protein since it will be difficult to find land sufficient to maintain both men and animals, hence the discovery of suitable vegetable proteins was essential. (iii) the evolution of man suggested that progress in vegetarianism lay from flesh diet to milk diet, and from the latter to pure vegetable diet. Vinayak preferred groundnut to soyabean, as the former is more available and has a natural strong taste and flavour and is edible to a certain extent even without any processing.

But from my studies I came to the conclusion that as an article of diet, soyabean was a superior and more desirable protein food, and determined to experiment upon it. It took me some time to get my words and I did not know anyone who could show me the method of making milk out of it. Hence at first I tried to mix bread made of pure wheat with 5 to 10 per cent soyabean flour. The bread was not, but rather difficult to digest. Ultimately I corresponded with the Mysore Food Research Institute and learnt from it the process of making soyabean milk and curd. As soon as I succeeded in making soyabean curd I stopped my milk and diet, which was then a quarter pound per day, and began to take an equal quantity of the former. It was not a success. Later I discovered that there was a serious flaw in my method of making the milk and it was reflected in the curd also. When the right method was found and followed the curd became almost indistinguishable from ordinary cow-milk curd and was liked both by children and the aged. In its natural condition, the curd is slightly better and 'pale', but this is removed by the addition of a little lime-water.

The soy-a-milk made by the improved process has proved itself to be as wholesome and easily digestible as ordinary cow-milk even for children and invalids. Being a little alkaline in reaction it is better than grain, pulses or food products, which are all acid. It can be substituted bulk for bulk, be assimilated without loss of weight or energy. In my own case, it has proved even better. For a long time I could not put on weight which was only 125 lbs. in spite of the daily consumption of 4 lbs. of cow-milk and 5 to 10 talas of ghee. But during the last 4 or 5 months I have gained 1 to 4 lbs. in weight with ghee reduced to 2 talas per day only—the other diet remaining unchanged.

My experiments, so far, are very favourable to soy-a-milk and ghee, and I think we have found in it a very good and much cheaper substitute for milk. It can be prepared at home and can be kept longer in good condition than animal milk or curds.

I shall give in my next article the process of preparing it in detail.

(To be continued)

SARASWATHI RURAL UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE

Saraswathi Constructive Committee is an executive body of constructive workers of Sarashwathi. The eighteen-fold constructive programme of Gandhiji is being carried on in the State under its guidance. About one hundred and fifty workers carry on the work in the villages of Sarashwathi. There is hardly any constructive work that is not in one or another way connected with this Committee.

This Committee convened about a year ago a Conference of well-known educationists of Gujarat in Amliya under the auspices of the Great Dakshinamurti Institution to deliberate upon the views on Higher Rural Education expressed by Dr. Acharya Kripjan, President, Tenali Valley Authority and included by the Government Commission in their report.

A few months ago the S.C.C. appointed a Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Naradatta Bharti. The Sub-Committee is entrusted with the work of preparing a detailed plan for establishing Rural University in Sarashwathi after personally interviewing persons interested in Rural Education and visiting institutions engaged in the work. The Sub-Committee proposes to make a tour for the purpose in next February-March-April. Those who are interested personally in the revival of village civilisation and particularly in the establishment of Rural University are requested to send us the names and addresses of persons and institutions of their surrounding area that are carrying on the work or are interested in it. The information will be useful to us to arrange their interviews, which will be arranged as far as send their consentances.

File. Corresponding to: (1) Mr. Naradatta Bharti

1. Shri Naradatta Bharti, Chairman
2. Shri Naradatta Nigam
3. Shri Naradatta Parthasarthy
4. Shri Naradatta Adani
5. Shri Naradatta Shah
6. Shri Naradatta Dada

Green Sub-committee: (1) Mr. Naradatta Bharti, Chairman
(2) Mr. Naradatta Nigam
(3) Mr. Naradatta Parthasarthy
(4) Mr. Naradatta Adani
(5) Mr. Naradatta Shah
(6) Mr. Naradatta Dada

MY MOVEMENT

(The following is taken from a letter of Shri Naradatta Bharti to Shri Naradatta Bharti, Secretary of the Sarashwathi Society.)

I do not want to agitate for any legislative measure. Mine is a moral movement. Whatever success I get is on account of this difference. Otherwise I would prove quite useless. A legislation which delivers a change in the moral perspective of a people is just a formality of record. It takes the form of a word. It is like the words 'THE END'. Formally put in at the end of a book. In a real violent social order, law is like the formal 'The End' of a book. It is only affixing the final seal. The end of the book does not depend upon the affixing of that seal. The book had ended already, and is not less finished by ceasing to write the word. Hence I am indifferent about legislation. I do not say this just to give an idea of my personal attitude, but because this alone can be the right attitude in an age of this type. On a question being put to me, I do say that there is no objection to legislation being brought in after the moral atmosphere is ready for it. To those who think that this question will not be ultimately solved without legislation, I say that they might take my efforts as preparing ground for them. Personally, I think my work is sufficient in itself. In fact, I can work only in that field. Even after legislation, my work will have to continue. Because the law will be like the one for the Prevention of Child Marriage. It prohibits marriage under the age of, say, fourteen years only. But I don't want people to marry before twenty-five. Hence, a law like this does not put an end to my work. To be brief, in my opinion there is no question of giving compensation to the dream of land, rather, my appeal is to give the land as one gives away one's daughter in marriage, i.e. with full dress, ornaments etc.

The propaganda must be quite self-reliant and independent. Hence, it must be carried on by a person in his individual capacity. The person should have understood and accepted my method. If possible and necessary, he should personally see it. In Hyderabad, the Dakshinamurti Committee is carrying on its work in the manner

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PES. 4/10/52

THE MESSAGE OF "GIVE"

Shri Govind Vallabh Pant

Vinoba halted at Bhubli in Bareilly District on 4-1-52. By chance Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Chief Minister, U.P., happened to pass by on the same day. On the entry of Vinoba in U.P., Pant had expressed his desire to meet him as soon as convenient but could not get an opportunity to do so only that day. Vinoba greeted him with the remark, "two varanasi plants meet by chance." Pant expressed his admiration for the work Vinoba was doing, and the reverence he had created. The amount of land gifted was not important, he said. What was important was the change of atmosphere. It was of great moment both in India and in the larger world context. Vinoba's mission would pave the way for legislation.

Vinoba replied that hence it was that he called legislation as offering England as a transaction already achieved.

Shri Pant agreeing added that it was because people did not understand that function of legislation that reactionary tendencies arose.

Sarvodaya Conference is the Target of Five Lakh Acres

There were some new features in Vinoba's post-prayer speech of the day. At the beginning it was revealed that the Sarvodaya Conference was to meet at Deogarh (Baramulla District) from April 12 to 15. Vinoba said that if every district offered 10,000 acres, the target of five lakh acres would be completed by then. The share for each district was a moderate one and if all holders did their part it would result in a non-violent revolution in the country.

A Moving School

Vinoba explained how a non-violent army could be raised in Uttar Pradesh and how the present Lord-Gift-Tour could become a traveling school for workers and a moving nucleus of public work. He had been moving, Vinoba said, for three months already, and was to do so till June that is for six months more. Then he would be

leaving for next month, which along with three months of rain would mean one full year. Of these twelve months, he had given one month to Mathya Pradesh. He was glad that he would come into particular contact with U.P., which was the heart of Bharat. Along with the work of the Lord-Gift-Mission, he would be able to know and establish direct contact with the workers of every district. Even if he heard from every district only one good worker, who had absolute faith in peace, non-violence etc., those fifty workers would be able to achieve more than an organization of even a lakh workers of weak faith. It was the peculiarity of non-violence that its power did not depend upon numbers. If there were only fifty workers who were true of God, free from pride and above all groups and parties, they could alter the face of India. The reason was that it was real concrete work which they were doing. It was not mere expenditure. A Bengali and a South Indian worker had lived with Vinoba for some days during the present tour, learnt Vinoba's method and returned to their places with new light. That was how workers got a training. The constructive workers had drawn up a picture of Free India and expected that they would be able to realize their dreams. But their expectations had not been fulfilled. Hence, they felt dejected. But the Lord-Gift-Mission had dispelled despair and inspired cheer. They have been filled with a new hope and have begun to see a new light which will lead the country towards a non-violent revolution.

The Message of "Give"

Vinoba also referred to the morning interview with Shri Pant, and added that now-a-days they thought only of what they would take from others, no one considered what they might give to others. Vinoba, however, had stress on giving. Taking was trivial progress lay in giving. When people begin to take, they cut the world into small pieces, which methods come into free play, everyone tries to exploit another, and grab at whatever can be caught hold of. This was unbecoming in India, which was the homeland of Hindu Mahatma, Pandit and others. If they all thought of taking, they could not live in peace.

and unity. On the other hand, if they thought of giving the country would be ruled, and by setting an example would spread the message of hope to the countries of the world.

The world was looking to India for guidance. There were about 500 non-Indians on the list of the Sarvodaya Society. They took great interest in what India did. Their eyes eagerly watched the attitude of Jawaharlal Nehru on every important question of international importance. There all expected that something beneficial to all would arise out of the various unique movements of India. If the "Gita" apart because popular, it will serve not only India, but the whole world.

Yasho explained how the Land-Gift-Mission was a means of winning Sarvodaya. It would not encourage idleness in the people who got the land, but would stimulate them to work hard. The gift blessed both the giver and the receiver. When the givers and the takers were united with ties of friendship, the village would become a unit of strength. They had all heard stories of Krishna. He always gave. He distributed all the butter of Gokul to the people. They had heard also of the maternal love of the Pandavas and of Rama's love for his monkey army. The Quran also said: "Even from the little that God grants you, give something to others." If one had no money, he should give from his other belongings. If he had no possessions, he must serve with his body. Then alone we worked for God. This was the common teaching of every religion. A person who lived thus was a worshipper of God, whether he uttered Rama and Latchman or Allah as the names of God. The others taking pride in calling themselves Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and the rest, were more normally as Yasho wished that every one become a true Hindu, a true Muslim, a true Parsi and so on.

Yasho said that he wanted lakhs of acres of land. The demand looked strange, but really there was nothing novel in it. Let everyone realize that whatever we possess was meant for being passed on to others, and he would understand the reasonableness of his (Yasho's) demand.

(Based on several reports.)

G.

Sarvodaya Sammelan

The next Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held at Sevapuri (near Bangalore U.P.) from 19th to 24th April, 1952 (both days inclusive). If necessary, the Conference will be extended to the 25th also.

Members will receive invitations, conference forms etc. in due time.

Sevapuri,
18-2-52

VALLABHSWAMI,
A. Secretary,
Sarvodaya Samiti

AN APPEAL TO U. P. SAMINDARS

(Hale Englishman)

In the Uttar Pradesh it was customary for the Samindars to make over to their Bahadurs, (literally, ploughmen or labourers whom the Samindars employ on a permanent basis for his agricultural work) some land (an acre or two) for their personal use. This land was of the kind known as *ar*, i.e. the land which lay on the outskirts. Lately even about the question of the abolition of Samindari began to be debated the Samindars have dismissed the poor *Achutars* of the gift and snatched away from their grasping hands lakhs of acres of land. This was at the root of disturbances which broke out recently in the Hale District, and ended in the death of numerous men, women and children. It was a sad mistake on the part of the Samindars to have dismissed them of their fields, their sole means of livelihood, considering the fact that they had served them loyally for generations and were like a part of their families. If anything, they deserved annuities for their long and loyal service. But they have been thrown on the street instead.

It is assumed that such land may well be in the neighbourhood of a crore of acres. We have not got correct statistics, however to put it as low as the figure for such land must still be of the order of lakhs. Mr. Yasho's idea envisages affords the most welcome opportunity to right this wrong and have the joy and glory that comes out of participation in a great humanitarian cause. I therefore, appeal most humbly should, quite urgently to all Samindars, Brahmins and others able to restore this land to the dispossessed Bahadurs through Yashoj. They should fill in the *Sho-doo* forms and gift away the land as snatched in their former titles. The Hyderabad Government passed a special order to increase the gift of land; the gift-deeds have been exempted from registration fees. Similar orders are expected to be passed by other Governments as well. Therefore there is no question of any other expenses save a little of generosity. For the Samindars who realize the wrong they have done but who hesitate to own it for fear of loss of face or prestige, here is offered a supreme opportunity to rectify it at the hands of a saint. It is common experience that man feels hesitant in confessing his mistakes, but a mistake that is likely to impair the well-being of the community and one's own safety along with it, cannot and should not be perpetrated. It should therefore be rectified at the earliest opportunity, and with utmost grace, as that the greater good of the community and the donors themselves as part of a right follow. It will be a really noble sight to see the Samindars give the land back to the Bahadurs of their own will in the presence of the village and the village-elders. The grateful Bahadurs will under the debt of love will

forget the wrong done to himself and once again attach himself to his Commander in loyal service as one of his family. It will indicate in the village a new era of goodwill and unity. The time is fast approaching when the labour of the farm labourers will be accorded a higher value than the price of the piece of land. We hope that the Commanders will take full advantage of this golden opportunity and clothe themselves in lasting glory by rising equal to it.

(Continued from Hindi)

SOYA-MILK AND CURDS — II

(By Krishna Chandra)

Soya-milk can be prepared at home as follows:

1 One pound of soya-beans is necessary for preparing 8 lb. of milk. So take the quantity of seeds according to your requirement of milk or curds.

2 Soak them in water overnight.

3 Throw away the water in the morning and wash the seeds with fresh water.

4 Put the wet seeds in a basket and put a cover over it or tie them up in a cloth, to allow them to sprout.

5 After 24 hours, they will sprout sufficiently. The sprouted seeds should be rubbed well so that their outer covering gets separated from the seeds. This is a process which may possibly be learnt from one who has practised it, or otherwise the process will take a longer time and consume more water than necessary.

6 After the removal of the outer covering, put the seeds in hot water (70°C or 160°F) with a little soda bi-carb. (24—26 per cent, i.e. about 4 grams to a lb. of water) for 15 to 18 minutes. This will considerably remove the bitter taste and colour of the seeds. It will also reduce an element, which affects the nutritional value of soya protein. Later when the seeds are boiled this is further removed.

7 Throw out the above water and wash the seeds with fresh water two or three times.

8 The seeds should then be crushed into a paste on a crushing stone slab or in a mortar. The one used in the South for crushing with materials is very convenient.

9 Mix the paste with plenty of water—six lb. to a lb. of seeds—and boil it on fire, with about a quarter of a table-spoon (teaspoon) coconut oil. At the time of boiling, it should be continuously stirred with a spoon or other stirrer, otherwise it will spill over. This will happen for about 20 minutes, whereafter, it will boil quietly without creating foam. This indicates that the paste has been well roasted.

10 Put down the pot, till it gets a little cool, and then filter it through a clean tough cloth. If it is less than six lb. to a lb. of seeds sufficient water might be added at the time of filtering. All the liquid should be pressed out of the cloth hold-

ing the unfiltered precipitate. The latter may be mixed with bread flour. As a common remark goes, it is not so easy to digest, but is nutritious for strong stomachs. (At the Andhra, 4 part of it is mixed with bread flour and the rest is fed to cows.)

The filtered liquid is soya-milk.

The oil has not so far yielded this milk.

11 The curd is prepared in the same way as that from ordinary milk by mixing it with a little curd. It makes a better curd than cow's milk and is easily formed even in winter. It can also be mixed with cow's milk to prepare the curd from it. If a little ash and a table-spoon per 1½ lb. of milk is added at the time of mixing it with curd the taste is much improved. The curd keeps well for even 4 or 5 days, except that it gets more sour. The addition of large quantities (coconut) is regarded as wholesome, as it supplies the deficient calcium content of soya-milk.

Soya-milk generally contains—

Protein	4.2%
Fat	3.8%
Carbohydrate	1.8%
Vitamin A	2 1/3 of cow-milk

B complex and C—a little more than cow's milk.

(Soya-milk can be made without allowing the seed to sprout. Such milk lacks vitamins B & C.)

On the whole, soya-milk is said to be 30% in nutritional value, in comparison to cow-milk.

A word about the cost of soya-milk. The present price of soya seeds is about 7 to 8 as per seer (50 seers). It will make 12 lb. of milk. To this add the cost of 8 table-spoons and 3 hours of labour. If the last is valued at 3 as. per hour, the total cost may be assessed at Rs 1-4 to 1-5 annas, i.e. less than 2 as. per lb.

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HARIJAN

Feb. 10

1932

ADJUNCTS OF PRAYER

In selected friend's words

You have taken up the question of Christian Prayer in the January of 1932. Actually, as all things presented to the printer I want to try to make our thinking and procedure here in India clear. For example, instead of our Christian friends say, "wonder what is our use in our common prayer the prayer of Jesus-Christ." I also feel I would be better saying the commonest accepted words for that matter than the names of Jesus-Christ. However I want to say this is a matter more fully and more thoroughly covered, and will be grateful for any suggestions you may wish to make.

Prayers are usually held in Churches and Christian religious institutions, generally consist of three distinct parts. (a) the text for daily devotion by the whole congregation, (b) one or more hymns (optional). These are frequently sung by one or several persons and listened to by the rest, or occasionally led by one or two members and repeated by the rest. (c) a new-chant or repeated singing of (a) or (b) complete or hymns in chorus. They usually contain names of God, gods, manifestations several words or may even be moral teachings or inspiring thoughts or simple verses, and all rising from a religious or other good book or a discourse.

Of these four parts only the first is, the text prescribed for daily devotion by the whole congregation should be looked upon as 'Common Prayer'. Since every member of the institution is expected to join in and recite that prayer the sense or a sentiment expressed in every word of the text should be acceptable to a reasonable follower of every particular religion among the members of the institution concerned. Of course, he must have recognised the superstition that there can be no hollowed prayer, unless it is in a particular language selected from one particular scripture only, or that any particular religion being based on totally different conceptions, nothing taken from the scriptures of that religion can be recited by him. To give concrete examples: if a Vaishnavite says that he objects to a text simply because it forms part of a Shikasta scripture or a Christian or Muslim objects to a text from the anonymous love of Hinduism simply because it has the appearance of a religion with many gods and believes in incarnation; or a Hindu, likewise objects to scriptures from the texts of the Christian or the Muslim literature, it is a demand which cannot be satisfied in a common prayer. But it is impossible to demand that the particular text selected for the common prayer does not contain a sense or sentiment expressly negatived by any religion or code of ethics.

This acceptableness to every member should be confined to the final text of the prayer only.

In regard to hymns and new-chants, a greater latitude has to be allowed. It should not be, and is usually not, compulsory for the members of the congregation to participate in singing a hymn or a new-chant. At times a hymn might be in a language which he does not understand, in the same way it may contain at times a sentiment with which his mind is unable to be in tune. Just as at a meal, when we do not like a particular dish, we just leave it untouched, and select only such things as suit us, so must be our attitude in regard to hymns and new-chants. Tulsidas did not compose songs to Krishna nor did Surdas to Rama. Like Tulsidas it is possible that a devoted follower of Rama may prefer the hymns to Rama only, another may be a follower of Krishna, a third of Shiva, a fourth of Christ and so on. According to the inclination of the hymn-singer or new-chant leader, the devotional dishes served might vary from day to day. If they do not speak evil of another religion, let those who cannot respond enthusiastically to a particular hymn or new-chant listen to it with respectful silence. That is nothing more than just good manners.

The dhams generally contain a string of names. They are an ancient institution peculiar to the Hindus. They are very popular. They are educative. They attract children as well as adults, particularly men and women of simple faith. Their simple words and regular beats to time provide easy lessons in chorin singing. Their varied words often create almost an intoxicating effect on the multitude and hold large gatherings spell-bound. Most people pay no attention to the meanings and meanings of the dhams. The contents disturb only a few serious followers of a particular religion and the real is at times to unimpressive as might well be termed jealousy. Thus a Vaishnavite does not like a dhama composed with the names of Shiva and vice versa. Often a devotee of Rama does not take kindly to a dhama with Krishna's name. Many Arya Samajists object strongly to names suggestive of incarnations and want only well words as Om, Tat Sat, Paramatma, Brahman, and words suggestive of divine attributes. He also deprecates Christian. Some Muslims object to Rama and Mahomed, Krishna and Karim, being mingled together. On the other hand some Hindus object to Mahomed and Allah being uttered together, not because Allah does not mean Mahomed, but because it is a Muslim designation of God. A good deal of controversy has been raised upon and upon on this matter. Various regulations are observed but they do not carry conviction to everyone. I would rather not offer any explanation, but simply ask the questioner to accept that whenever these names refer to in a particular context, they are all venerable names in the religious

love of millions of people. The veneration which the Christian has for Christ and the Muslim for Mohammed is not less in intensity and quality than what the general Hindu has for Rama, Krishna or Shiva. In some form or another every religion has put in some one between the worshipper and his exceptional God. Simply the designation of that middle figure is different. Hence, whether one accepts or not that Christ is the Son of God or that Mohammed is God's Prophet, or that Rama and Krishna are God's incarnations, let it be accepted that they are all beloved names which engender devout feelings and religious emotions. There can be no sin in uttering holy names.

It should be remembered in this connection that the dhyana do not always contain names of God only. There are some dhyana which bring together names of celebrated saints only. For instance, in the well-known dhyana, "Nirvati, Jalandar, Sapana, Mukteshwar, Shivalika, Nandavir, Takoran." Some dhyana contain merely moral teachings, e.g. "Daga dharan-ko mad hai, papa mad bhikshan" etc. Moreover it is allowed in the text of the dhyana and even composed new ones it is so done everywhere.

So in respect of both hymns and dhyana my suggestion to institutions would be that while every institution might have for its general use, a list of hymns and dhyana approved by its responsible functionaries there should be an attitude of tolerance if some newcomer or even an outsider with a different urge happens to sing a hymn or lead a dhyana with a different content. In the same way if one happens to attend a congregational prayer not of his own institution, and finds a bhajan or a dhyana not suited to his way of thinking, he may not participate in singing it but let him not feel disappointed.

The same attitude should prevail in listening to a discourse or in the reading of a book of a particular religion. If it does not contain directly or by suggestion anything disparaging or insulting to the great persons or scriptures of another religion, the mere fact that the speaker or book speaks with great praise and reverence the texts of a particular religion should not detract the interests of other religions. Of course, disparaging or insulting remarks about other religions would be resented. This is a book which Christian and Muslim preachers have very often consulted, and one of the reasons for the Hindu's antagonism towards them must be attributed to this activity. Not that the followers of different sects in Hinduism itself have been free from this fault. Sharnva, Vashnava, Jaina, Samastanva, Arya Samajists have all passed through such stages of religious jealousy. These must be regarded as passing phases. Some dhyana

sometimes or at least tolerance in the ultimate attitude which comes into play as soon as experience grows and heated controversial subsides.

Bombay, 20-1-52

K. G. HARBHAWALA

IN THE ALMAHA UNIVERSITY

Vinoba addressed the professors and students of the Almagh University on 15th November, 1951. Dr. Zakir Husain, Vice-Chancellor of the University, who gave a welcome to Vinoba, while introducing him to the audience, spoke with great fervour and appreciation of the spiritual, moral and intellectual qualities of Vinoba and of his great scholarship. It was possible, Dr. Zakir Husain said, that some people did not approve of Vinoba's opinions but their disapprobation would not hinder his work. He quoted the couplet:

एक बात तुम तुम हूँ हूँ हूँ हूँ हूँ हूँ ।
कभी न कभी तुम न कभी, कभी ही तुम कभी ॥

(Every leaf and every stalk know our condition well, but whether they as well as the flowers know it or not, the garden as a whole knows it.)

"Vinoba is one of those," said Dr. Zakir Husain, "who save the nation from being dragged into evil. Such people do not allow the sleeping ones to keep asleep, nor allow the people to feel happy in doing evil things. They want to attract the people towards good and to get good acts done by them. They are the conscience of the nation. It should be our effort to keep that conscience always awake and alert. If the voice of such people cannot reach our ears, such ears need to be treated. If their advice does not enter the heart, the heart must be attended to. Vinoba wants us to do apparently impossible things that is what cannot be easily done by men. But blessed are those who are willing to act as he desires. More blessed yet those who are actually doing so. Unfortunately are those who do not allow his message to reach their ears and to enter their hearts."

"Vinoba is going about as a reformer of Local-Gufts at present. He is travelling on foot through thorny roads. He asks for land from the landowners and persons who have sufficient to eat in order to distribute it to those who are landless and starving. His is a revolutionary programme. We all must give our hearty collaboration in this work."

Vinoba addressed the students for about an hour. (His speech is reported elsewhere). On the conclusion of his address in response to the expectations of Vinoba, Dr. Zakir Husain sought to clarify certain misunderstandings about the Almagh University. He said that in his opinion there was no educational institution in India, at present which presented him in a better form than what the Almagh University could do. That responsibility had become even greater after Independence. There was a particular idea

behind the University. There were other ideas as well. But the one particularly behind it was that the Muslim community should understand the Western education. The founders of the University were associated with Britainers. The University had divided the country. The makers of Pakistan had been produced by it. But that was a past story. "But hereafter" the Vice-Chancellor contended, "if any person wanted to deprive the Muslims of their citizenship, he is still a well-wisher of the country. We belong to this country. Every grain of the land is as much ours as it is of Hindus, Sikhs or Christians. If anyone charges us as Pakistanis, he is an enemy of the country. The students sitting before us are not Hindus, they are men. I have often reproached them for their doubts. But now they call them wicked."

"Timothy, I have a complaint against you. I ask you as the good Conscience of our nation to arise to these falsehoods. Much false propaganda is being carried as here against us. It is not fair."

In the end Dr. Zakir Husain apologized for having made Vinoba to walk over two million miles in order to visit the University, and assured him that in compensation for that his students would treat two hundred million in order to assist him in his Land-Gift Mission.

Dr. Zakir Husain's appeal made Vinoba speak a few words once again. He was glad that Dr. Zakir had raised the story. Vinoba was well-versed in assessing the value of newspaper stories and never relied upon mere paper reports. Newspapers did not discharge their responsibility well. Even when an event took place, it was their duty to make a careful enquiry into the matter and give authentic news. He hoped that Dr. Zakir's clarification would remove misapprehensions and all would collaborate in making the country to progress. The University was like a mighty river. It started as a small spring, but gathered water from various independent streams, and developed into a mighty Ganga, which was always holy. Dr. Zakir Husain's Vice-Chancellorship was sufficient to dispel all doubts.

Before parting Dr. Zakir Husain announced a gift of one hundred Bighas of land on behalf of an anonymous friend.

Timothy suggested the Arabic Library of the University and was pleased to see beautiful manuscripts of old Arabic books.

(Continued from Page 179)

52.

DELHI DIARY

A Collection of Prayer Desires by Mahatma Gandhi

Pages 144-166 Price Rs. 3 Postage etc. 12 1/2

NAVAYAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 125, AMMADABAD

INDIAN ISLAM

VINOBABAI AND LATA SPROCKS

A Memoir

In its latest Vinoba gives a short picture of his way of life and work during Gandhiji's lifetime and the circumstances which led him to move about and to decide to do as on foot. He then referred to his Telangana tour. "It is not possible to give an adequate picture in words of the condition of the people there. Two people were in pain. Zamindars had left their villages and gone to reside in cities. The rich also had left out the means. There had been considerable destruction of life and property. The people had become sick of Communism, but they were between the devil and the deep sea. The Communists attacked them in the night and the Police and the Military harassed them in the day."

Such was the condition when I reached there. I shall not go into the details of my work. I shall simply say I tried as well as possible to serve everyone—the rich and the poor, the Communists and the Congressmen, the landlords and the peasants. Since I have always understood to live as much as possible like the poor I have naturally a great love for them. But I tried to be a friend of the rich also and even of the Communists. These latter were living in hating life and hence they were persecuted in their homes. I tried to seek some way which would restore peace into the district. I saw that in that district the land problem was one, which, if properly solved, could establish peace.

The Government had sent the Military to maintain peace in the district. It cost Rs. 6 crores per annum to the Public Treasury. But an army is not competent to solve such problems. Soldiers are proper agents for keeping out tigers, but not for combating an ideology. Only an ideology can meet another ideology.

"To procure the land problem struck me. But it is no easy task to ask for land. There are quarrels even between father and son for the sake of a piece of land. Moreover, land increases in value with the increase of population. Hence it was difficult to make myself bold to ask for gifts of land. But with a prayer to God I asked. I said to myself that the Great Lord Who lives in every heart must be present in the hearts of the rich, and if He is awakened in one, He will also become so in the hearts of the rich. So I used all my powers of persuasion. The result was that the minds of the people began to melt.

"I shall not say that the situation in Telangana is quite improved yet, but I can say that it has much improved.

"Thereafter I returned to Wardha and engaged myself in cultivation. After the end of the winter, I resumed my tour, and have been touring in the north from village to village asking for land-gifts. I believe that God has inspired me to ask. He will also inspire others to give. He does not do things in a half-hearted manner. When He creates a child, He also provides milk.

for us in the jungle—because, first, you have come to produce hunger without arranging for the food. Hence it is my firm faith that the Lord-Gods-Sardars will not benefit India only but will also show to the world the way to overcome it. Nations have resorted to various means for the solution of their problems. If they find the right way, they will surely accept it.

"This is a short report of myself. Now allow me to address a few words concerning your selves.

Self-Control

"You are all students engaged in studies. Every man does not progress without knowledge; you devote some years of your life entirely to learning. This is good so far as it goes. But there is a factor which must accompany all learning. That factor is self-control. I say from my own experience and also of others that the greatest science to be learnt in life is the science of self-control. It is a knowledge, which all people including students must acquire. With self-control every branch of learning becomes useful; without it all learning is worthless. If you take a horse, which you know how to train or control, you are its master. If you cannot control it, it becomes your master and might bring you harm. It is the same thing with our body and its actions.

"Self-control can be well learnt only in childhood. It becomes difficult later on. It is extremely important to acquire control over one's senses and mind. If we identify ourselves with the good, we cannot improve it. If we do it is necessary to know that you are not the mind. The mind is your servant; you are its master.

"Several people feel that they are free men, not slaves. They would do what pleases their mind. I say do not do what pleases your mind, but do what pleases you. A servant does what pleases his master and if you do what pleases your mind, you behave like a servant.

"Mind is the repository of virtue as well as vice. But we want mind to be only virtuous. Hence, we want to increase and use its stock of virtue and to drive out vice. Hence, we cannot do what pleases the mind. If we yield to the dictates of the mind, we shall become slaves.

"Some people think that we must follow our passions and desires. But passions are like steam; if it is well controlled as in an engine it is a great power. But if it is allowed to escape as steam is forced, it is wasted in the air. It can do nothing. In the same way, we must patiently examine our emotions and passions. If we exercise patience, the passions become a power, like the steam. Hence are those who can control their passions and act after careful deliberation. Hence the first thing to be achieved is control over passions and to direct them in the right channels, along the way of those, who have attained success in life. We must take work from our emotions as we do from a servant. This is a practical art and cannot be acquired from book-learning. More book-learning makes men "

Participate in Production

"Explaining the need for everyone to take part in production, Sri Vinoba said that there was shortage of goods of almost every description, e.g. raw cotton, food-grains, fruits, cloth etc. There was only one way to solve this problem. Everyone should participate in production whatever his profession may be. No plan, however well-considered and designed it may be, could succeed unless it was one in which the entire nation could take part. If it failed to enlist popular cooperation it was fated to be a paper plan only. In the context of the present shortage of goods it was the duty of one and all to produce something. In the case of a student or a professor, a merchant or a buyer. For this reason Gandhiji had placed before the nation the programme of *charitra*, in which everyone—even children and old men could take part. But the *charitra* did not exclude other types of work, e.g. digging, grinding, gardening etc. Those who could do that were welcome to do so.

"God has created us with brain, hands and also hunger. If He had desired that only a few persons should produce things and others should do only intellectual work, He would have given only brains to some and only hands to others. But He is omnipotent. But He has not done so. He has given hunger to all and so also hands. It is therefore against His will that some persons should do only intellectual work like reading, writing etc. and the rest merely the physical labour of production. When our country is faced with the problem of all-round shortage it is obligatory on all to do some sort of physical labour and take part in the production of one thing or another of man's daily requirements.

Algebra's Special Role

"The third thing I want to speak about is the great fear which people entertain about Tata University. It was founded with a high aim. The University has played an important role in shaping the history of our country. This University should cement a picture of our civilization, Man, earth to India and give the brains of some of its students to the country. So too did Christianity. Every culture has its needs and demands. It is the province of the University to talk the two and reject demands and undertake merits.

"Hindus and Muslims—both have contributed to the greatness of the country. Both have done good as well as had deeds. But the good of the country lies in forgetting the evil deeds and remembering good ones. The Hindus should not think that they alone have built the country. The Muslims too have contributed much. They (Hindus) should also remember that after all they all belong to the country. So also Muslims should ponder that Hindus and Muslims are one. Islam has produced saints even as Hinduism has done. Everyone, therefore, should respectfully study scriptures of both the religions.

Syncretism of Earth Religion

Madras

"Every religion has its peculiar features. Vegetarianism is one of such peculiarities of Hindutva. I am of the opinion that the people of India as a whole will have to accept vegetarianism some day. I know that in the present context of food deficit it is difficult. But there is no doubt in my mind that all will have to accept this Hindu peculiarity and give up meat-eating as much as the Jews Christianity.

"The sentiment of service is predominant in the life of Christians. They have rendered good service to the patients of leprosy. The life of Jesus also disclosed this characteristic. We as Indians should fully assimilate this Christian sentiment.

Aligarh

"The sentiment of brotherhood has been developed in Islam. We should do well to weave it in our life. What I mean is that every religion has made some signal contribution to humanity and we should make a study of such characteristics and try to translate them into our life. I hope that we shall be able to create an atmosphere of love and unity in our country.

A Great Sahib

I have read a little of Islam. Of course not so much as would entitle me to be regarded as an scholar but I can claim to have tried to understand the Quran. I particularly like its fiery believing spirit which : (There is no other god except God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God). In the first part it says that Allah is One. Every man would accept this. In the next half it says "Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah." This is interpreted in different ways. Some interpret it to mean that Muhammad is the only Prophet of God. But this is incorrect. For Islam says *af ghuir hi ushla hayyha* : (We make no distinction among the various prophets that have come into the world). This is one of the fundamental tenets of Islam. Therefore the plain meaning of the text, "Muhammad is Allah's Prophet" is that no prophet can take the place of God but even Muhammad. He was only a prophet of Allah.

Here "Muhammad" should not be restricted to Muhammad alone but should include Rama Krishna Buddha Mahaveer and others. That if we understand this lesson in a broad sense, it should be acceptable to the whole world. No doubt some people might well say that for them Muhammad was enough. To children their father is enough. Though they would respect other fathers also but for their own purposes devotion to their own father serves them sufficiently. The Sahib believes that there have been ten years for them and hereafter no more years

is to come. Happiness is suffered for them. But it cannot flow out for the whole world. We cannot live in the image of God. We can limit our own faith. A man may say that a particular guru or a guru is enough for him. But it should not be interpreted to mean that there was no room for other gurus or gurus for other people. The teachings of various religions are harmonised by taking such broad interpretations.

"Towed in this way Islam has rendered a distinct service to the country. I do not know of Islam as known in other countries. So also Christianity. I saw in its literature the teachings of Jesus have been harmonised by them with those of Shrothacharya. I therefore believe that Islam has its own Islam as also its own Christianity.

"Dear Friends, whatever I have said was prompted with love only. It was as if I was speaking to myself."

(Translated from Hindi)

D. M.

Electon Organization

The praise heard from all sides, including candidates who have been defeated, for arrangements made by the Election Organization and the integrity of the staff engaged therein is the most gratifying feature of the general elections. The Election Commissioners must be congratulated for his organizing capacity, and all his officers and assistants for the discharge of their duties and functions in an able and upright manner. It shows that there is sufficient material in the public service, which can be relied upon, and can act like a haven for making the quality of the whole. The hope of Shuddha Vyavastha (Honest Life) Movement is based on such men found in every walk of life. I have always believed that it cannot be disease and evil alone that can be infectious. It must be possible for health and morality also to spread with vigour. That science has discovered and studied only evil germs may be man's defective approach in the matter.

History records and we have known in our times how great and mighty men often create tremendous moral movements and make hundreds of men change their lives almost suddenly. Health and goodness have not been studied as well as disease and evil.

I hope that the good example set by the Election Department will induce also other Government departments as well as the general public.

Bombay, 4-3-52

K. D. M.

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HARIJAN

18 Pages

FOUNDED BY MARGINALI BASHU

EDITOR: E. C. RAMSWAMY

VOL. XV No. 22

AMMURABAD — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1932

THE ANNALS

RA

The last issue of the volume happens to be published just a day after the sixth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death. By a rare coincidence, the Hindu Kuper and the Christian color of his death have fallen on the same day this year. Generally there occurs a change for the color every six-month year.

At Parvati and Shree, and Sita and Rama found them still always in league of and secret-keeping, shared together. We do not know the exact time, on which he was born, but she has him but lost on the lap of her dear husband on the 14th November of 1903. Raja died five years ago. But what a difference had taken place since that short period? He had died a commoner of the last rulers of the country. See now, in me, without any charge against her, that I sit in a prison with two serious illness now, five years being released now and then on conditional health. But not so Ra. The then...

...was not so severely killed her by a subtle color, not so. During Raja's wife even if she did not, more outside than peacefully die as a free woman, it was regarded by Government as a crime, for the safety of the British rule in India. They would not hand over even Ra's corpse to her relatives, she received an unsympathetic attention in the prison-yard staff.

In less than five years following however the entire scene was changed. The transformation was about like the negative and positive kind of the same picture. The British Government still existed but not the British rule. Raja was no enemy of the British rule, but he friend of the British Government and that Government was fully composed of. The representative of the British King remained in India but not to rule it. He was killed by the colors by subtle violence. Raja by one of his own people by open violence. The sensation which he caused was in every detail the opposite of Ra's. The Government himself attended it and squatted on the waste while his body burnt.

The way in which Ra and Raja will be remembered by generations might also be curiously reverse of each other. He may never receive the imposing and pompous worship which Ra is likely to get year after year. But while Raja will receive too much verbal and ceremonial worship, what he endeavored to teach and bring may get increasingly forgotten. The whole world will join in glorifying his

workship and there might remain only a handful to follow him in spirit. But wherever he will live, the will live in actual life and performance. There will be no media, middle or brown system, colored in Ra's name. But she will be giving life and health and education to the children and the widows of small neglected villages of less than one thousand inhabitants through workers who will never seek or obtain wealth and who will never exploit Ra's name. And not a lip will pay her homage which does not come from the heart. Long live Ra, the true spirit of Mahatma.

Wardha, 15-2-32

E. C. RAMSWAMY

MY ACCOUNT

The table given elsewhere shows at a glance the progressive decline of the Harijan papers during the last five years and two months. On 1-12-26 Gandhi had placed me and three other colleagues in the temporary charge of the papers. He handed over to us an estate of more than 52,000 subscribers. When he resumed the charge in June '27, he found a balance of 34,000 only. Thus we lost nearly 20 per cent during a period of six months. The decline continued even during his direct editorship of seven more months, so that at the time of his death the estate was reduced to less than 25,000. The papers remained suspended for over three months, before I was asked again to take up the charge. The suspension cost a reduction of nearly 8,000 subscribers so that the estate estate given to me came to nearly 18,700 subscribers. Within the first year and a half I lost another more bringing it down to 16,864. The decline has never reversed though at a slow rate. By 1-6-32 it came to 10,000. The total loss since the time I took up the editorship has been more than 37,000 subscribers.

In all frankness and honesty I must take this as a sign of disapproval of the public in my editorship. Friends and adherents wish to assure me that this is a wrong inference. It is a result of the slump in the market. This may also be a satisfactory cause. But the fact remains that it is an account of heavy loss.

Originally the Trustees wanted me to carry on Harijan's alone, as they could afford to bear some loss upon it. But I was unwilling to undertake its responsibility as I did not stay in Calcutta.

This led to the decision to close down all the three.

Wardha, 14-2-32

E. C. RAMSWAMY

CIRCULATION OF "HARBAN" PAPERS

Table Showing the Sales of "Harban" Papers during Different Periods

	Date	Harban (English)	H Shadon 90 per cent	H Sank (Hindi)	H S. v. K. (Sinhala)	Total
Just after the resumption of the "Harban" Papers in February, 1946. The result of their popularity	17-2-46	28,253	21,265	11,652	—	72,470
When Gandhiji leaves for Shrinagar giving up temporarily the charge of the "Harban" Papers	1-12-46	32,279	15,939	10,146	1,364	62,621
When Gandhiji resumes the charge of the weeklies by writing the editorial — How did I begin it?	1-6-47	15,564	11,225	6,999	629	34,128
The last issue under Gandhiji's editorship	20-1-48	9,069	5,441	4,981	475	24,796
At the first of the 50th issue of Vol. XII under Shri Kumbharbhai's editorship	6-5-48	4,764	4,763	3,259	—	26,787
	11-12-48	1,789	4,481	2,584	—	20,894
	22-2-50	1,639	4,698	2,611	—	10,918
	21-4-50	3,285	4,132	2,437	—	9,855
	28-6-51	3,181	4,233	2,186	—	9,600
	21-8-51	2,953	3,917	2,268	—	9,138
	20-1-52	3,898	3,933	2,280	—	10,111
	1-5-52	2,640	3,660	2,270	—	8,570
Foreign	1-5-52	77	114	7	—	198

ANANT D. DODIA

REMINIS THE OLD FLECK

Indravati is a large village situated in Rahat, District Chit. At the 10th January Dr. Bapuji's Day Festival attracted the people to witness themselves after the celebration in full of the old village which the nation has given to us. 100 years ago we were still under the British. The festival has been from his past prayer speaks on the day.

The Lord was asleep but He woke up for Tulshid because Tulshid awakened Him. This was of the many wonderful qualities. He woke up in an instant at the call of a true devotee. I find Him getting up whenever I go, because I call Him. In fact, He is eternally awake. The sleep is only a nominal one assumed in order to test us. He will not rise from the sleep and be asleep of those who are charged with the task of awakening Him continues to sleep. At the moment, it seems that it is the awake who are asleep. Constructive workers, Congressmen, K.M.P.P. all are suffering under the spell of sleep. That are all immersed in the slumber, completely oblivious of everything else. Meanwhile I have been able to procure more than sixpence thousand acres of land in Madhavwadi, a small village, a more hundred and twenty persons gave me twelve thousand acres. This is why I say that the Lord resides within every human heart ready to manifest Himself if only one would ask for it.

"Freedom has brought an adult franchise. Everyone has the right of vote. There is no difference of caste or sex. The poor and the well-to-do have it as much as the rich and the

educated. Despite all that the country is as he way happens in more prosperous because we have failed to fulfil many things to which we had pledged ourselves years ago.

We had had had an hour's spending just now. We have been doing it every day. I began spending in 1930. In our Ashram we all spin enough for our clothing and we also weave it. Therefore the frequent fluctuations of prices in the market do not affect us in the least. If you too had acted as Gandhiji's ashram in this regard, you would not have been helplessly driven to take recourse to black-market and be a party to that type of sin and corruption. Black has not lost its importance after Gandhi. If anything it has become even more important. We pledged ourselves to make the living conditions in the villages better. That pledge is still hanging fire and we should remind ourselves of it on this day and rededicate ourselves to its early realisation.

"I would draw your attention mainly to three things. Graduation of caste-differences and the inequality which they entail acceptance of black and whiteness from absolute drink. Drink is one of the five great sins. How can a person addicted to drink call himself either a Hindu or a Musselman? Both of these religions have banned drink. But God is ever ready to advise a man to the abode of he would repent for his mistakes leave it off forthwith and take to the ways of right conduct. Both Hindus and Muslims are generous in this respect and they keep their doors open for the really penitent. Therefore those of you who are addicted to this evil habit should give it up once for all."

It was reported to Vinohaji that nearly 80 per cent of the village population was given to drink habit. Vinohaji would not first believe it but when he asked in the meeting whether it was correct, the people confirmed to it. He was deeply moved with pain. He appealed to the people to get rid of it and explained that the enjoyment that they might derive from it was not at the greatest cost of anything it was a bodily pleasure which it became human beings find pleasure in a service.

Vinohaji received one hundred acres in this small village. He has obtained altogether thirteen hundred acres in the Elia District, The Raja of Annapur, Shri Saragpal Baba, had a long talk today with Vinohaji about the land problem in this part.

(Translated from Hindi)

L. B.

VINOHAJI MARCHING TOWARDS ECONOMIC FREEDOM

(By S. Arganathan)

The economic revolution of the Western countries was initiated for and effected through changes in controlled big industries. In India it concerns the agrarian land problem and cottage industries in which is a land of villages. This economic freedom movement is now led by the spiritual head of Mahatma Gandhi. The political parties have been impotent to achieve this freedom for the poor ever since the achievement of the political freedom. But Vinohaji was walking or more correctly, God guided him at this proper time, to lead the economic freedom movement when the nation will be just marching into the second phase of the peaceful revolution after the attainment of the Free India under the new constitution. The first phase after independence was a period of preparation for the race towards economic freedom: integration of the several States; solution of the communal and its attendant refugee problems, strengthening the Government at the Centre, etc. Now Vinohaji is holding staff the torch and marching towards the economic freedom and the nation should follow him.

Constructive workers all over feel that Pandit Jawaharlal should give a lead to this movement and the A.I.C.C. should direct all Congressmen to take up the work of the Land-Gift-Mission if necessary, a special section of the A.I.C.C. might be conceived and Vinohaji started to give his message on the Land-Gift Mission. Was not Congress functioning as an instrument of Gandhi for carrying out the great constructive programmes like Prohibition, Removal of Untouchability, Khadi and Village Industries? Through these constructive programmes, the Congress was contacting the masses in the villages. Whenever Congress demonstrated Gandhi revitalized it with new programmes. What is the position of the Congress today? It needs a tremendous effort to lift it from the fall. Vinohaji is already hinting at the purification of the Congress. "There was no programme before any party or individual which can be compared to

this (the Land-Gift Mission), and which had sowed seeds of revolution. Jawaharlal wanted to purify the Congress but unless you have a programme of sacrifice purification is not possible. Even if Gandhi was alive but unable to present any programme which would guarantee the purification would have been an impossibility. But Gandhi's beauty was that he always put forth a programme which did create a sacrifice. The Land-Gift-Mission is undoubtedly a programme which demands sacrifice and is bound to bring a revolution which will attract the whole world." Speech of Vinohaji, 11.10.51. Vinohaji's programme is so magnificent that the mighty political organization like Congress should extend its full support and active co-operation.

Vinohaji tells: "our Constitution has given too far in guaranteeing all kinds of compensations, and I think that something will have to be done about it. If it is good for the country let us change the Constitution." (Vinohaji's speech, Madras, 26-12-51). Change in the Constitution or even any legislation can be successful only when at least an intelligent majority has been converted. Gandhi's Harrow movement prepared the field for the Congressmen, "because to declare untouchability as a punishable offence. Agar has previous efforts created a country with atmosphere in favour of prohibition and some of our States have successfully enforced prohibition through legislation. Vinohaji's Land-Gift Mission is not confined to collecting land gifts. "I am trying to convince landowners. If they are convinced of the right of the landless people in some lands, the proper atmosphere for suitable legislation will have been created. Once the atmosphere is created, legislation on this subject can be expected to be effective, since it will have the approval of the people. Constructive workers expect that the Congress will take up the non-violent revolutionary movement of Vinohaji in right earnest immediately after the elections.

The Government have supplemented the Land-Gift Mission. The first part is already in progress. The following proposal about the cultivable land is before for consideration by the cabinet.

District	Under Cultivation	Cultivable Waste	Forest
Madhwa	11,37,848	1,63,585	7,40,448
Marwar	8,81,738	6,04,349	98,315
Tanjour	13,56,431	1,91,808	34,422
Trochy	16,91,680	2,28,808	1,76,000
Thane, ally	7,64,897	13,40,432	3,03,408
Chandrapur	17,84,913	7,51,982	14,63,347
Salwa	16,18,374	4,13,323	16,81,538
North Arcot	11,76,468	9,49,317	7,68,182
South Arcot	12,78,199	8,75,480	2,63,268
Changlapat	9,91,201	11,27,870	—
Kolhapur	36,408	61,243	3,13,483
Total	1,15,06,401	54,93,778	61,37,367

More than one third of the area of the already cultivated land is lying uncultivated including the forest areas.

The response to this decision on me as a result of the decision is overwhelming. Both my mind and body are tired, feeling increasingly tired day after day. I have the burden of the future. And the future before that the papers can be continued only on the expectation that I shall continue to off these people's ear. On the one hand I feel a deep sense of gratitude and gratification when friends, readers, co-workers, Government officials and the constructive institutions and almost all the political parties express good wishes and sympathy for me, on the other hand we are expected to cope with the increasing responsibility of mass activity.

Harijan papers are not simply eight-page weeklies. They in themselves have come to occupy the status of an institution of constructive work. They have become the people's informal advice committee and problems, personal and public regarding social, political and other matters may be poured from all over the country. The work is increasing day by day. This is a type of work which cannot be disposed of even with the help of additional assistants or deputised staff. Only the writers and correspondents can reduce it by keeping a restraint on themselves. The readers who have expressed their love for me and promised to make efforts for existing subscribers, will do well to help me in this direction also.

I was pained to find unfavorable accusations and criticisms expressed against the Harijan Trust for their decision to close down the papers. It was Gandhiji who founded the Harijan Trust made it the vehicle for the publication of his writings and supported for a number of his chosen. With his consent the trustees were changed from time to time. Gandhiji bequeathed to it the copyright of his writings. We owe it to Gandhiji to respect his wishes. It is not proper to feel pained at its privileged position in respect of his writings. If there are no doubts against it, they should be directly put to its trustees for clarification, but it is not proper to attribute unfavorable motives to it and spread ill reports concerning it. It is no thing to point out to the trustees, what might appear to a member of the public their shortcomings. It must be done with the help that the trustees are fully conscious of their responsibility arising out of the confidence placed by Gandhiji in them and, if they are, they do so honestly. It is a different matter to spread distrust about them in the public. When the whole atmosphere is so clouded with mutual mistrust on all sides, it is required of every one to learn to put confidence in one another. Now that the people have brought pressure on the trustees and got the trustees changed and the trustees have respected the popular demand, the duty of the people becomes all the greater to promote the reputation of the institution considering it as their own.

Varanasi, 18-2-32

K. D. MANGRUPALA

"HARIJAN" PAPERS TO CONTINUE

In the three Harijan papers dated 2-3-1932 it was declared that the Harijan Trust had been compelled to discontinue the publication of the papers from March, 1932. In the following number Shri Kulkarnibhai published his article and therein gave the facts about the inadequate number of subscribers and the loss that had to be borne on that account. In the same article he appealed to all the readers and sympathisers of the papers that those who wanted the papers to continue should show their active sympathy by subscribing to them in large numbers. Following the declaration and Shri Kulkarnibhai's article the Harijan Trust has received various suggestions and advice from various quarters as to what it should and should not do in this matter. The Trust in its annual general meeting on 12-2-32 discussed the whole question in the light of these suggestions and advice and has passed the following resolution:—

1. The Harijan Trust deeply appreciates the sympathy and feeling of all those fellows who felt that it was not a happy position that the Harijan papers would have to close publication for want of an adequate number of subscribers and who thereupon expressed their readiness to actively help the continuance of the papers by getting more subscribers for them.

Keeping in mind the mere fact of the loss, some sympathisers have suggested that the loss be met by receiving donations and in such other ways. Some have offered to take over the papers. In regard to these and such other suggestions and advice it must be explained that Gandhiji had laid it down as a definite policy that papers which do not attract as yet an adequate number of subscribers are not wanted by the people and that it is improper to continue to publish such papers and impose them on the readers. There is also a definite limit to the idea of handing over the papers to others who show expression to undertake the burden. Indiscriminately handing over the conduct of these papers to others cannot be considered, particularly to individuals or to concerns who run papers for profit or as a profession. Handing over these papers to some public institution like the Harijan Trust which has accepted Gandhiji's principles and which has among its activities and foremost the conduct of newspapers may however be considered. It is from the latter point of view that the Harijan Trust has shown its readiness to hand over the English Harijan to the Sarva Seva Sangha.

Some others have asked, 'Why not carry on publishing the papers and meet the expenses by accepting advertisements, of course with discrimination?' The Trust does not carry by Gandhiji is very clear on the point and says, "Advertisements shall not be accepted in papers, pamphlets, books etc. published by the institution

"Trust) and the Trust shall not take such work as its printing press as is opposed to the objects of the Trust." Thus this way is not open to the Trust. The Trust knew that here was this way open to it. But it is plain that in view of the subsidiary objective of the Trust deed that way is closed for the Trust. The Trust could consider the offer of the Sarva Seva Sangh to undertake the publication of the English *Navaras* only because it showed readiness to carry on the publication without taking advertisement.

Letters and suggestions received immediately after the decision to close the publication of the papers created a curious misunderstanding lurking in the mind of the people. It seems to be the general but erroneous impression that the Navaras Trust and the papers really meet their expenses and that the Trust makes a fairly large profit from the sales of books by Gandhi. The Secretary of the Trust is requested to prepare and issue a statement which will give a correct picture of the Trust's position to the public.

2. The readers of the papers and the public were warned no less than three times during the past two years that the papers had not an adequate number of subscribers and that therefore the papers were being run at a loss. These warnings bore no fruit. On the contrary the number of subscribers went on dwindling. It was only in view of this hard fact that the Trust came to the painful conclusion that there was no other way but to close their publications. As soon as this decision was published the public spontaneously expressed its sorrow and some friends have expressed their readiness to be actively helpful by canvassing new subscribers. The Trust welcomes and deeply appreciates this feeling and is prepared to review the position regarding the papers.

3. As declared in the *Navaras* of 3-3-58, the Sarva Seva Sangh has shown its readiness to undertake the responsibility of the publication of the English *Navaras*. The Secretary of the Sangh, Shri Shankaran Das, has written to that effect. It is therefore resolved that the English *Navaras* be handed over to the Sangh from March, 1962 on the conditions mentioned in his letter.

Even if for some reason the Sangh is unable to undertake the responsibility the Navaras Trust should, as a matter of fact, continue its publication for an indefinite time. The papers must attract an adequate number of subscribers during that period so as to meet its expenses. To that end the present number of the subscribers which is 1,640 should go up to 2,000. The Secretary should report to the Trust about the actual position after four months.

4. In the deed of Trust there is one clause which runs as follows:

"Aim. To propagate peaceful means for the attainment of Swaraj for India by spreading mass education through such

servants of the people as are cultured and are devoted to the Gujarati language and through the medium of that language desire to identify themselves with the life of Gujarat and in that manner wish to serve India in a good way.

"For the fulfillment of this aim —

To conduct the paper *Navaras*, and through it propagate the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful means."

In accordance with this clause the Trust feels it is an obligation to conduct one paper in Gujarati. In the same manner about the *Navaras* conducted in the national language Hindi, the Trust believes that it would be well if that paper could also be continued. It is therefore resolved that the publication of both these papers be continued, on the understanding that both together would attract an adequate number of subscribers so as to meet their expenses jointly. The Trust appeals to the public that they help the Trust in conducting these two papers by subscribing to them in sufficient numbers.

5. The number of subscribers to the *Navaras* (Hindi) today is 2,378. This number is the least among the three, which is a painful fact. If this number goes below 1,500, it would mean that the paper does not attract enough readers to justify its publication. Therefore it is resolved that if the number of subscribers for the (Hindi) *Navaras* goes below 1,500 its publication be discontinued and only the publication of the (Gujarati) *Navaras* be continued. The Trust hopes that the Gujaratispeaking public will surely help the Trust in carrying out its special obligation to conduct a Gujarati paper and will see to it that a situation compelling the Trust to discontinue it is not created.

Amrabad, 18-2-62

STYANI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee
NAVARAS TRUST

SHRI VEDRAJ'S NORTHERN TOUR XIII

Thinking could not personally go to Aligarh but people came to see him, and donated 150 acres of land, and promised to carry the figure to a thousand. Thinking generally does not address other the end of the Shikharaj Rajas. But this day he spoke and expressed his gratitude for the response of the people. The total land donated at Aligarh was 1844 acres.

A Philosophical Discussion

A Shri Sarvechakra came to meet Thinking in the evening. He was a serious and experienced with a question: "How can one experience universal love?"

"Remove the distinction between mine and yours."

"It is difficult."

"We must harness the ego and change ourselves in the service of mankind and accept not only ourselves but feel that we have achieved or their something."

"You have defined the students in respect the owner. Is it possible? It has been said that the owner should not be killed. They are fools."

"I suggest a comparison between the new entrepreneur, Mother to do the work, but still there, but decided them."

"How should one control the mind?"

[illegible]

